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VOLUME LIV NUMBER 1 SPRING 1976

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Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building at 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma

The subscription rate is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *The Chronicles* are available at $1.50. All members of the Oklahoma Historical Society receive *The Chronicles* free. Annual membership is $5.00; Life membership $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issues of *The Chronicles* and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

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VOLUME LIV *Spring, 1976* NUMBER 1

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THE COVER Painted by Richard West, this scene clearly illustrates the suffering and hardship endured by the more than sixty tribes which were removed to present-day Oklahoma by the Federal government.

☆ THE CHRONICLES

AMERICA'S EXILES

*By Arrell Morgan Gibson: Guest Editor**

The American Indian was a tragic casualty of imperialist expansion, first by the European nations and later by the United States. Beginning in the fifteenth century Spain, followed by France, Holland, Russia and Great Britain, appropriated vast territories in the New World. Their primary interest as imperial nations was to exploit the land and its resources in order to increase their economic and military power in Europe and the world. Each nation's exploitation plan included use of native peoples. Thus, Spaniards used Indians to labor in mines and on ranches and farms in the New World. Frenchmen used Indians as hunters in the fur trade which enriched the royal French government and certain favored merchants. Russia exploited Aleuts, Eskimos and Indians to establish a lucrative fur trade in Alaska. Great Britain belatedly adopted a policy to require its New World colonial establishment to utilize the land and native peoples to benefit the empire. In each of these imperial schemes the Indian was important to colonial success as a worker, a hunter and a soldier and utilized to defend the host nation's territory from seizure by other contesting imperial powers.

The rise of the American nation on the Atlantic Seaboard and its rapid expansion into the trans-Applachian interior produced drastic change in attitude toward the Indian. American pioneers entered the wilderness as families. Their society was agrarian-based; the father, mother and many children of each family providing the labor required to open a frontier farm. Thus, American pioneers did not need Indians—however, because of their rapidly expanding population they needed the Indians' land.

Many tribes owned large territories in the trans-Appalachian region, and were protected in the tenure of these lands by treaties with the American government. Settlers regarded the Indian tribes as hazardous barriers to the fulfillment of their land desires. As American settlements in the trans-Appalachian region increased, a bitter contest developed between pioneers and Indians for control of the land. Indians were hazards in that they made war on the intruding settlements to protect their home territories from appropriation by the settlers.

In the early years of Anglo-American expansion into the trans-Appala-

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* The author is George Lynn Cross Research Professor, University of Oklahoma.

chian interior, federal troops and state and territorial militia inflicted successive defeats on contesting tribes in the Old Northwest. The victors took from the vanquished tribes as spoils of victory large tracts of territory comprising most of Ohio. Settlers quickly occupied the ceded land, and the defeated Indians retreated onto reduced tribal domains west of Ohio.

The War of 1812 was a crucial time in this Indian-settler contest for Western land. Tribes of the Old Northwest, battered and angered at territorial losses, coalesced into the Pan-Indian Confederation formed by Tecumseh and Elskwatawa, the Prophet. They supported the British cause in the War of 1812 as a tactical step to thwart American expansion into their remaining tribal domains. The Northwest Indians were successively defeated by American armies under Brigadier General William H. Harrison. The American people demanded of their government that the Northwest tribes be punished for their treasonable association with the enemy, the British, during the War of 1812; the punishment sought was to consist of cession of all their lands in the Old Northwest and their removal west of the Mississippi River.

William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, Missouri provided the rhetorical foundations for exiling the Eastern tribes in a statement he supplied to President James Monroe: "The relative condition of the United States on the one side, and the Indian tribes on the other" had drastically changed. Before the War of 1812, he declared, "the tribes nearest our settlements were a formidable and terrible enemy; since then, their power has been broken, their warlike spirit subdued, and themselves sunk into objects of pity and commiseration." Continuing, he stated that "while strong and hostile, it has been our obvious policy to weaken them; now that they are weak and harmless, and most of their lands fallen into our hands, justice and humanity require us to cherish and befriend them." Clark urged that "the tribes now within the limits of the States and Territories should be removed to a country beyond" the Mississippi River "where they could rest in peace."

President Monroe and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun formed the plan for exiling the Eastern Indian tribes to the trans-Mississippi West. The removal policy was first applied to the Northwest tribes and by 1825 virtually all Indians residing in the territory north of the Ohio River had been forced to relocate in the Western wilderness. Thus, the first "Trail of Tears" was not inflicted upon the Southern tribes but upon those tribes from the Old Northwest.

The Indian colonization zone which federal officials created from American territory west of the Mississippi River for resettling the Eastern tribes was at first vaguely defined as the "Indian Country." However, rapid move-

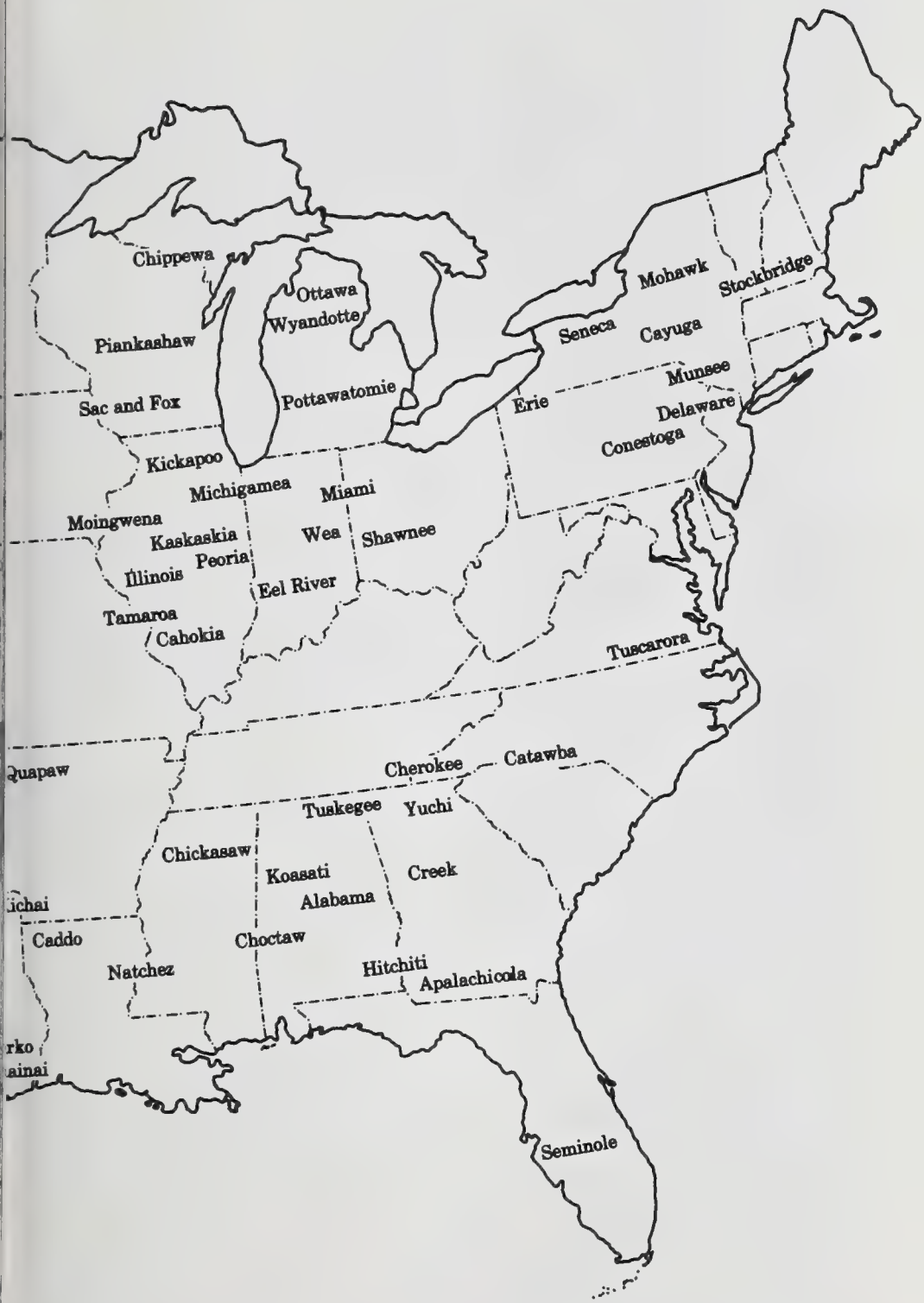
ment of pioneers into this region after the War of 1812 threatened the federal plan of orderly Indian relocation. Therefore, by 1825 Congress had withdrawn from settlement a strip of land west of Missouri and Arkansas extending to the One Hundredth Meridian, bounded on the north by the Platte River and on the south by Red River, identified it as the "Indian Territory" and restricted its use to the colonization of Eastern Indians. Settlers in the colonization zone were required to vacate.

While American pioneers in the Old Northwest had succeeded in their goal of removing the Indian barrier, their territorial ambitions in the Old Southwest were stymied. In the region south of the Ohio River resided the populous Five Civilized Tribes—Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, Creeks and Chickasaws. Through the years federal agents had pressed the leaders of these tribes to surrender their lands to the United States and move west.

For many years a voluntary exile had been underway among several of the Eastern tribes. Factions in the Cherokee, Chickasaw and other tribes had found the encroaching Anglo-American settlements threatening to their cherished tribal life ways. To escape this "contamination," small bands of Indians had been moving west of the Mississippi River into Spanish territory as early as the 1790s. Soon after 1800 a large mixed Indian community of Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares and Kickapoos resided in eastern Texas on a grant of land provided by the Spanish government.

However, most of the Southern Indians were determined to retain their ancestral lands in the eastern United States. Leaders of the Southern tribes developed various strategies to protect their lands and the right to remain in the East. One tactic was cooperation with federal officials. Thus, they reluctantly ceded by successive treaties large tracts of land to the United States to accommodate settler demands, retaining in each case a cherished homeland core of territory. By 1820 the Cherokees had surrendered most of their lands in western North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee and retained a domain in northwestern Georgia centering on their tribal capital at New Echota. The Creeks had surrendered their lands in southern Georgia and retained a homeland core in Alabama. The Seminoles, only recently under United States jurisdiction, were in the process of accepting reduced territory in Florida. The Choctaws had ceded much of their territory in central and southern Mississippi and were on the verge of agreeing to another large cession. And the Chickasaws, once lords over much of Tennessee, Kentucky, northern Alabama and northern Mississippi, had retreated through successive land cession treaties to a small domain in northern Mississippi and northwestern Alabama. It was on these reduced domains that the Five Civilized Tribes made their last stand to preserve the land of their ancestors from the settler onslaught.

Origins of the more than sixty Indian tribes which eventually colonized Oklahoma (from John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, map 12)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Pottawatomie
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Michigamea
Miami
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Wea
Shawnee
Illinois
Peoria
Eel River
Tamaroa
Cahokia
Mohawk
Stockbridge
Seneca
Cayuga
Munsee
Erie
Delaware
Conestoga
Tuscarora
Quapaw
Cherokee
Catawba
Tuskegee
Yuchi
Chickasaw
Koasati
Creek
Alabama
Caddo
Choctaw
Natchez
Hitchiti
Apalachicola
Seminole

The other tribal strategy was co-existence—the hope held by leaders of the Southern tribes that they could so order their lives that Anglo-Americans would be willing to accept them as worthy neighbors. To accomplish this, they studiously supported the United States in its international goals. Thus, during the War of 1812 these tribes remained loyal to the United States. They politely rejected Tecumseh's plea for Indian brotherhood and war on the expansive Americans. During the War of 1812 the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek and Chickasaw nations each formed a regiment of fighting men which joined Major General Andrew Jackson's army to guard the southwestern frontier against British invasion. One Creek faction, the Red Sticks led by William Weatherford, accepted Tecumseh's gospel and made war on the American settlements in the Southwest; however, loyal Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw regiments in Jackson's army smashed the Creek Red Sticks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

In their attempts to prove to Anglo-American pioneers that they were worthy neighbors, Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw leaders urged great changes among their people. Adopting white ways in dress and industry, the Indians established successful farms, plantations and businesses in their nations—many became prosperous slave owners. In addition, they changed their political systems from traditional tribal governments to governments based on written constitutions with elective officials, courts and other elements of enlightened polity.

Tribal leaders welcomed missionaries to their nations. The missionaries established schools, which allowed many Indian youths to complete basic studies in local mission schools and then continue their educations in colleges situated in the Northeast. Soon in each Indian nation there was formed a corps of elitist leaders, most of whom were better educated than whites in the neighboring settlements and able to cope with white counterparts in the professions, industry, business and politics.

Leaders of the Southern tribes could not comprehend, in their hope to co-exist and cope with the fast changes swirling about their nations, that their success in altering tribal ways and in education, business and polity only precipitated ugly envy and antagonism among their Anglo-American neighbors. Indian progress was regarded as a threat. Leaders of the Southern tribes did not understand that nineteenth century Anglo-American society was obsessively monistic—it feared, scorned and rejected people unlike themselves in culture and physcial characteristics.

Anglo Americans in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi regarded resident Indians barriers to the consummation of their material goals. Indians occupied rich agricultural lands which they coveted. Thus Georgians, Alabamans and Mississippians developed counter-strategies to force the Indians into

exile, and used state and federal political aparatuses to accomplish their goal. Whites were voters in state and federal elections while Indians were not. At the state level, citizen will was reflected in legislatures who adopted laws which presumed to abolish tribal governments functioning in each state. Tribal officials who attempted to exercise the duties of their offices were subject to arrest and imprisonment. The only purpose for which tribal councils could meet under these oppressive state laws was to discuss surrender of tribal lands and removal to the West. Indian testimony was not admissible in state courts. Thus, settlers could depredate with impunity on Indians, their households and property, and Indians had no legal remedy in the state courts. The intent of these laws was to make life so miserable for the Indians that in self protection they would move to the West.

The strategy of Southern citizens to drive Indians out of their states also included using the federal political aparatus. The Federal government was bound by treaties with these tribes by solemn constitutional pledge to protect the Indians in their person, property and land from trespass by its citizens or by the states. Indian leaders, well aware of the treaty protection the federal government had pledged to them, pled with federal officials to fulfill the treaties and protect them from state and citizen tyranny. The failure of federal officials to respond to Indian entreaties for protection was another manifestation of Anglo-American citizens' advantage over the Indians as voters in the federal system. They elected representatives and senators to the United States Congress committed to fulfilling their goal of removing all sign of Indians from their states. Their representatives and senators pushed for adoption of laws which would legalize the appropriation of tribal lands and removal of the Indians. A classic example of this was the Indian Removal Act, approved by Congress in 1830. Southerners also supported presidential candidates who were committed to support their hearts' most earnest desire.

The removal of the Southern tribes to the West was profoundly affected by the election of Andrew Jackson as President in 1828. Jackson had spent much of his life on the Tennessee frontier; he therefore held the typical frontiersman's attitude toward any Indian tribes which presented a barrier to white settlement. So obsessed was the President with driving the Indian tribes to the far frontiers of the United States that he gave his personal attention to the matter. It is significant that most of the Southern tribes were removed during his administration and that those not completed before he left office had been set in motion.

Jackson as President refused to acknowledge the Federal government's responsibility to protect the Indians from state and citizen action. Thereupon they appealed to the federal courts. In the *Worcester v. Georgia* deci-

sion rendered in 1832 by the United States Supreme Court, Chief Justice John Marshall declared the oppressive anti-tribal state laws unconstitutional. The Cherokees and other Southern tribes were elated. At last they believed they would receive the justice they merited and the protection against oppressive state action guaranteed them by treaties with the United States. However, their hopes were dashed when President Jackson refused to enforce the court's decision. Tribal leaders reminded the President of his constitutional responsibility. Thereupon Jackson answered, incorrectly, that he was powerless in the matter and that the only hope for the Indians was to accept their fate and move to the West. The President's failure to fulfill his constitutional duty destroyed the will of many Indians to attempt to cope with the surging settlement about them; they capitulated and began to move to Indian Territory. The essays which follow on the Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, Creeks and Chickasaws depict the removal treaty negotiations, the admirable but futile efforts of Osceola and other Indian patriots to defend the land of their ancestors from appropriation by the settlers and the vicissitudes of agonizing travel over the "Trail of Tears."

A matter overlooked by most in presenting the story of Indian colonization in the West is that the land set aside as the Indian Territory already was occupied by Indian tribes. To make room for the emigrating tribesmen from the Old Northwest and Old Southwest, the local tribes had to agree to reduced tribal territories and, in many cases, relocation. Much of the work of negotiating treaties and relocating the local tribes was accomplished by William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. Through his continuing negotiations with the Kaws, Osages, Quapaws and other tribes he opened the land west of Missouri and Arkansas to settlement by the Eastern tribes; this region came to be designated the Indian Territory. The colonization of the Eastern tribes in Indian Territory was on a latitudinal basis. Thus, the tribes from the Old Northwest were assigned land in the northern half of Indian Territory, the tribes from the Old Southwest to land in the southern half of Indian Territory. The thirty-seventh parallel, the present Kansas-Oklahoma boundary, was the dividing line for these two segments of Indian Territory.

Federal officials, the army and civilian contractors played roles in the colonization of the Eastern tribes. Headquartered at Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation, the Stokes Commission, comprised of Montfort Stokes, James Ellsworth and John Schermerhorn, supervised the settlement of the Eastern tribes and adjudicated boundaries of tribal domains created in Indian Territory.

Both Fort Smith, Arkansas and Fort Gibson were strategic stations in the removal process. Troops from these posts conducted emigrating tribesmen

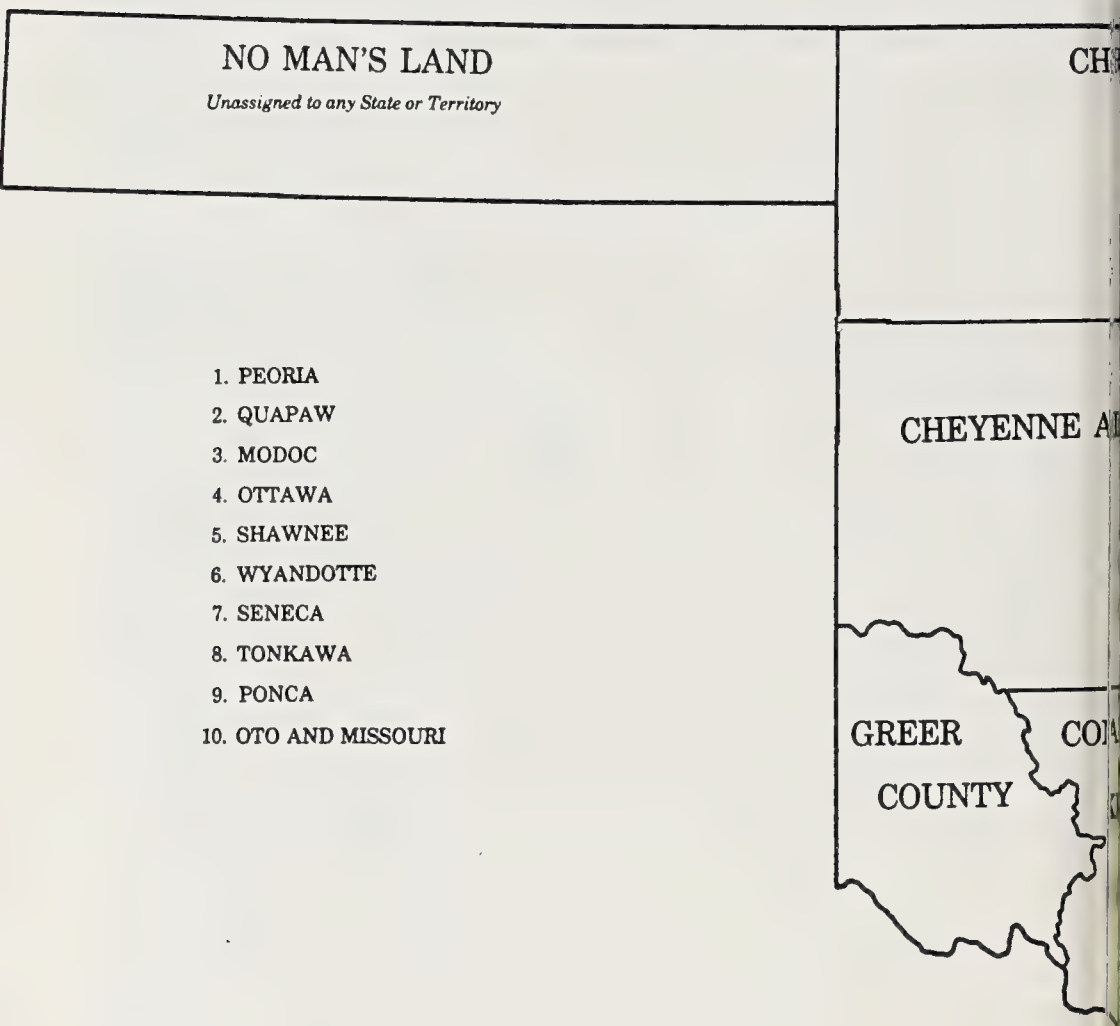
to their new homes. Also these forts served as commissary depots for Indian subsistence. Leaders of the Southern tribes were reluctant to settle in Indian Territory because of the threat of raids by the Kiowas and Comanches, fierce buffalo hunting tribesmen residing on Indian Territory's western margins. To assuage anxiety of the emigrating Southern tribes and to persuade the Plains tribes to accept the newcomers, the War Department in 1834 planned an expedition to the Wichita Mountains. This mission was to be carried out by a cavalry force, the First Dragoon Regiment, which was trained at Fort Gibson.

During 1834 the First Dragoon Regiment, commanded by Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth and Colonel Henry Dodge, marched to southwestern Indian Territory. Dodge met with Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita and Caddo leaders and won their approval and acceptance of Eastern Indians as neighbors. As a result between 1836–1838 federal officials established diplomatic relations with these tribesmen through a series of treaties.

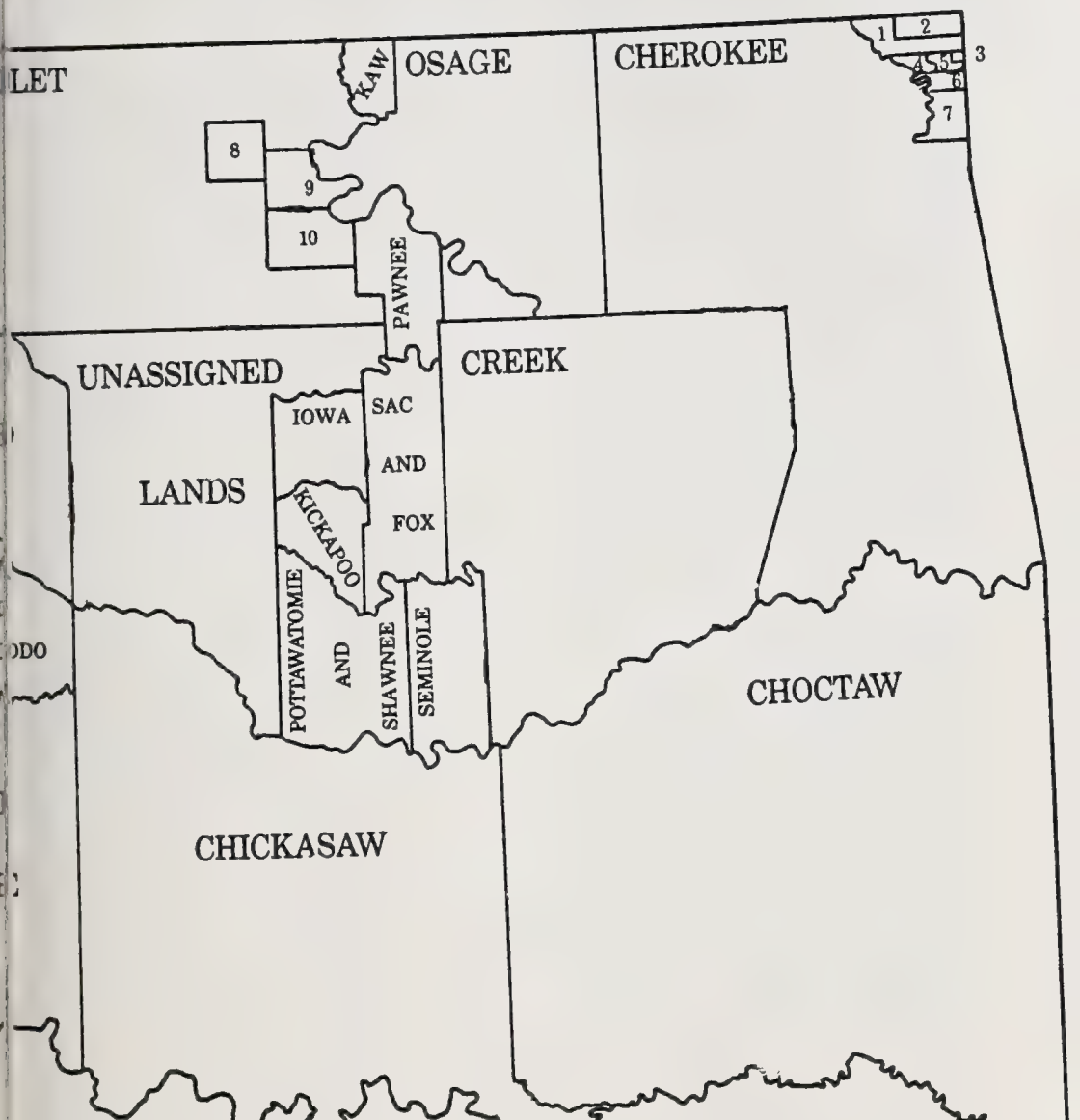
The removal treaties required the Federal government to provide food, blankets, transportation and other services required by the emigrating Indians. Also the United States government agreed to supply subsistence to the Indians for one year after their arrival in Indian Territory. Cost of removal services and subsistence were charged against tribal funds held by the Federal government as trustee for these tribes.

Federal officials for the most part let the business of feeding and transporting the Indians to private contractors, and those Indians who survived the "Trail of Tears" claimed that much of their suffering and high death rate was due to the callousness of contractors who enriched themselves at the Indians' expense. Critics claimed that "at so much per head it was entirely a business proposition with the contractors." In their hands "the removal of the Indians was not a great philanthropy, but was carried out with the same business considerations that would characterize the transportation of commodities of commerce from one point to another." Vast sums of tribal money were paid to contracting firms, newly formed to render this service for the government and, as later revealed, most of the contractors were friends and relatives of officials high in the government.

Angry protests by tribal leaders and charges of profiteering and fraud caused the Federal government to investigate the removal contractors. Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock was ordered to Indian Territory to look into the complaints. Concerning his appointment, John R. Swanton has said: "Since . . . the national administration was willing to look the other way while this criminal operation [the removal] was in process, it made a curious blunder in permitting the injection into such a situation of an investigator as little disposed to whitewash iniquity as was Ethan Allen



Oklahoma at the height of Indian colonization (adapted from John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, map 30)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Hitchcock." Hitchcock arrived in Indian Territory during November, 1841, and his exhaustive investigation yielded evidence of "bribery, perjury and forgery, short weights, issues of spoiled meat and grain, and every conceivable subterfuge [that] was employed by designing white men on ignorant Indians." Hitchcock took his findings to Washington, D.C. where he prepared a report with one hundred exhibits attached and filed this heavy document with the Secretary of War. "Committees of Congress tried vainly to have it submitted to them so that appropriate action could be taken; but it was stated that too many friends of the administration were involved to permit the report to become public. It disappeared from the files and no trace of it is to be found." Swanton's comment on the fate of the Hitchcock report was "the fact that it did not allow the report to be made public and its mysterious disappearance from all official files proves at one and the same time the honesty of the report and the dishonesty of the national administration of the period."

The role of Indian Territory as a tribal colonization zone did not end in the 1840s with the completion of the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes. As the essay by Carol Hampton reveals, the Federal government in 1855 leased the southwestern portion of Indian Territory from the Choctaws and Chickasaws, designated it the Leased District, and colonized thereon several tribes from Texas.

By 1850 the American frontier was thrusting against the Indian Territory. Settlers were raising their familiar demands that the Indian nations be opened to them. Federal officials, more sensitive to settler voter pressure than solemn treaty pledges of permanent tenure in Indian Territory land by the tribes, succumbed. During the early 1850s several bills were introduced in the Congress providing for the opening of Indian Territory to settlement and the creation therein of several new civil territories. Settlers' will triumphed partially in that in 1854 Congress enacted the Kansas-Nebraska Bill which opened the northern one-half of Indian Territory and created the new civil territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Most of the Indian domains in this portion of Indian Territory were liquidated.

A companion bill considered regularly in the Congress during the 1850s provided for the liquidation of the domains of the Five Civilized Tribes, the only portion of Indian Territory which remained, and creation therein of the state of Neosho. Articulate opposition by leaders of the Southern tribes against the Neosho statehood bill led to its defeat, and, for the time being, Indian Territory was saved.

Settlers demanded that those Indians remaining in the new state of Kansas, admitted to the Union in 1861, be removed. Congress was considering the consolidation of tribes from all over the West into the surviving

portion of Indian Territory in order to open new lands to settlers. However, the determination of the Southern tribes to retain their domains thwarted momentarily these plans. The Federal government needed a strong excuse to drive the Five Civilized Tribes to accept other tribes in their vast domains, and this excuse came conveniently in 1861 as a result of the suicidal commitment of the Five Civilized Tribes to the Confederate cause.

The Reconstruction Treaties of 1866, between the United States government and the Five Civilized Tribes, contained clauses which punished these Indian nations for their Southern alliance. As a reparation of war the Federal government took from each of the tribes a collage of lands which, when pieced together, comprised the western one-half of Indian Territory. Also federal offiicials arranged for the Cherokees to absorb several tribes into their remaining domain. And the Quapaws, Senecas and Shawnees were required to surrender portions of their tiny reservations in northeastern Indian Territory for Indians relocated from Kansas. As revealed in the articles authored by Linda Parker and Carol Hampton, between 1866 and 1890 Indian tribes from the Pacific Coast, the far Northwest, the Southwest, the Great Plains and landless tribes from Kansas were exiled to Indian Territory. The aboriginal relocations of the postwar period were no less traumatic and destructive of tribal life, property, life style and pride than those of the period before the Civil War. The late distinguished Indian historian Muriel H. Wright has revealed that when the tribal concentration process had been completed, sixty-seven different tribes resided in the Indian Territory.

CHOCTAW COLONIZATION IN OKLAHOMA

*By H. Glenn Jordan**

The election of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States in 1828 was to have dire consequences for the Choctaw Nation because of the militant tone he applied to Indian removal. Such a solution to the Indian problem was not a Jacksonian innovation, but a Jeffersonian one. President Thomas Jefferson, by 1803, had sought to settle the Indians on small plots of land, and then grant the excess to white settlers. Initially this was justified on the basis of defense for the American frontier, but even when the danger passed, the policy continued. Moreover, Jefferson added the idea that the Indians should move to lands west of the Mississippi River and leave eastern lands totally in white control. Jefferson actively sought to acquire Indian land by encouraging Indians to fall deeply into debt through government trading posts, called factories, and then to accept land cessions in exchange for debt liquidations. Such a policy was successfully applied toward the Choctaws with the treaties of Fort Adams in 1801, Fort Confederation in 1802, Hoe Buckintoopa in 1803 and Mount Dexter in 1805. Jefferson's one chance at real Choctaw removal came in 1808 when the tribe for a short time seemed willing to move west to escape the white advance. When approached by the government with a formal removal proposal, however, the tribe balked.

Secretary of War John C. Calhoun was the principal formulator of the structure of nineteenth century Indian removal. To him, a sound Indian policy included education and removal. The Indian was to be educated in the way of the whites, and as the tribes became more advanced in "civilization," they would realize that complete removal was in their best interests. Educational efforts were begun among the Choctaws under the leadership of American Board missionaries Cyrus Kingsbury and Cyrus Byington. Choctaw schools were supported by churches, the tribe and the Federal government. The Choctaws made good progress toward "civilization," and when Calhoun decided to concentrate his initial removal efforts on a large tribe which had made progress in economic, social and political developments, none were more qualified than the Choctaws.

Calhoun's first two attempts at Choctaw removal were unsuccessful. In October, 1818, commissioners met with the Choctaws to negotiate for land in southern Mississippi, but when the possibility of removal arose, the

* The author is the Western History Library Specialist for the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

Choctaws again hesitated and the commissioners withdrew. Calhoun viewed it as a testing of Indian feelings on removal and was prepared to wait, but public opinion in the South forced him to try again the next year. At this meeting on the Yazoo River, removal discussion again failed in spite of Commissioner Andrew Jackson's warning that the Choctaws must move West or perish in the East.

With continual land demands from settlers and with the realization that not only the fate of the Indians but his own political future was at stake, Calhoun arranged another meeting in 1820 to be held at Doak's Stand on the Natchez Trace in Mississippi. At this meeting where Jackson was again a commissioner, the government proposed that the Choctaws cede approximately one-third of their remaining lands in the East—over 5,000,000 acres—in return for a tract in the West bordered by the Arkansas and Red rivers and extending to the headwaters of the Arkansas—about 13,000,000 acres. Also, financial and technical assistance would be given to each emigrant and to the tribe in the form of weapons, domestic and farm implements, schools, skilled artisans and subsistence for a year as well as annuities.

Nonetheless, the Indians looked upon the treaty with suspicion, and formidable opposition existed. The missionaries, particularly Kingsbury, were fearful of the meeting and advised against removal. Only after the commissioners explained in detail the views and goals of Calhoun and the president in the most favorable light did Kingsbury give his approval for the talks. The commissioners, especially Jackson, intensified their efforts and sought to convince the dubious Indians that ultimately removal would be a salvation for them. Although doubtful that western land was as good as that in Mississippi and suspicious of the government's promises, Pushmataha and other Choctaw chiefs knew that Jackson's predictions for the Indian future were correct, and they gradually came to accept the offer as the only alternative to extermination. This decision, coupled with Jackson's continual threats that failure to accept the proposed treaty could mean the end to Choctaw-American friendship, led the Choctaws reluctantly to assent to the Treaty of Doak's Stand on October 18, 1820.

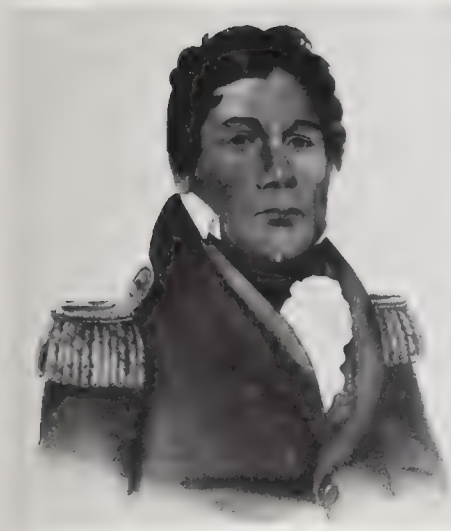
Whites viewed this first removal treaty involving land in Indian Territory as fair and advantageous to all, while the Choctaws regarded it with deep suspicion. The Indians had received much more land in the West than they had surrendered in the East, but the rich black delta land that had been their home was now open to white settlement. Returning home feeling dejected and betrayed, the Choctaw leaders had little faith in the promise that the government would seek no additional land. Promises such as these had been made in the past, and the Choctaws knew that they would be made again in the future.

Almost immediately, however, white settlers in Arkansas Territory protested the treaty. They pointed out that the government had given land to the Choctaws which was already inhabited by whites. Arkansas Congressional delegate James Woodson Burns argued in Congress that the ceded land in Arkansas contained five of the most populous counties and about one-third of the population of the territory. Moreover, it was unfair to force some 3,000 settlers to uproot themselves and move their homes just to please the inhabitants of Mississippi. The Choctaws now refused to abide by the provisions of the treaty because they were uncertain as to how the government would respond to the protests from Arkansas. The Indians feared that boundaries of their promised lands in the West would be severely altered to their disadvantage.

Originally Calhoun tried to avoid an immediate solution to the controversy. He believed that removal should come first, and after that was completed, boundary adjustments could be made. To implement the treaty, Edmund Folsom was employed to guide the emigrants and instructed to settle them as far west as possible so that any boundary adjustments would not inconvenience the settlers. Additional preparatory acts included the appropriation of funds for removal, ordering necessary supplies and promised goods, building a road so travel would be easier and an offer to increase emigrants' rations. All of this was to no avail, however, as the Choctaws refused to move. As a result, in 1822, Calhoun reversed his stand and pressed for the immediate renegotiations concerning the limits of promised Choctaw land in the West for the mutual protection of Indians and whites. So, with the approval of the United States Congress, he appointed new commissioners to meet with and convince the Choctaws to surrender part of their Arkansas cession for land farther west in return for additional considerations from the Federal government.

However, the commissioners failed to secure concessions from the Choctaws, and Calhoun invited the chiefs to Washington, D.C. for direct talks in June, 1824. From their arrival in November throughout the remainder of the year, both parties made offers and counter-offers. Finally in January, 1825, a compromise was accepted which implemented the Treaty of 1825. It provided a $6,000 per year perpetual annunity; an additional $6,000 per year for sixteen years as promised in the Treaty of Doak's Stand; a government waiver of all claims of debts owed by the Choctaws; compensation by the Federal government to all Choctaw veterans of the War of 1812; and Choctaw evacuation of most of their Arkansas lands after a careful survey.

The Choctaws had negotiated well in Washington and had secured a favorable treaty, but the meeting did not end on a happy note. In December, 1824, Pushmataha died and in 1825 Calhoun resigned as Secretary of War.



Choctaw Chief Pushmataha and Andrew Jackson. Pushmataha believed that ultimately removal to the West would be the salvation of his tribe

The Choctaws not only lost a valuable leader in Pushmataha, but an understanding and reasonable adversary in Calhoun. Both of these men were moderates who had the best interests of the Indian at heart and sought ways and means to involve the Indian in the new way of life that was developing with the advance of the whites into the West. Both would be missed in future negotiations when moderation would be replaced by more radical federal pressure.

Under the administration of James Monroe, with James Barbour as Secretary of War and Thomas L. McKenney as head of the newly created Bureau of Indian Affairs, the evolution of the removal structure continued. In 1825 the new boundary as required in the Treaty of 1825 was drawn 100 paces east of Fort Smith, Arkansas and south to the Red River which meant that the Choctaws actually retained little land in Arkansas. The boundary controversy settled, the Federal government renewed its efforts to encourage the Indians to move westward, but again the Indians delayed. To Barbour, this was an acceptable development because now there had arisen a clamor for new negotiations to regain all land held by the Arkansas Territory prior to the Treaty of Doak's Stand. Again there could be heard the demand for more Choctaw land in Mississippi as well.

The escalating removal demands upset and angered the Choctaws. Nonetheless, Congress passed a bill calling for a new meeting with the Choctaws

to obtain more of their remaining Mississippi land. Spokesmen for Mississippi, like Senator Thomas B. Reed, were demanding that the Choctaws cede their land to the state and become citizens or remove themselves immediately to the West. Faced with these new threats, the older leaders, less willing to resist and tinted with the hint of betrayal from earlier negotiations, were replaced in positions of authority by mixed-bloods David Folsom and Greenwood LeFlore who were opposed to removal.

In the fall of 1826, to fulfill the request of Congress, William Clark, Thomas Hinds and John Coffee were appointed United States commissioners to meet with the Choctaws. A committee of thirteen Choctaws listened to the commissioners offer $1,000,000 for their land in Mississippi, transportation to the West and land for those who chose to remain. Still the Choctaws refused the commissioners' terms, as well as a request for a small land cession in the Tombigbee River area.

McKenney, disappointed at still another failure, decided to attempt a new approach. Convinced that acceptance of removal would come only by winning Indian confidence through honest advisers and proving that the abandonment of eastern lands was a wiser course of action for the future, he decided on a personal visit through the Southeast. In October he visited the Choctaws and although warmly received and well treated, his eloquence on removal went unappreciated. His visit did lead to a decline in Indian suspicion toward the whites, though, because he made an excellent impression on the Choctaws. Moreover, he secured an agreement whereby a part of the Choctaws would visit the new land to gain information upon which to make a decision on removal. This party left in the late summer and did not return to Mississippi until December.

While they were gone, Jackson was elected president, moderation and patience in Indian policy vanished and the final structure of removal was erected. From its conception to 1828, removal had been a matter of choice. Although propaganda, bribery, threats and abusive language had been used, military force had never actually been threatened, much less used. The Choctaws had never been forced to accept a treaty and when one was signed involving a transfer of land, Indians on the ceded land had not been required to move West. Under Jackson, immediate Indian removal by any means possible became the foundation of Indian policy.

Jackson's annual message to Congress in December, 1829, contained his views on Indian policy and, although more moderate than anticipated, it did have immediate repercussions. Jackson proposed voluntary removal for the Choctaws and those who chose to remain in the East would be subject to the laws of the state in which they resided. In response to Jackson, Mississippi passed legislation in January, 1830, extending state laws over the

Indians in the state, revoking special privileges they enjoyed, and prescribing penalties for failure to comply. Congress responded as well, for on May 28, 1830, after a long and bitter debate, the Indian Removal Act requiring an exchange of Indian land in the East for land in the West and subsequent removal to this new land was passed. This act did not authorize enforced removal or directly menace the Choctaws, but did strongly recommend removal and empowered Jackson to push for it. To the Indians, the message received from both the Federal government and the states was clear.

Alarmed by state and federal actions, the Choctaws moved to consider their alternatives and to seek united action, but were divided by internal conflict. A meeting in October, 1829, of chiefs, captains and warriors saw conservatives on removal like Greenwood LeFlore and David Folsom either lose positions of leadership or pay lip service to a more moderate stance. This shift was reflected in the refusal to officially condemn Jackson's stand on removal.

LeFlore, deposed as district chief but with a personal following, saw the possible personal advantages to quick independent action. At a March, 1830, meeting of tribal leaders friendly to him, LeFlore managed to have himself designated sole tribal chief, secured a vote for emigration and drafted a removal treaty to be carried to Washington. Under this treaty, in exchange for removal, each Choctaw family would receive 640 acres of land and each male 320 acres which could then be sold for cash; in addition, each captain would be compensated with clothes, weapons and $50.00 annually for four years; each male would receive weapons and farm implements while each female would be given domestic items; and the tribe would be removed and sustained for one year at government expense. To this was added the provision that the Federal government would furnish military protection during the move, and would provide a perpetual annuity of $50,000.

When the treaty provisions were announced, they drew sharp opposition from both the government and the tribe. Jackson, although pleased that the Choctaws recognized the inevitability of removal, believed that the price was much too high. Moreover, as this treaty, if accepted, could become a model for future removal negotiations, and its provisions offered an unacceptable precedent. Mushulatubbe and Nitakechi, district chiefs, attacked both the treaty and the men who drafted it. They acknowledged their hesitancy about removal, but justified it on the basis of a lack of information about the new land. They urged that an exploring party be sent West and, upon their return, the tribe would gladly meet with United States commissioners to discuss removal. Concerned mainly with Jackson's

displeasure, however, in May, 1830, the United States Senate rejected the treaty.

Jackson was ready to take advantage of the Choctaw resignation to the inevitable and to secure a final removal treaty. Following an unsuccessful attempt to get the Choctaws to meet with the president during his visit to Franklin, Tennessee, it was finally agreed that a meeting would be held in Choctaw country in Noxubee County between the two prongs of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Secretary of War John Eaton and John Coffee were to be the United States representatives, and immediately steps were taken to provide for some 6,000 Indians who were expected to attend. The conference also drew some of the worst elements in white society. Paradoxically, the federal officials allowed gamblers, prostitutes and saloonkeepers to attend while they denied the missionaries access to the gathering because the conference was neither the time nor the place for missionary activity. Actually the political influence, not the preaching, of the missionaries was most feared.

When negotiations opened in September, 1830, the commissioners, confident in the decline of Choctaw resistance, were surprised briefly at what transpired, but correct in their initial assumptions. After offering a treaty calling for removal to lands provided for in the Treaty of 1825, provisions for farm and domestic equipment, subsistence for a year and compensation for improvements to Mississippi land and additional land allotments in either Indian Territory or Mississippi for the leaders, the commissioners were shocked when the Indians rejected the offer. The Choctaws urged a perpetual guarantee of their security in their new land and again expressed dissatisfaction with the land in Indian Territory. The commissioners, however, confidently stated that the Choctaws could move or submit to state law. In addition, the Indians were reminded that resistance could lead to military intervention. If the Choctaws were not ready to negotiate within these limits, the commissioners declared the meeting was over and the commissioners were ready to depart.

Choctaw resistance crumbled and the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was signed on December 27, 1830. Under the agreement the Choctaws secured their perpetual guarantee to the western land, but the area was reduced from the extent of territory assigned by the Treaty of Doak's Stand. In return, the Choctaws surrendered 10,423,130 acres in Mississippi. The remainder of the provisions can be divided into four areas: removal would be over a three-year period with approximately one-third of the tribe moving each time and the government would pay all expenses, furnish transportation and supplies, and provide subsistence in the new land for one year; the government would protect the Choctaws in their new land against intruders; the government would provide additional financial compensation

in the form of a continuation of all past annuities, an additional annuity of $20,000 for twenty years, monies to educate forty Choctaw children each year for twenty years, annual payment of $2,500 to employ three teachers for Choctaw schools, a donation of $10,000 to erect needed public buildings in Indian Territory and gifts of personal, domestic and farm articles for all; and land gifts to chiefs and provisions for land allotments for those Choctaws who chose to remain in Mississippi.

With this treaty, the structure of Indian removal had finally been established. From Jefferson to Jackson it had evolved from a desire by Jefferson for voluntary removal, through Calhoun's wish that education would cause the Indians to realize the desirability of removal and accept it voluntarily, to Jackson's policy of forcing the issue.

With removal now assured, some Choctaws announced their intention to leave immediately for the West. This was motivated by a desire to acquire choice land in Indian Territory and to take advantage of high land prices in Mississippi. Although the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek had not been ratified, Eaton allowed the move and made provisions to supply the immigrants. In December, 1830, about 400 individuals traveled from LeFlore's home to Vicksburg, Mississippi, across the Mississippi River and on to Fort Gibson in Indian Territory.

However, for the main body of the Choctaws, there was confusion and political disunity. The chiefs who signed the treaty, LeFlore, Nitakechi and Mushulatubbe, were replaced by George W. Harkins, Joel H. Nail and Peter Pitchlynn, who labeled themselves leaders of the Republican party and opposed to the treaty-signing Despotic party. Jackson refused to recognize the elections and ordered the reinstatement of the old leaders. Also, in an attempt to quiet Indian unrest, the Federal government allowed another expedition to examine the western land. Led by George Gaines, a white trusted by the Choctaws, the group left in October and returned in February, 1831, satisfied with what they had seen.

According to Article Fourteen of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, those Choctaws who desired to remain in Mississippi could register and be assigned land. William Ward, the agent in charge of this task, made a sham of this provision. Desiring total removal, he procrastinated as long as possible and finally allowed only a token registration at best. His blatant ignoring of a treaty provision apparently had government support for Ward was not removed from his position until 1833 when few Choctaws remained in the state.

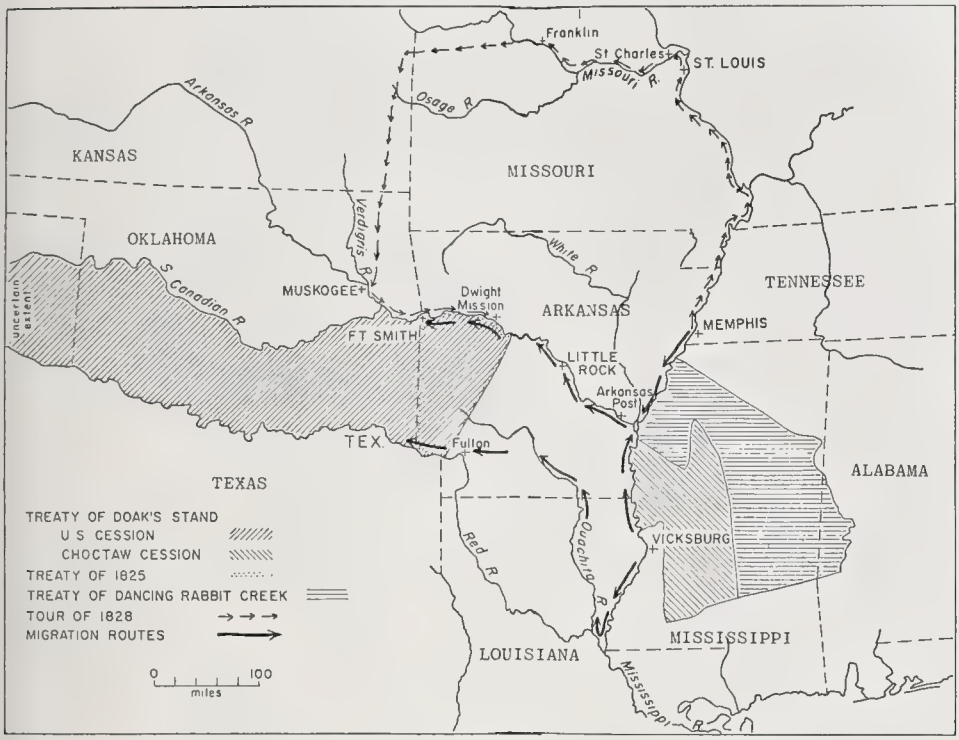
The major problem to be faced was the organization for the physical removal itself, and the initial government efforts were sound. A census was taken and reported in February, 1831, which recorded 18,635 Indians,

whites and slaves to be removed. Supplies were ordered for 6,000 participants of the first exodus. Gaines, superintendent for removal for the East, and his counterpart in the West, Captain J. B. Clark, were to determine the actual routes to be traveled, make arrangements for travel and secure the needed provisions. Wagons and draft animals were secured, Arkansas farmers were encouraged to convert farming efforts from cotton to corn to supply foodstuffs, rest stops complete with storage facilities were constructed and stocked, good sources of water were located, beef and pork were purchased live and driven to these points for slaughter as needed and treaty items such as domestic and farm equipment were ordered.

Yet, by the summer of 1831, prompt removal was threatened by internal disunity resulting from a lack of centralized direction and coordination. The latter was due in part to the fact that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had not been involved. This was reflected in quarrels between Clark and William Colquhoun, an eastern removal agent, over the use of wagons as opposed to a combination of steamboats and wagons to transport the Indians. This conflict, of course, spread to other agents who sided with one or the other or neither and suggested alternatives of their own. Moreover, Arkansas farmers raised their prices for livestock and foodstuffs placing a drain on federal funds. Then in April, 1831, Secretary of War Eaton resigned. Lewis Cass replaced him in August, after Roger B. Taney had served in the interim period.

Although Cass confessed ignorance of the entire removal project, he announced his displeasure with Eaton's efforts and sought to make his own influence felt. Removal agents were hired and fired at will until it reached the absurd point that the fired were being rehired almost before the dismissal papers could be filed. George Gaines was given control over the entire project with the title Superintendent of the Subsistence and Removal of the Indians. This move toward centralized leadership was good, but Cass countered this by appointing Major Francis Armstrong, a personal enemy of Gaines, as the chief removal agent east of the Mississippi River. This produced predictable conflict between the two officials. Chaos increased as politics came to play a greater role in the removal and in the choice of the personnel to direct it. By autumn, Clark and several other officials resigned in total disgust.

Fortunately Cass, realizing that the program was in shambles largely because of his own administrative failures, sought new leadership and direction. The Commissary General of Subsistence, George Gibson, was given centralized command in Washington, D.C. and he, in turn, gave Gaines full authority to act in the field. Civilian control over removal was assured and the initial efforts were saved while new ones were made.



Land cessions involved in Choctaw removal and the routes taken by members of the Choctaw Nation to their new home in the West (from W. David Baird, *Peter Pitchlynn: Chief of the Choctaws*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1972, p. 34)

Gibson began sending supplies to the rest depots, convinced the farmers to lower their prices after warning them that the needed supplies could be secured elsewhere and authorized the improvement of roads and the construction of bridges in Arkansas Territory. Gaines made the decision to use steamboats for travel as far up the Arkansas and Ouachita rivers as possible before switching to wagons. By October the preliminaries were completed and all awaited the arrival of the Choctaws.

Meanwhile the Choctaws were making preparations to move. Either in group meetings presided over by chiefs or captains, or by leaders traveling from house to house, information on removal procedures was disseminated to the Indians. Removal was to be either in parties under government conductors or in groups called commutation parties. The latter groups, directed by guides of their own choosing, would travel independently at their own pace, hunting and camping along the way, and upon arrival, each traveler would receive a $10.00 commutation certificate in lieu of provisions

that were supplied to the government groups. Some 1,000 Indians removed in this manner and often encountered great hardship and difficulty.

In October, 1831, approximately 4,000 Choctaws were on the move west. Those traveling under government supervision collected themselves at various rendezvous points in the Choctaw nation and then, carrying only their personal baggage, as no provision had been made for excess, moved on foot, by wagon and horseback to Vicksburg or Memphis, Tennessee, eastern terminals on the Mississippi River. The bulk of the emigrants arrived at Vicksburg, but some 500 from the Northeastern District concentrated at Memphis. Upon arrival, there was a delay of two weeks while Gaines tried to locate steamboats, a detail overlooked in the confusion of final preparations. By early November, five boats were secured: the *Walter Scott*, *Brandywine*, *Reindeer*, *Talma* and the *Cleopatra.*

With the boats at hand, the routes were now settled as well. To prevent congestion and strain on the supply depots, it was decided to send parties over different routes and on staggered schedules. From Vicksburg, a water-land route was up the Arkansas River through Arkansas Post, where the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers join, to Little Rock, Arkansas by boat and then overland through Washington, Hempstead County, Arkansas to the Red River. Another route was down the Mississippi River, up the Red and Ouachita rivers to Ecore a' Fabre, near present-day Camden, Arkansas by boat, then overland through Washington to Fort Towson in Indian Territory. Another route was all-water from Memphis to Little Rock to Fort Smith. A fourth was overland from Vicksburg through Lake Providence, Louisiana and across southern Arkansas until it struck the Little Rock route between Benton and Washington and then into Indian Territory.

The parties set out in November, 1831. One group followed the overland route across southern Arkansas. A second contingent numbering between 1,500 and 2,000 boarded the *Walter Scott* and the *Reindeer* in Vicksburg to follow the Arkansas River to Little Rock, but because of conflicting orders, both parties were unloaded at Arkansas Post. A third group of about 400 started from Memphis on the *Brandywine*, proceeded up the Arkansas River bound for Fort Smith, but unloaded at Arkansas Post.

Misery, suffering and death had been constant companions for the Choctaws, but they faced their grimmest time at Arkansas Post—due to a severe winter storm. However, government inefficiency and improper planning increased the disastrous results. Arkansas Post was simply not prepared to handle the flood of over 2,500 emigrants, especially with the complications of severe weather. The Indians suffered greatly in the bitter cold. On December 5, six inches of snow fell and on December 10, the temperature dropped to

zero and averaged only twelve degrees for over a week. Inadequate shelter, supplies and clothing forced the Indians to huddle together in open camps while sickness and death thinned their ranks.

The agents, recognizing that nothing could be done to ease the conditions there, decided to move the Choctaws westward. The Memphis group departed aboard the *Reindeer* in January, remained at Little Rock for one day and then started up the Arkansas River for Fort Smith. However, low water halted the boat and the group was put ashore to camp for over a month in the bitter winter. Finally in late February, the Memphis group reached Fort Smith. The remainder at Arkansas Post left on January 13, moved on to Little Rock where additional provisions were secured, and on January 22, they continued West. The journey was a nightmare of slow travel, frequent stops to repair damage to roads and bridges, torrential rains during February, and bitter cold.

Other groups fared as badly. About 1,000 Choctaws on the *Talma* and the *Cleopatra* moved from Vicksburg to Ecore a' Fabre where they unloaded on December 18, but found no agent to receive them. While this group under L. T. Cross waited, word arrived that the initial group traveling overland was hopelessly lost in the swamps west of Lake Providence. Cross and a few volunteers went to their rescue and marched the survivors to Monroe, Louisiana. There Cross collected another small stranded party and rechartered the *Talma* to carry both groups to Ecore a' Fabre.

Arriving there, Cross found some 1,500 exhausted Choctaws with no food, supplies, money or instructions. Acting quickly, he hired wagons and teams and purchased supplies on government credit at exorbitant prices. Then in early February he led his charges 165 miles to Fort Towson through virtually the same lamentable conditions as those which had tormented the earlier groups.

By March, 1832, the first phase of Choctaw removal was completed. On April 30, it was reported that 3,749 Choctaws had been registered at four stations: Horse Prairie, Fort Towson, Old Miller Court House and Mountain Fork. The emigrants had arrived, but the journey had taken a fierce toll. Many had perished and the survivors were sick, exhausted and discouraged. It is not surprising that when the results of the first migration reached the Choctaws in Mississippi, they called it the "Trail of Tears."

With the first phase over, the Federal government sought to evaluate what had transpired. It was clearly evident that the cost had been much too high and the Secretary of War demanded a change in policy. As a result, in April, 1832, the United States Army assumed the task of removal and the civilians were discharged. This was justified on the basis of seeking greater centralized control and more efficiency. On May 15, Secretary of War Cass

Lands of the Choctaws and the other members of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma prior to the Civil War (adapted from John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, map 21)

issued new and more rigid regulations to govern removal. The more important of these rules required the Commissary General of Subsistence to have complete control, subordinate agents appointed to handle each tribe, army officers to work under the agents to handle the accounts, all but the sick and infirm to walk, limitations on the amount of baggage and the number of wagons and supplies to be contracted and their disbursement carefully audited. To implement this new policy, two special agents, Captain William Armstrong and Major Francis A. Armstrong, were appointed to handle removal on the east and west sides of the Mississippi River.

Those Choctaws still in Mississippi, intimidated by reports of hardships on the journey west, and thwarted by Ward's refusal to register and allot land to those who desired to remain, were demoralized. Refusing to farm the land, they spent their money and traded their land for cheap whisky. Also the Choctaws, after selling their possessions and foolishly spending the

proceeds, were acquiring large debts. This presented a danger to the removal program, because all debts had to be paid before an Indian could leave the state. John Robb, acting Secretary of War following the resignation of Cass in June, 1832, ordered federal marshals to oust the white trespassers from the Choctaw Nation. Although successful in removing the whites an extensive trade continued with smuggled liquor.

By August, 1832, the War Department's preparations were well underway for the second removal. Agents were sent into the nation to determine how many would leave in the fall and 9,000 were reported ready to depart. As in the previous year, however, the estimate was too high as less than 6,000 took to the trail. Furthermore, the routes were changed somewhat. As before, Memphis and Vicksburg would serve as the eastern terminals. West of these river towns, the emigrants would either move up White River or by land through St. Francis, or Helena, Arkansas, to Rockroe, Arkansas east of Little Rock. From that point they would continue through Little Rock to either Fort Smith or Fort Towson. Also an earlier departure date was set to minimize the danger of winter travel.

The 1832 removal parties, recipients of better planning and more supplies, left the Choctaw rendezvous points in Mississippi in early October in good spirits. However, these turned to cold fear when word reached them that cholera was sweeping down the Mississippi River Valley. As a matter of fact, the dread disease struck the group bound for Memphis prior to its arrival.

When the group reached Memphis, it divided into two parties and moved to the Rockroe rendezvous. To assist in the movement, two government snag boats, the *Archimedes* and the *Helipolis*, were pressed into service. The *Archimedes* was used as a ferry boat. One party, under William Armstrong, crossed the Mississippi River and set out overland for Rockroe. As in the previous year, torrential rains struck, the roads turned into quagmires and at one point the travelers had to march through waist-deep water. Travel was slow and exposure to the elements and cholera caused several deaths among members of this party. The remainder of the Memphis group boarded the *Helipolis* and traveled up the Mississippi-White river route to Rockroe.

The Choctaws bound for Vicksburg also faced the cholera threat, when on October 26, after crossing the Pearl River, news of the cholera epidemic reached the party. As a result, the agents decided to continue to Vicksburg, but to swing more to the north and west before entering the city to avoid the infected area. Cold, rainy weather with the accompanying mud forced longer exposure to the elements and, in spite of the precautions, cholera still took its toll. Moreover, the new route carried the travelers through an

area where provisions were more difficult to secure. After finally reaching Vicksburg, steamboats carried the emigrants to Rockroe where they arrived on November 12 and 13.

At Rockroe, after securing supplies and resting briefly, parties moved on to Little Rock and then Indian Territory. At Little Rock, the trails divided with larger groups following the Arkansas River to Fort Smith while three smaller parties traveled the old land route through Washington to Fort Towson. One can imagine the spectacle of the long queue of walking emigrants with wagons creaking and rattling under their loads and herd noises of cattle and horses.

By February, 1833, the second phase of removal was over and again it was time for evaluation. Some 5,000 had been removed under the new government regulations while some 1,000 had moved on their own. In the final tabulation, more Indians had been removed and for less money. From an economic view the second phase was successful, although it increased the human misery, suffering and loss of life. By the new regulations, all Choctaws except the sick and infirm had to walk. This, with exposure to the elements and diseases, had greatly weakened the immigrants.

With the 1832 removal completed, federal officials began preparations for the last phase. In June, 1833, surveys were initiated to locate supplies; however, this was difficult because heavy rains had damaged crops so that what was available were higher in price. Still, enough corn, wheat, beef and pork as well as horses, oxen and blankets were obtained to stock the supply depots. Again agents toured the Choctaw Nation seeking to enroll Indians for removal. As before, even with between 5,000 and 6,000 Choctaws still in Mississippi, there were few willing to leave.

Finally in early October about 900 departed for Memphis. Upon arrival, they attempted to cross the Mississippi first on the *Archimedes* and then on the *Thomas Yeatman*, but mechanical difficulties—a boiler explosion on the *Thomas Yeatman*—put both boats out of commission. Thus, while the boats were being repaired, the decision was made to transport the Indians by water to Rockroe and then overland to Indian Territory. The Choctaws, having witnessed the boiler explosion and the death it caused, were hesitant to return aboard. But after three days of coaxing, approximately 300 reluctantly traveled by boat to Rockroe, arriving on November 7. From there the party moved overland to Little Rock and arrived in Indian Territory on December 20. The remainder of the party had marched overland from Memphis to Rockroe and then on to Indian Territory.

This ended the third and final of the formal group removals. On November 22, 1833, Gibson declared that no more could be removed under the

Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek as the three years allowed had lapsed and the agents and employees were discharged.

For the next several years, however, Choctaws continued to move westward. In 1838, S. T. Cross carried a small party on the *Erin* from Vicksburg through Little Rock to Indian Territory. When the Creek disturbance erupted in 1836, there was considerable agitation to move the remainder of the Mississippi Choctaws to prevent their involvement, but nothing was done. Attempts were again made in 1844 and 1845 with some 500 removing in the latter years. In 1845 some 1,200 and in 1846, 1,000 Choctaws followed their tribesmen to the new land. In 1847 some 1,600 emigrated in eight parties and over the next few years several hundred moved annually.

One of the more interesting aspects of Indian removal concerns the final financial settlements. When the total removal bill was tabulated, it amounted to $5,097,367.50, and included removal costs, subsistence for one year, salaries of personnel involved and other charges. For the Choctaw land in Mississippi that was sold to white settlers, the United States government received $8,095,614.89. Under the provisions of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, however, the government was not to profit from these sales. Following legal action, therefore, the federal courts awarded the Choctaws $2,981,247.39, most of which was used to pay legal fees. Thus, not only did the Choctaws suffer the humiliation of being removed from their ancestral homelands and the agony, sickness, misery and death of the "Trail of Tears," but they paid in full all expenses incurred under it.

The initial lot of the Choctaws in Indian Territory was as bad as the conditions during removal. Discontent and unhappiness in the new environment, factional feuds and political quarrels born in the East over the treaty, and removal hardships occupied much of their attention in the West. Inability to rapidly adjust to their new homes, and continued dependence on the Federal government for subsistence prevented normal economic pursuits from being undertaken immediately. Hunger stalked them as floods, epidemics and other disasters repeatedly struck the Choctaws after they reached Indian Territory.

Yet, the Choctaw plight was short-lived and the generation from 1833 to 1861 "presents a record of orderly development almost unprecedented in the history of any people." Soon after removal the Choctaws adopted a new constitution patterned closely after the United States Constitution and the process of government began to advance smoothly. Agricultural prosperity followed as plantations and farms dotted the landscape and corn, cotton and pecans were traded for manufactured goods. Small thriving towns such as Boggy Depot, Skullyville, Eagletown, Doaksville and Perry-

ville grew to supply not only local needs, but those of overland travelers as well. Schools were opened before formal removal had ended and by 1836 eleven schools enrolled 238 children. So rapid did the advance continue that regardless of the agony of the "Trail of Tears," the Choctaws built a nation in the Western wilderness which endured for seventy-five years.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READING

Literature on the Choctaw Indians includes Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970) and Muriel Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951). The book by Wright is not only a good general reference book on all tribes within the state, but the section on the Choctaws is one of the most extensive. Robert S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954) is a good study of all five tribes before their trek westward. H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Stillwater: Redlands Press, 1961) and John Reed Swanton, "Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 103* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931) concentrate on the Choctaws before removal.

To understand removal, one must view it in relation to a developing United States Indian policy and the following books are invaluable: George Harmon, *Sixty Years of Indian Affairs, Political, Economic, and Diplomatic, 1789–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941); Walter H. Mohr, *Federal Indian Relations, 1774–1788* (Philadelphia: AMS Press, 1933); Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790–1834* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962); Annie H. Abel, "History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, Vol. II (1906), pp. 233–438; and S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973).

Any study of Choctaw removal should begin with Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr., *The Removal of the Choctaw Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1970). As the only study of Indian removal as applied to a single tribe, its value is enhanced as it traces the development and application of the idea of removal as applied to the Choctaws from its conception through the administration of Andrew Jackson. DeRosier has several articles as well including "Negotiations for the Removal of the Choctaw: United States Policies of 1820 and 1830," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1960), pp. 85–100 and "Andrew Jackson and Negotiations for the Removal of the Choctaw

Indians," *The Historian*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (May, 1967), pp. 343–362. Grant Foreman produced several works that must be consulted on this topic including *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930); *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933); *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934); and *Indian Removal, the Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953). Although Foreman wrote in a laboring style that is not always easy to read, his books contain an abundance of information much of which is primary in the form of letters, official reports and diary entries. Older but still valuable treatments are Muriel Wright, "The Removal of the Choctaws to Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (June, 1928), pp. 103–128 and John W. Wade, "The Removal of the Mississippi Choctaws," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. VIII (1904), 397–426.

Often references are made to the tricks and deception practiced on the Indians in relation to removal. Mary Elizabeth Young, *Redskins, Ruffleshirts, and Rednecks: Indian Allotment in Alabama and Mississippi, 1830–1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962) examines the allotment and its application to those Indians who chose not to move to Indian Territory. Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1940) is a bitter indictment of the whites for their systematic violation of promises made to the tribes before their removal.

Numerous articles have been produced on Choctaw tribal leaders and many of these have appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Yet two monographs are good on two major Choctaw chiefs. Anna Lewis, *Chief Pushmataha* (New York: Exposition Press, 1959) and W. David Baird, *Peter Pitchlynn: Chief of the Choctaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972) not only provide valuable information on their respective topics but also are good on general Choctaw history.

Several studies have been done on Choctaws after removal by Angie Debo. *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934) is the most complete in that it traces the Choctaws and their history through removal up to statehood for Oklahoma. Muriel H. Wright and Peter J. Hudson, "Brief Outline of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations in Indian Territory, 1820–1860," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (December, 1929), pp. 386–413 should be consulted for conditions in the years immediately after removal while Virginia Allen, "Medical Practices and Health in the Choctaw Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1970) examines an area only speculated on before.

CREEK COLONIZATION IN OKLAHOMA

*By William W. Savage, Jr.**

The history of the Creek Nation before 1836 is a story of tribal factionalism and its unhappy consequences. Groups within the Creek Nation could not agree about the proper way to conduct tribal affairs, and indeed the Creeks spent so much time bickering among themselves that they could not effectively oppose white encroachments onto their ancestral lands. Factionalism weakened the position of the tribe in its dealings with the Federal government and left the Creeks vulnerable to exploitation at the hands of unscrupulous politicians and their agents. Because of factionalism, the Creeks were driven in chains from their lands to the wilderness of Indian Territory, stripped of their possessions as well as their dignity and made to suffer incredible hardship. Certainly factionalism was not exclusively a Creek characteristic—it was common to many Indian tribes—but it was largely to blame for Creek problems before 1836 because it prevented members of the tribe from uniting in the face of relentless adversaries, the citizens of the United States of America and their duly elected leaders.

The Creeks were, in the beginning, a diverse people. The Upper Creeks, who lived along the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers in what is now Alabama, contained bands of Muskogee, Alabama, Pawokti, Tawasa, Muklasa, Koasati, Tuskegee, Shawnee and Yemassee Indians. The Lower Creeks, located on the lower Chattahoochee and Ocmulgee rivers in present-day Georgia, consisted of groups of Muskogee, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Chiaha, Osochi and Yuchi Indians. Together, they created a complex and sophisticated culture, but they were not a unified people.

Unification came near the end of the eighteenth century when the Upper Creek leader Alexander McGillivray directed the fortunes of the Creek Nation. Because of McGillivray's influence, the Creeks remained loyal to Great Britain during the American Revolution. McGillivray himself was commissioned as a colonel in the British army, but he was less a fighter than he was a politician and a diplomat. He realized, perhaps better than any other Creek leader, that if his people were to maintain themselves, they would have to choose their allies wisely. After the Revolution, both the United States and Spain sought to win McGillivray's friendship and to gain trading concessions from the Creeks. McGillivray, with consummate diplomatic skill, managed to pit the contending nations against each other

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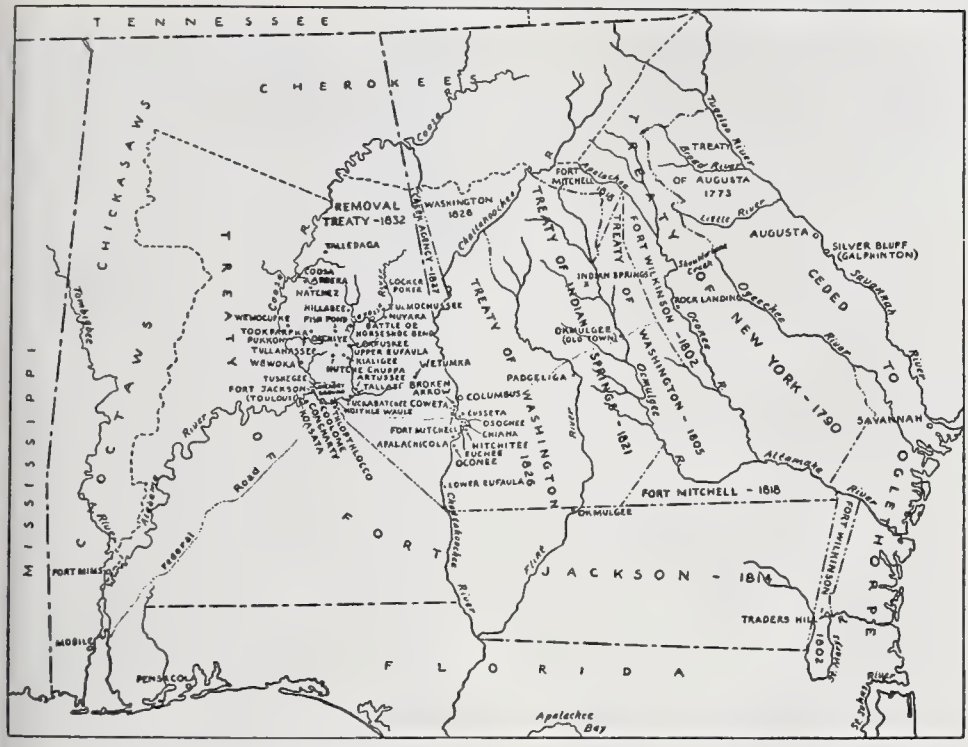


Land cessions of the Creek Nation east of the Mississippi River (from Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1941, p. 378)

by pursuing simultaneous Spanish and American alliances. Still, he preferred the support of European monarchies—they were, after all, well-established and, for the most part, stable—to that of the new and untried United States, the "distracted Republic," as he called it.

In spite of McGillivray's best efforts, diplomacy alone could not preserve Creek independence. Eventually, Spain and Great Britain abandoned the Creeks, and increasing pressure by white settlers in Georgia brought about intense federal scrutiny of the Creek Nation as a barrier to America's westward expansion.

Early in the nineteenth century, the Federal government reached an agreement with the state of Georgia, whereby the United States would purchase Georgia's western lands—later to become the states of Alabama and Mississippi—and eliminate all Indian lands claims within the state "peaceably and upon favorable terms" and as quickly as possible. The announcement of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 stimulated renewed migration to the West, which, in turn, demonstrated the importance of the Indian question. The Creeks soon found themselves surrounded by white

communities, and settlers in those communities were agitating for a federal road to be constructed across Creek land.

The Creeks had ceded some of their land in Georgia in 1802, and they surrendered more in 1805. This led some Indian leaders to argue that the Creek Nation stood in danger of losing all of its lands. Thus, in 1811, William McIntosh, a leading Lower Creek chief whose tenure had begun in 1800, obtained from the Creek National Council a law which forbade further sales of tribal land. Violations, the law decreed, would be punished by death. The severity of the punishment is perhaps a measure of the magnitude of the problem that the Creeks faced. But they were to learn in 1811 that they were not alone.

The Shawnee chief Tecumseh visited the Creek Nation in 1811 to obtain Creek support for an Indian confederacy to oppose the expansion of the frontier. Tecumseh recognized that divisiveness could be fatal to the preservation of Indian sovereignty. To survive, he reasoned, Indians must act together; they must abandon the trapping of white civilization and return to their natural state; and they must stop land sales to white men. Some Creeks were ready for the gospel that Tecumseh preached.

Benjamin Hawkins had been appointed as Superintendent of the Southern Indians and Agent to the Creek Nation in 1796. For fifteen years he had sought to transform the Creeks into an agricultural people by urging upon them the concept of private property and the practicality of building fences to protect that property. He pointed to his own plantation as the example that Creeks should emulate, and in the process he aroused the ire of many Indians who saw nothing wrong with their traditional way of life. Tecumseh's visit polarized this anti-Hawkins sentiment, and Creeks thereafter became identified as either conservatives—those who agreed with Tecumseh's views—or progressives—those who opposed Tecumseh, approved of the white way of life, and favored selling Creek land to the United States. In the midst of this developing factionalism, the War of 1812 began.

The Creek National Council determined that the tribe should remain neutral during the War of 1812. But this was not to be. Returning from a meeting with the Shawnees and thinking that their tribe had declared war, a group of conservative Creeks attacked and killed several white families living near the mouth of the Ohio River. Control of the tribal government was in the hands of the progressives, however, and when it appeared that whites would blame the entire Creek Nation for the conservative massacre, Benjamin Hawkins urged the progressives to punish the guilty conservatives. Several of the conservatives were killed when progressives tried to arrest them. The enraged conservative faction retaliated by destroying some progressive towns. Conservative violence soon spread to white settlements.

William McIntosh during whose term as Creek Chief the Creek National Council forbade further sales of tribal lands

The conservatives who attacked whites became known as Red Sticks, for the small painted sticks that they carried—sticks that were supposed to have magical powers. Most of the Red Sticks were Upper Creeks, and spent much of their time destroying property, such as livestock and mills, that represented white civilization. In August, 1813, when they could find no more property to destroy, the Red Sticks launched a surprise attack on Fort Mims, Alabama, on the Alabama River. One thousand strong, they killed 160 white settlers gathered at the fort, 107 American soldiers, 100 blacks and a few progressive Creeks. Only eighteen people escaped the massacre; they spread the alarm, and white settlers throughout the South prepared to do battle with the Creeks.

The Federal government believed that British agents operating from bases in Florida were providing the Red Sticks with both arms and encouragement. Therefore, the United States put troops, under the command of Andrew Jackson, in the field against the hostile Creeks in a campaign that has become known as the Creek War. But it was not an Indian war in the usual sense of the term. Most of the warriors of the Creek Nation served with Jackson's army, and Chief William McIntosh commanded a regiment of Creeks in operations against the Red Sticks.

The major battle of the Creek War was fought at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River in Alabama on March 27, 1814. Jackson and his army of 2,000 soldiers, frontiersmen and Indian warriors killed nearly 1,000 Red Sticks on a day that saw bodies stacked like cordwood along the banks of a river that ran red with blood. For the next four months, the white army ravaged Upper Creek territory, and in August, 1814, the Red Sticks capitulated to Jackson. At the surrender, William Weatherford, the Red Stick leader, declared:

I am in your power: do with me what you please. I am a soldier. I have

> done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. If I had an army, I yet would fight, and contend to the last. But I have done—my people are all gone—I can do no more than weep over the Misfortunes of my nation. Once I could animate my warriors to battle: but I cannot animate the dead. . . . I have not surrendered myself thoughtlessly. Whilst there were chances of success, I never left my post, nor supplicated peace. But my people are gone, and now I ask it for my nation, and for myself.
>
> . . . your people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man. I rely upon your generosity.

It is worth noting that Weatherford equated the fortunes of the Red Sticks with those of the Creek Nation and, in the process, ignored the appeasement policy of the progressive faction. It is one of the ironies of Creek history that Weatherford should offer to place his reliance upon the generosity of the one man who would be most closely identified with the ungenerous Indian removal policy that would eventually force the Creek Nation to emigrate to Oklahoma.

Jackson's remarks to his troops after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend suggested much about his views of Indians, Indian policy and the benefits of Indian conquest. Jackson stated that:

> The fiends of the Tallapoosa will no longer murder our Women and Children, or disturb the quiet of our borders. Their midnight flambeaux will no more illuminate their Council house, or shine upon the victim of their infernal orgies. They have disappeared from the face of the Earth. In their places a new generation will arise who will know their duties better. The weapons of warfare will be exchanged for the utensils of husbandry; and the wilderness which now withers in sterility and seems to mourn the disolation [*sic*] which overspeads it, will blossom as the rose, and become the nursery of the arts.

Weatherford's perception of the connection between the fate of the Red Sticks and the future of the Creek Nation was an accurate one. The Treaty of Fort Jackson, signed in August, 1814, following the Red Stick surrender, affected all members of the tribe, conservative and progressive alike. The nation was compelled to cede almost all its land in Alabama and in southern Georgia on the Florida border. The Federal government thus successfully segregated the Creeks from their friends and allies, either real or potential, including the Spanish in Florida and the Chickasaws, Choctaws and Seminoles.

Residents of Georgia were furious that the Federal government had not taken advantage of the obvious opportunity to drive the Creeks from the state once and for all, and they blamed Benjamin Hawkins for interceding

on the Creeks' behalf. For his part, however, Hawkins was disturbed by both the severity of the Fort Jackson treaty and the factionalism that had arisen within the Creek Nation, factionalism apparently stemming from his policies as Indian agent. Disillusioned by it all, Hawkins resigned. Jackson, meanwhile, was preparing an expedition against the Florida tribes and, in spite of the Fort Jackson treaty, he succeeded in enlisting hundreds of Creek warriors to accompany him. Clearly, the Creeks had little awareness of what was, or what was not, in their best interests.

In the years after the Treaty of Fort Jackson, William McIntosh emerged as a leader of the progressive Creek faction, but the progressives constituted a minority party within the nation. McIntosh and other progressives had made a number of land cessions to appease the Georgians, but in 1824 the Creek Council reenacted the 1811 law calling for the death penalty as punishment for land sales to whites. The stage thus was set for a final confrontation between progressives and conservatives. The clash came as a result of the Treaty of Indian Springs, Georgia, signed on February 12, 1825.

The Indian Springs treaty stipulated that Creek lands in Georgia and Alabama would be ceded to the Federal government in return for land in Indian Territory. An additional agreement called for a $25,000 payment to McIntosh for his home and improved land contained in the ceded lands. The treaty was signed by McIntosh, fourteen other tribal leaders and fifty men who had no tribal rank; however, it appeared to have the approval of the entire Creek Nation. It had no such approval and was therefore fraudulent, a fact well known to Duncan Campbell and James Meriwether, the federal commissioners who negotiated the treaty. But either Campbell or Meriwether lied to President John Quincy Adams, who, believing the treaty to be genuine, submitted it to the United States Senate for approval.

The Treaty of Indian Springs was ratified on March 7, 1825. Soon afterward the Creek Council met and passed the death sentence on McIntosh, and on May 1 he was shot and killed by a group of Creek warriors led by the chief Menawa. Thus, the leader who had formulated the original law of 1811 died in accordance with its provisions fourteen years later. It was the ultimate irony: McIntosh had drafted his own death warrant in 1811 and signed it in 1825.

There was widespread Creek reaction against the Treaty of Indian Springs. Consequently, a second agreement was prepared, signed by Opothleyahola, Menawa and ten other chiefs in Washington, D.C. early in 1826. It declared the Indian Springs treaty null and void, required the cession of all Creek lands in Georgia to the United States and allowed McIntosh's followers to emigrate to Indian Territory.

Members of the McIntosh faction began leaving for the West almost

Opothleyahola and Menawa—both leaders of the Creek Nation signed the Treaty of Washington in 1826

immediately. The first of the more than 700 Indians, Lower Creeks led by Roley McIntosh, reached Fort Gibson in Indian Territory in February, 1828, and by the following November the migration was complete. During the next two years, some 2,300 Creeks, most of whom were not McIntosh followers, took up residence on the Arkansas River. Many of these people suffered from privation and disease, and they struggled from one day to the next, seeing their livestock and crops destroyed by raiding Osages who resented Creek intrustion into what they considered to be their domain. In the midst of all of this, President Jackson, the victor of Horseshoe Bend, remarked in his second annual message to Congress:

> Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government toward the red man is not only liberal, but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the States and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement.

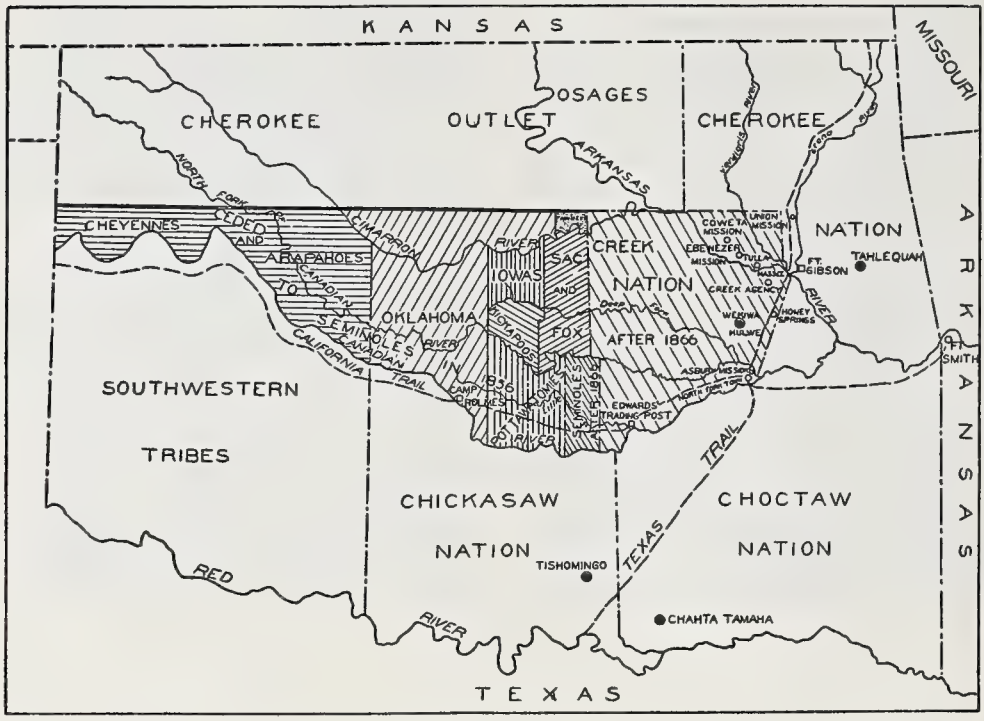
It was, perhaps, a belated response to William Weatherford. Under continuing pressure from federal and state governments, Opothleyahola and six other chiefs in March, 1832, signed yet another treaty in Washington, this

one ceding all Creek land east of the Mississippi River to the United States. The Creeks, now confined to Alabama, agreed to leave that state as soon as possible, but with the Federal government paying the cost. This provision included maintenance at federal expense in Indian Territory for one year. However, no Creek would be forced to leave Alabama. Indeed, every second family might select, if it so desired, an allotment from the former tribal lands and remain in the state.

Three years of general disorder followed the signing of the 1832 treaty, as the Creeks proved once again that they could not act in concert. Factionalism intensified. Some groups prepared to leave Alabama, but others made plans to stay. Still others expressed a desire to abandon Indian Territory and go instead to Texas. While these deliberations progressed, the Federal government made no attempt to prevent white settlers from entering Indian land. In addition to the violence that erupted between various tribal factions, Creeks sometimes attacked whites, and whites sometimes attacked Creeks. Some Creeks allied themselves with the Seminoles in a war against the United States. All of this seemed somehow beyond the control of Creek leaders, and while chaos reigned, white settlers, with federal support, forced the opening of the remaining Creek land.

The sporadic Indian-white violence of these turbulent years gave the Federal government an opportunity to ignore the no-force clause of the 1832 treaty. The responsibility of ending this so-called Creek War fell to Brigadier General Winfield Scott, who, with several thousand regular troops and volunteers, set out for Creek territory early in 1836. Scott's army entrapped more than 14,500 Creeks. Approximately 2,500 were classified as hostiles, put in chains and marched overland to Indian Territory. The long march lasted through the winter of 1836–1837, and hundreds died along the way. The survivors reached Fort Gibson in the spring of 1837, but their arrival did not mark the end of hardship. Once in the territory, some 3,500 Creeks died of exposure or disease.

By the time this portion of the Creek Nation removed to Indian Territory the McIntosh faction had already been in residence for nearly a decade. The pro-McIntosh Creeks had done well. By some measures, they had even prospered. They had established a government and in an 1833 treaty with the United States they had succeeded in defining the boundaries of their land in the territory. Understandably, they were alarmed by the sudden infusion of so many conservatice Creeks, and they quickly entered into negotiations with the newcomers. As a result, conservative leaders resigned their offices in tribal government and agreed to accept direction by the McIntosh faction with Roley McIntosh as principal chief of the Creek Nation.



Until 1866 the Creek Nation in Oklahoma stretched from the Cherokee Nation to the One-Hundredth Meridian. After the Civil War the western portion was ceded to the Federal government (from Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1941, p. 379)

The Creeks—upper, lower, conservative and progressive—were thus reassembled in Indian Territory. The old wounds were slow to heal, however, and until the Civil War the two groups remained distant, meeting together only in the general council. But there were common bonds, too strong to be ignored. Both groups had been uprooted from their ancestral homes, and both knew the problems of adjustment to a new life in the Indian Territory wilderness. Moreover, both had been committed, each in its own way, to the survival of the Creek Nation, and the personal motives or ambitions of one man—William McIntosh, for example—or several men could hardly change that. In the years to come, the Creeks, like every other tribe in Indian Territory, would be called upon to fight new battles in defense of tribal sovereignty. If survival was important before removal, it was no less so in the period afterward, and in the face of that sure knowledge, the Creek people could not long remain apart.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

Any reading about federal Indian policy, of which the story of Indian removal is a part, should include William T. Hagan, *American Indians* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961) and Angie Debo, *A History of the Indians of the United States* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970). The standard history of the Creek Nation is Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), and it may be supplemented by material in several books by Grant Foreman, including *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932); *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933; and *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman; University of Oklahoma Press, 1934). Convenient summaries of Creek history may be found in Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951) and John R. Swanton, "The Indian Tribes of North America," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953). Useful for early Creek history are J. Ralph Randolph, *British Travelers Among the Southern Indians, 1660–1763* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973); David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540–1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967); and John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938). An overview of the pre-removal period is R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), while Creek arrival in the Southwest is discussed in Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936). The treaty of Indian Springs, the treaties of 1826 and 1832, and other documents pertinent to the study of Creek history may be found in Edward Everett Dale and Jesse Lee Rader, *Readings in Oklahoma History* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1930).

CHICKASAW COLONIZATION IN OKLAHOMA

*By Blue Clark**

When Europeans arrived among the Chickasaws, the tribe was in the last stages of the temple mound culture, similar to the other Indians in the southeastern area of the United States. Although one of the smallest tribes there, the Chicakasaws were one of the most warlike. Their preoccupation with war made them a "ferocious nation" to the French who attempted to subdue them. Chickasaw tribal elders held the banner of tribal pride before the youthful warriors of the community, and the tribe repeatedly mauled neighboring tribes as well as European armies sent against them. Related to their Indian neighbors in culture, organization and beliefs, the Chickasaws were linguistically similar to the Choctaws, leading many anthropologists to believe that the two tribes had in the past been one.

The ancient Chickasaw domain stretched from the Ohio River on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, along the Mississippi River on the west and overlay western Tennessee and part of Alabama on the east. The Chickasaws commanded the bluffs near Memphis which controlled passage along the Mississippi River, and thus the vital link into the interior of the New World. The strategic importance of the Chickasaw region led several European powers to attempt to align these Indians with their imperial causes. The English were the most successful. The Spanish, British, French and American rivalry for the allegiance of the tribe altered the Chickasaw life style as the Indians became attached to the trade goods carried into their nation. Slowly the tribe's supremacy gave way to the devastating and demoralizing effects of the encroaching American nation. As the fledgling states within the new republic were formed, their leaders sought to evict Indian tribes from their jurisdiction. However, it was a difficult undertaking because Indians comprised separate nations within the states, not subject to state or federal law.

Viewed with suspicion and envy by whites, the Chickasaws had allied with the British during the American Revolution, and successfully checked the American military thrust south of the Ohio River. American settlers and speculators regarded the Indians as undeserving of their vast holdings as a result of their support for the British in the contest for American independence. Moreover, they scorned the Chickasaws' religion and their implacable opposition to American intrusion.

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Federal officials reacted to the demands of Americans for more Indian land by attempting to change the Indians into farmers after the white example. Federal agents established a model farm among the Chickasaws in 1801 in an attempt to convert the tribe to a sedentary life more attuned to the American frontier. In settling a dispute with the state of Georgia in 1802, over the title of land that later became portions of the states of Mississippi and Alabama, the Federal government entered into a compact with the state of Georgia which pledged the national government to extinguish Indian title to the lands inside its state boundaries. In 1803 the United States government took possession of the vast domain stretching between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains called the Louisiana Purchase. And in the following year the United States Congress authorized President Thomas Jefferson to negotiate an exchange of Indian lands in the East for lands west of the Mississippi, and thus open the eastern Indian lands to white settlement.

The years 1786–1818 were fateful ones for the Chickasaws, in which corruption and erosion of tribal power finally broke Chickasaw resistance to removal. The first treaty between the Chickasaw nation and the United States in 1786 provided that the Federal government would manage Chickasaw affairs "for the benefit and comfort of the Indians" as it saw fit. President Jefferson, who believed the purposes of the young republic would best be served if the Chickasaws were removed and their eastern lands opened to white settlement, suggested to the Chickasaws in 1805 that they remove to the West. However, they refused to consider the idea, and as a result American pressure on the Chickasaws intensified the disintegration of their aboriginal life style. Traders and frontier merchants dealt in goods that tied Chickasaw tastes to the whites and at the same time reduced the Indians' independence. Missionaries attempted to replace old tribal deities and practices with Christianity, increasing tribal disillusionment and confusion. State and federal officials contributed to tribal decay. In 1802 federal officials established a factory, or trade center. Its purpose was to provide the Indians the necessities, and encourage them to acquire debts "beyond their means of paying" in order to pressure them to cede lands. The plan worked for within three years the Chickasaws owed the Federal government some $12,000, and in order to pay, the Chickasaws ceded all their lands north of the Tennessee River for $20,000.

Land was the key to Chickasaw survival as a tribe. The Indians honored their land, buried their dead and venerated their ancestors in it, drew their names of the clans and social relationships from it and sustained themselves from it. Once their land base was destroyed, they began to lose their strength.

Ancient Chickasaw domain (from Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1971, p. 5)

The influx of white settlers depleted the Tombigbee countryside in Mississippi of game, and forced the Chickasaws to turn to farming for food. The men cultivated the fields alongside the women, a blow to their warrior heritage and pride. As the women gradually left their traditional farming for frontier household chores, the Chickasaw clan, dominated by the men who hunted and made war, gave way to a frontier model of family-centered farms, with the men and women adopting the attire of the frontier whites.

Chickasaw culture differed markedly from that of the encroaching Americans. White culture influenced the Chickasaws and contributed to their removal. The concept of private property was one of the new viewpoints introduced to the tribe. Chickasaws loved "living" more than "getting." Their society was not based on private ownership of property and the acquisitiveness required to obtain additional private property. Whites regarded them as lazy for their interest in hunting, tribal rites, games and inattention to what the whites considered important—a private fortune based on money.

The liquor traffic was another cause of concern in Chickasaw society, as warriors indolent and wastrel because of compressing white settlements, turned to drink. One missionary summed up the effects of liquor upon the tribe in this manner: "Strong drink has long been the destroyer of this people. Whiskey, that devouring foe, is the god they adore, and after it they heedless go." However, liquor was but one of the forces working on the tribe that would lead it to relinquish its lands.

The object of federal negotiations through these years always remained the land of the Chickasaws. Tribal cessions of Chickasaw lands began with the 1786 Hopewell Treaty which provided for tribal grant of a tract on the Tennessee River for a trading post at Muscle Shoals. This was followed by an agreement in 1801 in which the Chickasaws allowed government surveyors to mark a road through their lands in return for goods valued at $700, and an 1805 treaty which ceded title to all Chickasaw holdings on the south side of the Tennessee River to the west bank of the Tombigbee River.

The mixed-blood aristocracy that arose from intermarriage, largely with traders residing in the Chickasaw nation, was better able to deal with the changes the whites brought than were the full-bloods. The mixed-bloods accommodated to the whites, while the full-bloods withdrew from the harsh realities of the new world around them and sought refuge in old traditions, customs and finally in rum and brandy supplied by the traders. James Logan Colbert, a Scottish trader, had resided in the Chickasaw nation for forty years, and his sons were a powerful influence among the tribe. Full-blood leaders such as ageing Piomingo attempted to turn back the

tide of changes overtaking the Chickasaws by urging retention of the old customs, but by 1800 the mixed-bloods controlled the tribe's affairs. Associating and conversing with ease with the Americans, James Colbert saw to it that the negotiators had to go through his family to obtain audience with the other tribal leaders. And their assistance was handsomely rewarded with gifts or bribes and with closer ties with the powerful whites.

In the prelude to the negotiations for the treaty of 1818 with Major General Andrew Jackson, a Chickasaw leader asserted that the Indians should be paid for their lands exactly what the whites received for theirs. In reply Jackson angrily declared that "these are high toned sentiments for an Indian" and that they must learn that Indians cannot possess sovereignty over their lands. To ease resistance to the treaty the commissioners gave bribes to the Indian leaders for their cooperation. George Colbert and Tishumastubbee each received $1,000 and Chinubbee Minko got a $100 annuity for life, while each of the signatory chiefs received from $100 to $150 each. Favored leaders received valued goods, including 200 gallons of whiskey and 1,000 pounds of tobacco. Jackson recalled that for successful negotiations, the agents had to address the Indians and appeal "to their fears and indulge their avarice."

The commissioners told the Chickasaws that if they did not voluntarily cede their lands for good bargains now, "Congress will pass a law, authorizing them to take possession" of the land in question without compensation. As a result the Chickasaws agreed to cede all their land north of the southern boundary of Tennessee, for which the tribe received $20,000 per year for fifteen years from the United States government. In negotiating with the Indians from 1801 through 1818, Jackson and other commissioners reduced the Chickasaws to less than 5,000,000 acres and confined them to small tracts in northern Mississippi and northeastern Alabama.

Still government agents, state officials and intruders tried hard to gain the assent of the tribe to abandon its remaining eastern lands and remove west of the Mississippi River. Already small bands from each of the Southern tribes had begun removing across the river to retain their old ways of life free from the influence of the whites. Also bands of Chickasaw hunters resided in the region west of the river for as long as six months before their return to their eastern homeland. In 1805, nearly 200 Chickasaws withdrew permanently and lived a wandering life in the trans-Mississippi West fighting the Osages in wars from 1801 through 1821. By 1816, 100 Chickasaws lived in Louisiana.

Nonetheless, the majority of the tribe resisted and of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Chickasaws were the last to sign a removal agreement and to accept a home in the West. The tribesmen believed that the Great Spirit

granted the Chickasaw territory to them for their preservation and use. Their ancestors were buried there, and thus to part with this land was blasphemy. Besides, the only land remaining to the Chickasaws in Mississippi comprised the core of their ancient homeland and their leaders declared that the tribe would never remove from it. This stance involved the Chickasaws in a long and bitter struggle with the state of Mississippi and the Federal government.

Hoping to retain their lands and life styles the Chickasaws adopted the ways of the whites. They divided the nation into four districts in 1824 to make way for an emerging judicial system and improved political administration as a response to white pressures. In 1820, mixed-bloods on the Chickasaw council, always in the forefront of change, adopted a code of written laws improving law enforcement, protecting private property and providing for a police force. In addition many tribal members accepted Christianity, turned to farming and adopted white life styles. The Chickasaws hoped that by accommodating themselves to white ways, they could remain in their ancestral homeland. However, the changes that proved so detrimental to tribal values provided no protection.

Missionaries, white intruders, state officials and federal agents continued to pressure the Indians to remove. They told the Chickasaws that by going to join their brothers already in the West they would be free of the obvious debilitating influence of the whites, and could retain their old ways. Also the whites assured them that the new land that they chose would be theirs "as long as the grass grows, or water runs," and by leaving immediately they could forestall the inevitable hardship of eventual forced removal. Federal commissioners pledged that the government would pay the expenses for a comfortable journey west and would feed and clothe the Chickasaws for one year after they arrived in their new home in Indian Territory.

As early as 1820 Mississippi had begun the process of extending its laws over the Chickasaws, and between 1828 and 1830 the process was accelerated in an effort to pressure them into leaving. Subjecting the Chickasaws to Mississippi ordinances negated tribal laws forbidding whiskey in the Chickasaw nation, and led to an increase in the liquor traffic. In addition both Alabama and Mississippi during 1829 and 1830 passed statutes which voided Chickasaw government and destroyed the power of the tribal chiefs, and made all Indians subject to state law. Because Indian testimony was barred from state courts and because Chickasaws did not fully understand the intricacies of recently introduced concepts of private property, unscrupulous whites operated profitably among the Indians. Merchants also charged exorbitant prices for goods and then demanded lands as payment.

Like the other threatened tribes, the Chickasaws appealed to President

Jackson for protection as required by federal treaties in setting aside state laws and in ejecting trespassing whites from their territory. However, Jackson replied that he could do nothing, and the Chickasaws must either face state jurisdiction and extinction, or "remove to a country beyond the Mississippi." Previous treaties and pledges had committed the Federal government to protect the Indians' title to their lands, but Jackson, a frontiersman and Indian-fighter, refused to help. As a result, the states accomplished what the Federal government could not. While Mississippi officials acted with impunity, the Chickasaws lacked any recourse but removal.

During 1830, the year the Indian Removal Act became law and the year that the Choctaws signed a removal treaty, the Chickasaws agreed to discuss removal with federal commissioners. John Eaton and John Coffee, men who negotiated several tribal removals, met the Chickasaw leaders at Franklin, Tennessee, together with President Jackson who attended the council to lend prestige to the federal cause. The Chickasaws demanded the equivalent of $1,000,000 in the form of new lands, cash settlements and 160 acre allotments for every man, woman and child. The Franklin agreement finally provided for the cession of the entire Chickasaw homeland in the East in exchange for a western home of the tribe's choosing. Also the United States agreed to pay the cost of removal and to subsist the Indians for one year after their arrival in the new land. In addition each warrior, widow with a family and white man with a Chickasaw family would receive one-half section or 320 acres of land. Single persons each were to receive one-quarter section of land. These allotments were to be held in fee simple and sold if the grantee emigrated. The United States government agreed to pay the Chickasaw Nation an annuity of $15,000 for twenty years. Whites were ecstatic over the pledge of the Indians to remove, and toasted each other that "the dawn of civilization now beams on its horizon" and "the wilderness shall blossom as the rose."

They neglected the fact that the Treaty of Franklin pledged an exchange of land at the choosing of the Chickasaws, and was voided if the Indians could not locate a suitable country to relocate in. To fulfill the treaty stipulations a Chickasaw exploring party investigated portions of Indian Territory and Mexico in search of a new home. However, the United States government refused to consider the attempt to purchase the Mexican territory for the tribe, and the Chickasaw leaders did not find a suitable area in Indian Territory. Therefore, they did not have to remove according to the terms of the Treaty of Franklin.

During 1832 Commissioner Coffee met with Chickasaw leaders on the council grounds at Pontotoc Creek in Mississippi and used the usual ploy

General John Coffee, negotiator of the 1832 treaty with the Chickasaws which resulted in removal

of threatening to withhold their annuity payments until the treaty was signed. Thus, he obtained a new removal treaty—The Treaty of Pontotoc. It provided for the cession of all Chickasaw lands east of the Mississippi River and for the immediate survey of the tribal domain for sale as public land.

While leaders of the tribe again searched the trans-Mississippi region for a new home, each Chickasaw adult received a temporary homestead until he emigrated. Each single man was assigned one section, each family of five or fewer two sections of land and each family of ten or more four sections. Families owning fewer than ten slaves were awarded an additional section of land. The Indians were to receive payment for the improvements on their land allotments. Proceeds from the sale of the Chickasaw land, whether improved homesteads or surplus lands, went into a general fund of the Chickasaw Nation. The Federal government held this money for the tribe, deducting from the fund the expenses of the surveys and sales of the land. From the proceeds of the land sales, the government agreed to advance the Indians the amount needed for removal and for subsistance for one year. The Chickasaws, in effect, paid for their own removal from the proceeds of the sale of their homeland.

During 1834, tribal leaders obtained amendments to the Pontotoc Treaty. These changes increased the size of allotments, included orphans in the allotments, granted fee simple title to their temporary homesteads, allowed surplus land sales to go into the general tribal fund while proceeds from the sale of homesteads went to individual allottees and created a tribal commission to oversee the land sale negotiations. The staunchest opponent of removal, Levi Colbert, died shortly after the negotiations of the treaty revision, and his death was the signal for renewed pressures for Chickasaw removal to the West.

In the Pontotoc Treaty, the Chickasaws ceded to the United States all their domain of 6,422,400 acres. Temporary homesteads occupied approximately one-third of that area, while the remaining surplus land was sold at auction or public sale. These sales began in early 1836 at a price of about $2.00 an acre; however, the final block of land sold in 1854 for as little as two cents an acre under the graduation principle allowing the less valuable land to be sold for less and less. A Chickasaw tribal commission invested the funds from sales of allotted lands of tribesmen considered incapable of understanding and managing their own affairs in government bonds. Sales of unallotted lands brought some $3,300,000 into the general fund which was held in trust by the United States government.

The treaty pledged that the Chickasaws would receive a suitable land west of the Mississippi River as their new home, and expeditions repeatedly searched the Indian Territory for a new homeland. Finally on January 17,

1837, Chickasaw leaders concluded an agreement with their cultural kinsmen the Choctaws. Meeting at Doaksville in the Choctaw Nation, the two tribes agreed that the Chickasaws would pay $530,000 to the Choctaws for the central and western portion of the Choctaw nation in southern Indian Territory.

Pressures escalated for the removal of the Chickasaws while the Indians themselves stalled. Whites, flocking into the Chickasaw Nation to obtain land and money from the harassed Indians, exploited and cheated them. Tribal leaders pleaded with the secretary of war to protect the Chickasaws from the self-serving whites and to force "strict compliance with the treaty" or "their ruin is inevitable." A "host of speculators" scoured the countryside, James Colbert a leading Chickasaw, wrote, lying to the hapless Indians, telling them they must sign a blank deed to their property for $5.00 or less immediately and making promises they never intended to fulfill. "With the exception of the Creek Nation I expect there never has been such frauds imposed on any people as the Chickasaws." He was confident that President Jackson would intercede on behalf of the unfortunate Indians and protect them. He was wrong.

A government observer noted the alarming influx of disreputable whites among the tribesmen presenting "scenes of brutality revolting to every principle of humanity and consequences ultimately to the Indian [which were] truly appalling." Chickasaw chiefs pleaded with the federal officials not to turn the tribe over to removal contractors whose only interest lay in making as much money as possible from the removal process, but to assist the Chickasaws who were "now almost destitute and homeless." Nonetheless, all the pleas of the Indians went unheeded and they fell prey to the relentless removal process.

Symptomatic of the degeneration of the once proud tribe was the death of Emubby, the principal counselor to the tribal chief and a warrior who served frequently with Jackson in his Indian campaigns. In 1837 a white confronted Emubby with his rifle in hand and aimed the weapon at the warrior. Emubby straightened on the back of his horse and shouted, "Shoot! Emubby is not afraid to die!" The white fired and Emubby toppled dead from his horse. Traditionally, revenge among the Chickasaws was a clan duty, and in the past, warriors relentlessly avenged their fallen brothers. Because of this government agents feared trouble—in fact, they expected it—but the Chickasaws sadly and quietly continued preparations for their departure from their homeland without exacting retribution.

One month after returning from negotiations with the Choctaws at Doaksville, the Chickasaws announced that they were ready to remove. A. M. Upshaw, appointed by the secretary of war as the Superintendent

of Chickasaw Removal, immediately made arrangements for stockpiling provisions along the proposed emigration route. Specifications called for the daily ration for each emigrating Indian to include one pound of fresh beef or pork, three-fourths pound of salt pork or bacon, three-fourths quart of corn or corn meal or one pound of wheat flour, and four quarts of salt for every one hundred Indians. Each individual ration cost the government eight and one-half cents. In addition, each party of emigrating Chickasaws was assigned a physician, a conductor and a disbursing officer.

Only about 450 Chickasaws responded to Upshaw's first call for emigrants. Their wagons overflowing with baggage, trailing their slaves, herds of cattle and horses, they departed for their new homes in late July, 1837. Heavy July rains in Arkansas caused the wagons to mire in the deep mud and made nightly camps an unforgetable experience of soggy quarters, wet firewood and miserable conditions. Fever and dysentery extracted its toll, and was blamed by the physician on Indian dissipation rather than on the poor circumstances of travel. Once the road dried, however, the party averaged about thirteen miles a day. Near Little Rock, Arkansas a group of late starting Chickasaws joined the procession and brought the number to nearly 500. There the conductor, John Millard, engaged steamers to transport 170 indigent and ill Indians on the Arkansas River to Fort Coffee, Indian Territory, the next depot for supplies. Most of the Chickasaws who were able to travel veered from the agreed line of travel to follow their own chosen route toward Fort Towson, in Indian Territory near the Red River. They suffered greatly enroute during July and August, pausing daily to bury those who had perished from the hardships of the "Trail of Tears." Finally, Millard's patience gave out as he tried to coax his charges to continue their journey rather than pursuing deer. He threatened to call for troops to spur the Indians onward, and the Chickasaws responded arriving in the Choctaw settlements at Fort Towson on September 5, 1837.

During the late summer and autumn of 1837 federal officials enrolled 4,000 other Chickasaws, concentrating them in four emigration camps in Alabama and Mississippi. Cautioned about the first emigration party's wandering ways, Upshaw contracted for steamers to transport the Chickasaws to the West in November, 1837, after the Indians had reached Memphis, Tennesee. However, the rumor of the sinking of a river boat resulting in the deaths of several hundred Creeks caused the Chickasaws to prefer movement by land. Upshaw threatened to withhold Chickasaw annuities but he could persuade only enough Chickasaws to load four boats as most were adamant in their desire to continue their journey on land. While those traveling by boat reached Fort Coffee in eight days, those moving by land took four to six weeks. The heat, mud, swamps, inedible rations, unclean

A river scene characteristic of period when Chickasaws were removed by steamer

conditions, diseases, the long journey and the numerous problems involved in moving such numbers of people horrified many who viewed the spectacle. One observer of the emigration party commented that "money could not compensate for the loss of what I have seen" the Indians endure on their trek.

While only some 500 Chickasaws actually remained in the area east of the Mississippi River after 1838, small bands of them, reluctant to desert their ancestoral domain, remained in their eastern homelands into the 1850s. In June, 1838, Ishtehopa, a chief with 130 followers, half of whom were fevered, arrived in the West. The following year 300 emigrated. In 1841 some 145 Indians emigrated, while 138 Chickasaws and 56 slaves traveled West in 1844. The trickle of emigrants continued into 1850, sometimes consisting of a single family. Many times the chiefs and leaders of the tribe returned to their old homeland to extricate widows or orphans stranded there under state law or court decree providing for guardians to "oversee" their possessions.

After Upshaw mistakenly discharged his removal staff in early 1838, thinking his task ended, the Federal government granted a $30.00 payment for each emigrating Indian or slave. Some Chickasaws exploited the use of the general fund and the federal allowance to their own advantage. Some

of the enterprising returned several times to Mississippi to conduct business or liquidate their holdings under more favorable terms, converted their assets into slaves and received compensation for transporting their slaves to the Fort Coffee depot.

Though the Chickasaws endured their own "Trail of Tears," they did not experience the travail endured by the Cherokees and Creeks on their removals. Federal officials and concerned Indians learned from the earlier disasters and their attendant toll in misery and deaths. Most Chickasaws left their homeland later than the Cherokee and Creek emigrants, were fewer in number and more easily provisioned. Also they departed earlier in the year and with better preparations.

However, grave difficulties faced the Chickasaws once they arrived in Indian Territory. Bands of Kickapoos, Shawnees, Kiowas and Comanches harassed the new arrivals when they ventured into the western portion of their domain. As a result most of the Chickasaws remained near the Choctaw towns until the Federal government established Fort Washita in 1843 in the heart of their district to provide protection for them. The first emigrant camps, consisting of tents, were at Eagletown, Doaksville and near Fort Coffee. The fourth camp was on the South Canadian River while a fifth camp was situated on the Clear Boggy River.

Fever and dysentery debilitated the Indians in all their camps, and over 500 Chickasaws and Choctaws died of smallpox. Poor planning on the part of the government agents and callousness on the part of the contractors led to malnutrition and suffering. In addition supplies agreed to by the removal terms and paid for by the Indians were of poor quality and inadequate in volume to meet the emigrants' needs. Collusion among government agents and suppliers led to several scandals. Food hastily deposited for the Indians —with no regard for their arrival—rotted at the depots long before the Chickasaws arrived. Those supplies actually issued were often rotten and damaged, so much so that the Indians' horses refused the spoiled food. Some Chickasaws believed that the spoiled rations were distributed with the intent to "kill them all off." Suppliers short-weighted the Indians and vastly over-charged them for goods as well as for transportation. Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock, the officer in charge of investigating the charges of maladministration and exploitation of the Chickasaws, deemed that the government had in effect made the unfortunate Indians the object of a sacrifice for graft, bribes and illicit gain. And a congressional inquiry revealed that the Chickasaw removal, although more humane than that of the Cherokees and others of the Five Civilized Tribes, had cost the Chickasaws $1,500,000. It was nearly fifty years before the tribe received even a

modest settlement to help redress the wrongs perpetrated upon them during their removal.

The experience of having to leave their old homes, of suffering exploitation at the hands of speculators and agents, and of resettling in the western wilderness fragmented Chickasaw society. Their welcome among the Choctaw also began to deteriorate. The longer the Chickasaws hesitated in seeking permanent homes in the western part of the Choctaw Nation, the more the Choctaws resented their presence and grew more hostile to them. Worst of all for the once proud and fearsome Chickasaws was the federal stipend they received in the form of annuities. The general fund arising from the sale of their eastern land made this tribe the richest to come West. While each Choctaw received but $2.00 to $5.00 yearly, every Chickasaw received $14.00 to $18.00—a princely sum on a frontier where specie was scarce. Such wealth cast a pall over Chickasaw initiative, self-reliance and resourcefulness and sapped their resolve. Hitchcock reported that their wealth was a curse because it made the Chickasaws totally dependent upon the Federal government. While reputedly the richest of the southwestern Indians, Hitchcock reported, the Chickasaws "are absolutely in the very worst condition, almost to groveling in poverty and wretchedness." Tribal leaders cursed the federal stipend for making their people beggars; however, many full-bloods continued in their old ways, sustained by the federal dole, and attached to liquor and ball games.

For centuries the society of the Chickasaws underwent change, oftentimes change that was not noticeable because it was so gradual in nature. The coming of Europeans led to rapid changes that resulted in uprooting the tribe and colonizing the Chickasaws in Indian Territory. It required nearly twenty years for these proud people to recover from the trauma of their "Trail of Tears" and to successfully establish themselves in their Western homeland.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

The most recent treatment of the Chickasaws is that of Arrell M. Gibson entitled *The Chickasaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971). It is the definitive ethnohistorical coverage, especially on their earlier history and culture. Standard earlier treatments are Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934) and his *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953). The latter work excerpts the diaries and journals on a day-by-day basis along the various removal trails. An older work is H. B. Cushman, *A History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas: 1899). For the culture and beliefs of the Chickasaws consult the thorough and pioneering ethnological works of John R. Swanton: "Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 43* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911); "Indian Tribes of North America," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952); "Indians of the Southeastern United States," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946); and "Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology, 44th Annual Report* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928). Also see Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951). Mary Young, *Redskins, Ruffleshirts, and Rednecks: Indian Land Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi, 1830–1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961) details the actions of frontiersmen and government officials which dispossessed the Indians just before they removed. John Silver, "Land Speculation Profits in the Chickasaw Cession," *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. X, No. 1 (February, 1944), pp. 84–92, concludes after examining the profits of speculators after they had obtained Chickasaw lands that most were disappointed at the low return on their investments in the land.

Janet Bond, "The Aboriginal Chickasaw Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 4 (December, 1937), pp. 392–414; Jessie Jennings, "Chickasaw and Earlier Indian Cultures of Northeast Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History*, Vol. III, No. 2 (July, 1941), pp. 155–226; Joe Roff, "Early Days in the Chickasaw Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (June, 1935), pp. 169–190, all describe Chickasaw culture. Guy Braden, "The Colberts and the Chickasaw Nation," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (September, 1958), pp. 222–249 and Vol. XVII, No. 4 (December, 1958), pp. 318–335, describes tribal leadership. Gaston Litton, "The Negotiations Leading to the Choctaw-Chickasaw Agreement, January, 1837," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (December, 1939), pp. 417–427; John Parsons, editor, "Letters on the Chickasaw Removal of 1837," *New York Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3 (July, 1953), 273–283; and Joseph B. Thoburn, "Centennial of the Chickasaw Migration," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 4

(December, 1937), pp. 387–391, describe events surrounding removal and the relocation. Muriel H. Wright, "Brief Outline of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations in Indian Territory, 1820 to 1860," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (December, 1929), pp. 388–418 and William Hiemstra, "Choctaws and Chickasaws, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), 33–40, describe the inter-tribal relations of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in Oklahoma.

CHEROKEE COLONIZATION IN OKLAHOMA

*By Tom Holm**

Of the vast amount of literature concerning the history and culture of American Indians, a major portion of it has been devoted to the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes from the Southeastern United States to lands west of the Mississippi during the 1830s. The research done on the subject has been monumental, and, with few exceptions, scholars agree that it was a story of tragedy, treachery and suffering. Of the five long marches to the West, the Cherokee experience has gained the most attention.

Historians, whether social scientists or humanists, have been drawn to the documents concerning the Cherokee removal for several reasons. As social scientists many of them have been attracted by the great numbers of people involved in the migration and the acculturation of the Cherokee people to the ways of the whites. Humanists have been compelled to write about the removal because of the methods by which the Cherokees were forced to submit—their sophistication demonstrated in combating their ejection from the East and the apparent barbarity of the whites involved in concentrating and transporting the Cherokee people to the West. Because of the interest of historians, the Cherokee dispossession has become the focus of the removal period. Even the generic terminology for the trek of the Five Tribes —"The Trail of Tears"—came from the Cherokee language. In Cherokee it was the *nuna dat suhn'yi*, the "trail where they cried."

But to view the Cherokee removal as only an occurrence of the 1830s would be too narrow. The first party of "those who cried" were met by Cherokees who were already established in the West and whose predecessors had immigrated because of white pressures more than thirty years before the Indian Removal Act. The Cherokees who removed to Indian Territory during the 1830s were not the first of their people to arrive in the West, nor would they be the last. They did, however, make up the bulk of a relatively steady forced migration from the East to the West, which began in the 1790s and ended with the coming of a handful of North Carolina Cherokees during the 1880s.

The Cherokees had been familiar with the region west of the Mississippi River for many years. In addition to hunting there on some occasions, their wide-ranging warriors had fought other tribes as far west as the Arkansas River. The earliest documented crossing of the Mississippi by Cherokees

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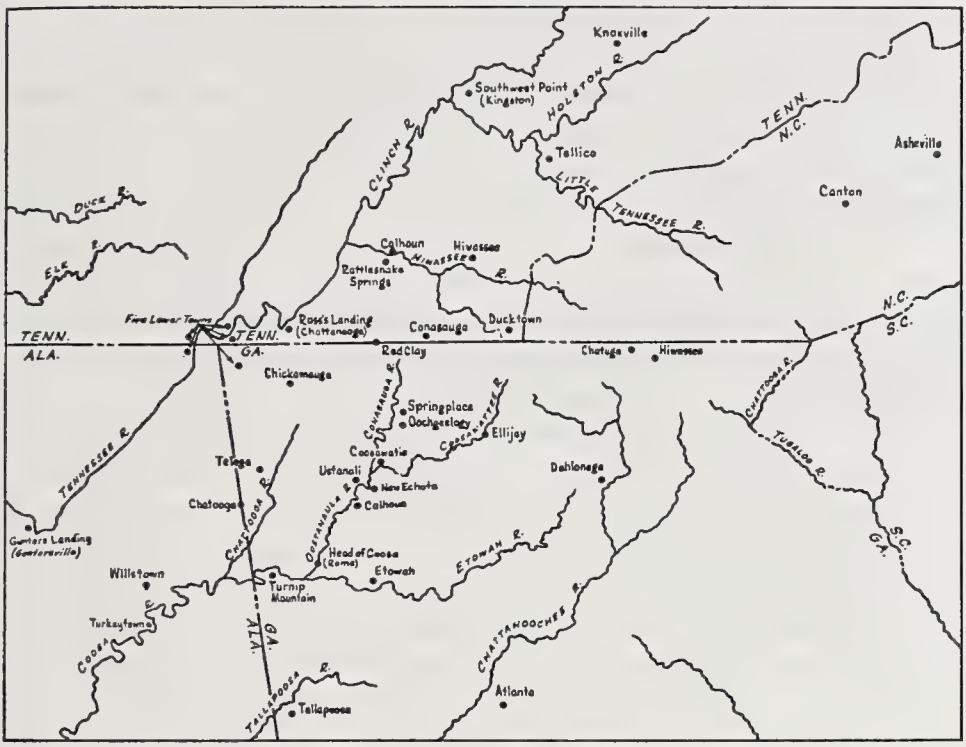


The Cherokee Nation east of the Mississippi River in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (from Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963, p. 111)

was in 1785. Dissatisfied with the Treaty of Hopewell, signed in that year, several families descended the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi rivers until they reached the St. Francis River. They traveled up the St. Francis and settled for a time in the Spanish province of Louisiana. Later these first Cherokee immigrants moved to a location on the White River in present-day Arkansas. At that settlement they would build the nucleus of the Cherokee Nation West, later to be called the "Old Settlers."

In the East, just as the Western Cherokees were building their core settlements, warfare broke out with the white outposts in Cherokee country. Actually there were several wars, short in duration but long in bloodshed. In 1793 peace talks had begun, and, shortly thereafter, new treaties were signed. However, the agreements reached again disenchanted many Cherokees with the idea of keeping the peace with the aggressive white people. In June, 1794, a group of Chickamauga Cherokees under the leadership of The Bowl attacked and defeated at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River a party of whites engaged, at the time, in transporting trade goods and slaves

downstream. The Chickamaugas, who had not yet made peace with the whites, considered their victory at Muscle Shoals a justifiable consequence of war, but the action placed the Cherokee Council in an extremely awkward position. The whites, whose government was then in the process of ratifying a new peace treaty, demanded that The Bowl and his followers be chastised severely. As a result, the Council, in order to keep the peace and prevent more bloodshed, disavowed The Bowl's actions and warned him not to return to the Cherokee towns. Left with no alternatives, for the white soldiers were waiting for their return, the Chickamaugas under Bowl made the journey to the West and eventually settled in what is now Arkansas.

The Bowl's settlement attracted even more dissatisfied Cherokees, and by 1813, seven years before The Bowl would again detach himself from the tribe and move into Texas, almost one-third of the Cherokee people were living west of the Mississippi River. These people came for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was the mounting influx of white people into their homeland in the East. The Cherokee towns in the West offered a refuge in which those Cherokees who wished to retain their culture could do so without hindrance from encroaching whites. But this freedom was relatively short-lived, for Arkansas was soon to be filled with non-Indian immigrants.

Some Cherokees came to the West not only to escape the encroaching white people, but to aid in an ever expanding war against the Osages. As early as 1805, Return J. Meigs, the United States Agent to the Cherokees of Tennessee, reported expeditions leaving to do battle with the Osages in the West. The conflict was not entirely the fault of the Indians though, for in 1808 the United States government further incited the already mounting conflict. Several people from the lower towns in the Cherokee Nation requested to remove to the West, where game was plentiful and white people few. President Thomas Jefferson quickly granted a relatively large tract of land in western Arkansas as compensation for the loss of land in the East. However, this land was rightfully and steadfastly claimed by the Osage people.

In 1809 the arrival of a large contingent of Cherokees in western Arkansas, led by Tahlonteskee, provoked several Osage attacks, which the Cherokees countered. Largely these raids were carried out for the purpose of stealing horses and goods or achieving revenge. At that time both tribes fought in a traditional manner, raiding only as the opposition had raided them. Neither the Cherokees nor the Osages had yet mounted a full-scale attack.

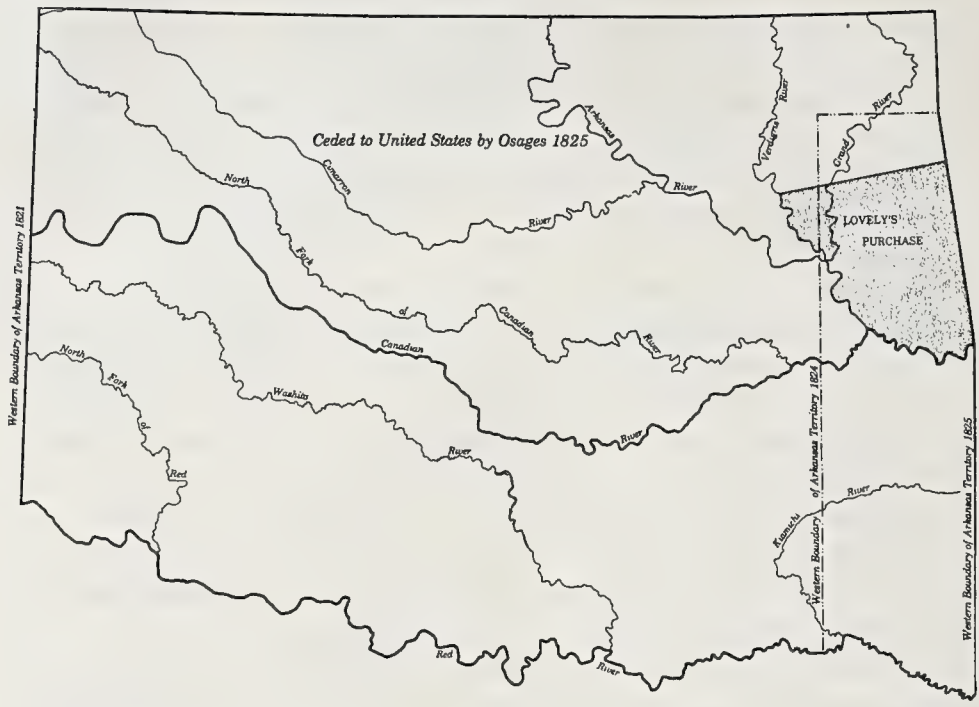
By 1813 the Arkansas Cherokee population had grown to the extent that a government agent was sent to them. The agent, William L. Lovely, had been the assistant to Meigs in Tennessee, and upon his arrival found the

situation between the Cherokees and the Osages to be truly volatile—on the verge of outright war. The Osages had killed a prominent Cherokee, and in revenge the Cherokee Council had ordered the taking of twenty-one Osage lives. Lovely, horrified at the prospect of war and hoping to end the blood letting, arranged several peace talks during the years 1814, 1815 and 1816. However, for the most part his efforts failed, and the conflict expanded.

The influx of Cherokees into Arkansas Territory continued, and the scale of warfare increased. But the leaders of both tribes were increasingly troubled by forces other than their own. The white populations of Arkansas and Missouri territories had greatly increased after 1815. Worse still was the type of white people invading the area. Agent Lovely described them as "among the worst banditti," and further stated that "all the white folks, a few excepted, have made their escape to this Country guilty of the most horrid crimes." These whites, according to Lovely, were stealing horses from all of the surrounding tribes, slaughtering buffalo only for tallow and killing bears for oil. Tahlonteskee, the Cherokee spokesman and council leader, barely succeeded in keeping the young men from warring against the incoming whites, even though war would only lead to government intervention. The Osage leaders Clermont, Tallai and White Hair attempted to prevent war with the whites—but failed. Many of the young men from White Hair's band could no longer be restrained, and their attacks put the Osages in the position of being surrounded by enemies. They were at war with the white people in Arkansas and southern Missouri, the Cherokees, and their traditional enemies the Kiowas and Comanches on the Plains.

Lovely and Governor William Clark of Missouri Territory were called upon by not only the white settlers, but the Cherokees and the Quapaws to end the fighting. In response Lovely and Clark petitioned for the construction of a military post on the Arkansas River, and the War Department concurred in 1816. As a result, the following year Major William Bradford and Major Stephen H. Long were sent to establish Cantonment Smith, which eventually became Fort Smith.

In another effort to quell the ever-expanding war, Lovely called a general council of the Osage, Cherokee and Quapaw leaders. He proposed to the Osages that not only would the United States pay all the claims made against them, but he also promised to pay the Osages for their claims made against the whites and Cherokees. In exchange, the Osages would have to relinquish to the Federal government a large tract of land in what is now western Arkansas and northeastern Oklahoma as a permanent Cherokee hunting reserve. Tired of fighting on all fronts, the Osage leaders conceded to the purchase on July 9, 1816.



Lovely's Purchase—the sale of this area by the Osage tribe was negotiated by William L. Lovely in an attempt to stop the prolonged war between the Osages and Cherokees. Later as more Cherokees moved west, the Osages ceded another tract of land, and the western border of Arkansas was moved eastward (adapted from John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, map 18)

Lovely's purchase, when it became known in the East, created a flurry of discussion between government officials and the Eastern Cherokees. These meetings were designed to gain land cession from the Cherokees and to stimulate their removal to the West. Some land cessions were eventually made, but the Eastern Cherokee leaders refused to consider total removal. Andrew Jackson and Governor Joseph McMinn of Tennessee were the primary white negotiators. However, Pathkiller, the Eastern Cherokee leader, opposed the cessions and refused to take part in the negotiations. As a result, many of the leading Cherokees followed his example, and Jackson and McMinn were left with but a handful of Cherokees, holding rather dubious positions within the tribal government, to sign a new treaty. Nonetheless, the government negotiators exacted a removal treaty on July 8, 1817, and forwarded it to the Secretary of War. Though the Cherokee people soon made it clear that the treaty was not representative of tribal wishes, it was, nevertheless after a good deal of debate, ratified.

In spite of the protests concerning the 1817 treaty, nearly seven hundred Cherokees enrolled for the trip to the West. In one party numbering over three hundred persons was Tahlonteskee's brother, Ooloonteskee, or John Jolly, who favored resettlement but furthermore wanted peace in the new land. Though he went to great lengths to prevent further clashes with the Osage people, his efforts were in vain for the Western Cherokees planned a full-scale assault on Clermont's town.

As a result, a large Cherokee party of over five hundred men which included some Delawares, Chickasaws and whites swept into Clermont's village on the Verdigris River. The majority of the Osage men were away on the annual fall hunt leaving the town relatively undefended. Nonetheless, according to reports the fighting was intense with a large number of dead and wounded. In addition to satisfying their vengeance, the Cherokee force stole what goods they found usable, burned the village and took over one hundred captives, many of which were taken back to the Eastern Cherokee homeland.

The battle on the Verdigris River had far-reaching results. The Western Cherokees and their allies demanded that the Osages remove themselves from the boundaries of Lovely's purchase. Because of this Tahlonteskee entered into negotiations which would give title to Lovely's purchase to the Western Cherokees, and after long debates, which were boycotted by the Cherokee leader who led the attack on Clermont's town, delegates from the Great and Little Osages signed a treaty at St. Louis, Missouri on September 25, 1818. The treaty confirmed the boundaries of Lovely's purchase and paid the claims against the Osage people. Within a few days another agreement was made between the Cherokee and Osage leaders at Fort Smith, in which each side promised an exchange of prisoners and a truce. In addition, the Osages at Fort Smith agreed to grant the Cherokees an outlet through their country to the western buffalo grounds.

The agreements stimulated a new Cherokee migration into Arkansas Territory. The Cherokee treaty of 1817 forced several hundred from their Eastern homeland, and they came West. Most made the journey in flatboats and keelboats, and by 1819 the Western Cherokees increased in number from about 2,000 to an estimated 6,000 persons.

The Cherokee-Osage conflict continued for over a decade. Raiding resumed almost immediately after the treaty of 1818 was signed, and in the early 1820s several large battles were fought. The Cherokees in both the East and the West had formed a strong bond against the Osages, and on many occasions the Easterners had aided their Western brothers. As a result many of the fighting men remained in the West, where some of them gained prominence through their prowess in battle. Others saw the war as a lucra-

tive enterprise because the large Osage towns, which could be raided under the aegis of war, were rich in horses and trade pelts.

In February, 1819, the Eastern Cherokees again ceded large tracts of land to the United States, and additional Cherokees immigrated to the Western towns. The Eastern Cherokees were now left with only a small portion of northeastern Georgia, northwestern Alabama and southern Tennessee, and they were determined to hold these last remnants of their once vast homeland. After Cherokee leaders touched the pen to this treaty, government officials assured them that it would be the final land cession and that no more Cherokees would be forced to remove. But even if the United States government had made no further demands on the Cherokee people, their leaders would remain uneasy, for the state of Georgia fully intended to see the Cherokees removed from its territory.

In the period 1819 to 1827 Cherokee leaders launched a program designed to forestall the Georgia legislature from taking action against their people. Nonetheless, several vicious attacks were made on the Cherokee people by the whites who referred to the Indian people as "savage," "uncivilized" and lacking in the ability to assimilate into the mainstream society. To counteract these attacks and to convince the United States government that the charges were untrue, the Cherokees threw open all previous barriers to missionaries desirous of converting them and teaching them the white ways. By 1826 there were eighteen mission schools in the Cherokee Nation. In addition, the introduction of the Sequoyah syllabary virtually eliminated illiteracy among the Cherokees, and soon the Cherokees were publishing newspapers, books, hymnals and Bibles in their language. English was also becoming widespread through the efforts of Cherokee leaders and missionaries. In government the tribe established a court system, a legislative body, a permanent capitol and in 1827 adopted a new constitution based on the *United States Constitution*.

But the removal of the Cherokee people was far more important to the Georgians than the Cherokees' acceptance of the white ways. In the late 1820s several bills were introduced into the Georgia legislature which were designed to remove Cherokee rights and privileges. The Georgians were heartened in their destructive efforts by the newly elected President—Andrew Jackson. In his first annual message to the Congress delivered in 1829, Jackson called for the removal of all the Southeastern tribes to the lands across the Mississippi.

Within two weeks after Jackson had made his remarks, the Georgia legislature passed a series of oppressive laws aimed at driving all Indians from the state. One statute provided for the annexation of a large tract of Cherokee land on which gold had been discovered and nullified Cherokee

law within its limits. Another law prohibited the Cherokee legislature from meeting and made any other Indian assembly illegal except to discuss removal. Other acts provided for the arrest of Cherokees who influenced their people to reject removal, made it illegal for an Indian to testify against a white man and voided all contracts made between Indians and whites unless witnessed by at least two white persons. Clearly tribal leaders faced a formidable condition which required no less than the complete dissolution of the Cherokee Nation in the East.

During this period the Indian Removal Act was adopted by Congress during May, 1830. Jackson wasted no time in signing the measure and quickly dispatched agents to Indian country to oversee the negotiation of removal treaties. Within two years after the ratification of the Indian Removal Act federal agents had reached agreements with the Choctaws, Chickasaws and Creeks. The Seminoles held out a bit longer, but a faction soon was found among them that committed their people to remove to the West. Nonetheless, the Cherokees remained unswerving in their stand against a removal treaty.

Cherokee leaders Principal Chief John Ross, Major Ridge, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot were adamantly opposed to removal. Major Ridge had taken part in the execution of a headman who had signed a treaty in 1808. His son John Ridge wrote and spoke most eloquently in opposition to the subject. Boudinot, who was the elder Ridge's nephew and editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, wrote scathing editorials denouncing the United States government, the Georgia legislature, the Georgia Guard and those Cherokees who favored migration to the West.

Ross, only one-eighth Cherokee, had been brought up on his white father's estate and was well educated. But Ross thought himself Indian and was in complete agreement with the majority of Cherokees in their stand against removal. As a result, Ross and the other prominent men decided to fight the Georgian legislature and the United States government within the system.

In early 1830 the Cherokee Nation retained William Wirt and Associates of Baltimore, Maryland as legal counsel, and Wirt appealed the case of George Tassel, a Cherokee convicted of murder and sentenced to hang by a Georgia jury, to the United States Supreme Court. Arguing that Tassel was a citizen of a sovereign nation recognized by treaty, and as his crime was committed within the jurisdiction of that nation, Wirt contended that Georgia had no right to try him. The court favored Wirt's argument and cited the State of Georgia to appear in Washington and show cause why the convicted Cherokee should be under the state's jurisdiction. However, Georgia officials ignored the court's summons and executed Tassel shortly thereafter.

John Ross and Major Ridge—two Cherokee leaders who at first opposed removal to the West; however, later Ridge changed his mind and the resulting controversy split the Cherokee Nation for over forty years

Wirt, in anticipation of Georgia's action, had prepared a second test case. He requested an injunction against the state on the grounds that the Georgia legislature had violated the sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation. The case *Cherokee Nation versus the State of Georgia* in 1830 was well argued. Wirt reasoned that because the Cherokee Nation had made treaties with the United States it therefore was sovereign and, although under the protection of the Federal government, independent. Chief Justice John Marshall, even though he recognized the logic of the case, denied the injunction because as he put it, "an Indian tribe or nation within the United States is not a foreign state in the sense of the Constitution, and cannot maintain an action in the Courts of the United States."

The Cherokee Nation, in spite of the setback, was not wiling to submit. Since the enactment of the oppressive statutes the Cherokee people had suffered greatly. During the gold rush many had been forcibly evicted from their homes by some of the worst elements of Georgia society. Several reports of rape, beatings and theft reached the Cherokee leaders, and they protested to state officials but with few results. Finally Georgia's governor sent in the Georgia Guard to quell the disturbances and presumably protect the Cherokee citizenry. The Guard, if anything, acted less civil than the gold seekers. When the confiscation statute was handed down the Guard joined in the forced evictions and were reported to have committed the same crimes attributed to the civilians.

The Georgia Guard attacked Cherokees and forced them from their

homes and expressed contempt for several white missionaries working within the Cherokee Nation by bullying them. In 1831 state officials made the decision to remove the missionary influence, and the Georgia Guard was sent to arrest eleven of the white missionaries who had actively opposed removal. Though the Georgians took the chance of going against the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which enjoyed a great deal of influence in the Federal government, Georgia officials, supreme in their confidence and allied with the President, moved ahead and charged the eleven clergymen with violating the requirement that all missionaries take an oath of allegiance to the state. As a result within a few days all but two—Samuel A. Worcester and Elizur Butler—had taken the oath and were set free. They were given a quick trial and sentenced to four years confinement in the state penitentiary.

Worcester's lawyers, supported with Cherokee funds, appealed the case to the Supreme Court. Presenting the same type of case Wirt had put forward in the *Cherokee Nation versus the State of Georgia* litigation, Worcester's counsel achieved a landmark decision in American Indian law. In the decision *Worcester versus the State of Georgia* rendered in 1831, the high court declared that the state laws of Georgia, when applied to Indian affairs, were null and void and must give way to federal law. However, the state, with the backing of Jackson, did not comply with the Court and continued to hold Worcester in prison.

In actual fact, the Court's decision did nothing to alleviate the Cherokee Nation's woes. The evictions continued and outrage piled upon outrage. Several Cherokees moved to the West during this period, and during the month of April, 1832, more than six hundred people were loaded on boats and shipped via the Hiwassee, Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the West. Still Jackson's agents were at work striving for a removal treaty under the auspices of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, and by 1834 the situation in the Cherokee Nation looked as though they would succeed.

Nevertheless, the majority of the Cherokee leaders remained adamantly opposed to the treaties as offered by the agents, but their unity of purpose began to break under the constant pressure. Some spokesmen have implied that Elias Boudinot, Major Ridge and John Ridge accepted government bribes or were deceived into signing the final removal treaty at New Echota on December 29, 1835. More than likely these leaders succumbed to the overwhelming white force. They had witnessed the removal of Cherokees from their homes at the point of a bayonet. They had observed oppression, strife and affliction among their people and had been powerless to stop it. Perhaps they believed they could sign the treaty, move to the West and be rid of the pressure put upon them by the white people. Maybe they

John Ridge and Elias Boudinot—two signers of the Treaty of New Echota who were later killed for selling the Cherokee homeland in the East

feared that if the tribe did not move West, the Cherokee people, rather than removed, would simply be exterminated by the awesome power of the whites—such a possibility was not impossible. It is difficult to understand their motives and the influence played by the turbulent times upon their decision.

The majority of Cherokees, however, held to the principle that the land was theirs before the white people had come, and after the white arrival, treaties had guaranteed the land to the Cherokee people. In 1819, the Federal government gave its solemn word not to request any more land from the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokees had not broken their promises, and Chief Ross fully intended to make the whites keep theirs. Ross and his followers had seen the misery endured by Cherokees during the early 1830s—he and his family, in fact, had been forced to flee from Georgia. But Ross still clung to the will of the populace and would not waver in his determination to hold the Cherokee homeland.

The Principal Chief continued to protest the treaty, and on several occasions, as he had done in the past to protest the Georgia legislative acts, Ross lobbied in Washington. When Congress and the President had ratified the Treaty of New Echota, and it seemed that all was lost, he nevertheless continued bargaining and desperately tried to gain time. Finally Ross

simply complied with the majority Cherokee will and refused to move.

Reacting to the Cherokee actions, Jackson in 1836 sent troops to disarm and remove the Cherokees to the West and the *nuna dat suhn'yi* had begun. Fenced camps were erected to detain Cherokee people until arrangements for their transportation to the Indian Territory were made and in many cases they were detained until a large enough party was assembled to make the trek to the new lands. Although the white soldiers continued to enforce non-voluntary removal, only 2,000 of the over 16,000 Cherokee citizens were removed to the West between 1836 and 1838. This situation was due to the untiring efforts of Ross to stave off the removal and the surprising attitude of the white soldiers involved in disarming and seizing Cherokee citizens. Even the white commander, John Ellis Wool, considered his job odious. The prospect of herding women and children into the camps was considered unmanly and degrading. The Georgia Guard, of course, was not deterred by these scruples and actively continued to capture and imprison Cherokees.

The delays incensed many government officials. The War Department, in charge of Indian affairs, threatened to cut off annuities to the Cherokee Nation if the removal was not carried out. Still Ross requested a delay, but President Martin Van Buren flatly refused. Instead Van Buren ordered Major General Winfield Scott to take command of the nearly 7,000 troops located in and around Georgia to speed the Cherokee removal along, and in early May, 1838, Scott arrived in Tennessee to begin his assignment.

Not totally unsympathetic to the Cherokee situation, Scott promised the Cherokees that all firearms would be returned to them upon their arrival in the West. In addition Scott's orders, issued to the troops actively engaged in the removal, directed that severe punishment would be handed out to any soldier or guardsman who committed the slightest indiscretion. The general also provided for the care of the sick, insane and feeble. To better control the troops under his command, Scott divided the areas of operation into smaller units. He believed efficiency and control could only be attained if the geographical areas were cut to manageable proportions.

Scott's orders, however, were not strictly obeyed. Reports of rape, robbery and murder continued to be heard from throughout the Nation, and the Cherokees were actually driven into the stockades, which had been built months before. These camps in some areas were reported to have become no less than charnel houses with disease and death rampant throughout. When Ross returned from Washington in July, 1838, he found the situation horrifying, and because of the suffering, the Chief gave in to the government and requested that the Cherokees handle their own relocation. Scott acquiesced at once—the great migration began.

The Cherokee people left for the West in several parties over three main

The Cherokee *nuna dat suhn'yi* or "Trail of Tears"

routes. One journey was by water and followed the Tennessee, Ohio, Mississippi and Arkansas rivers. The two land routes began in Tennessee and went northwest through Kentucky, the southern tip of Illinois and into Missouri. Then one route turned south through Arkansas while the other continued across Missouri.

Winter, disease and lack of supplies complicated the migration. Cholera and measles were reported in addition to cases of consumption, pneumonia and diptheria. The winter weather, especially along the northern routes, was made even more severe by the lack of proper clothing and blankets. The exact number of lives lost on the 1838–1839 removal has not been accurately enumerated. Some of the sick were left behind to be picked up by later parties; a few wandered off the trail never to return; and some Cherokees were reported to have dropped out along the way to settle in outlying areas. One estimate stated that about 4,000 Cherokees, or approximately one-fourth of the entire tribe east of the Mississippi River, died either in the stockades or along the trail to Indian Territory.

The shock and trauma rendered the Cherokee Nation demoralized. Nonetheless, by the time the last groups had arrived in the Indian Territory, three distinct factions were formed among the Cherokee people: One faction, called the "Old Settlers," was made up of those persons who had come before the 1830s; another group encompassed the members of the Treaty party and early adherents to the Treaty of New Echota; and an additional faction was comprised of John Ross and those who came from the East during the 1838–1839 removal. Ross's followers were bitter and irreconcilably angered with the Treaty party. The horror of the forced

march from the East was still fresh in their memories, and on June 22, 1839, the anger flared into violence. On that day three of the principle signers of the Treaty of New Echota were killed: John Ridge was pulled from his house and stabbed repeatedly; Major Ridge was shot several times from ambush; and Elias Boudinot was killed with knives and hatchets near the home of Samuel A. Worcester.

The assassinations set off a frenzy of killings, beatings and lootings. Both sides of the removal controversy were horrified at the prospect of complete chaos coming so soon after the removal. Ross, who was truly saddened by the killings, made special efforts to guarantee the safety of the leaders of both sides. Several councils were called, but there seemed to be no end to the strife. Because of the discord a few Cherokees during the early 1840s sought to remove themselves either to Texas or Mexico. The differences between the factions became so great that the United States government was asked at one point to treat each faction as a separate tribe. Finally an end to the strife came in 1846. With United States agents acting as arbitrators, the factions signed an agreement which united them as one nation. But the rift ran too deep to mend with a single piece of paper, and fifteen years later the Cherokees would split again over the white man's Civil War.

The Civil War renewed the division within the Cherokee Nation, as part of the Nation remained loyal to the North while others fought for the Confederacy. Though Ross did not want to sign a compact with the South, he was forced into doing so. However, he later fled to Washington, where he eventually died. After Ross fled the Cherokee Nation Stand Watie, one of the signers of the Treaty of New Echota, was elected Principal Chief of the Southern faction of the Cherokees. He later rose to the rank of brigadier general in the Confederate Army. The factionalism resurrected by the war continued even after hostilities ceased.

At the war's end another branch of the Cherokee people began to assert themselves. When the bulk of the tribal population moved West in the 1830s, a number of individuals fled into the hills of Tennessee and North Carolina. This Eastern band, after refusing to remove to the West, was allowed to remain in the mountain range on the border of Tennessee and North Carolina. Living apart from their Western brothers, they had little communication with the Cherokees of Indian Territory until after the Civil War. Since 1839 a few white people had made inquiries into the possibility of having the Eastern Band removed to the West; however, generally their special situation was neglected.

The agreements reached after the Civil War between the United States and the two separate delegations from the Cherokee Nation—one composed of the followers of Ross and the other led by Watie—raised the question of

Cherokee lands in the West, including those areas ceded to the United States by treaties in 1828 and 1866 (adapted from John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, map 20)

the Eastern Band. Completely impoverished by the war, even more so than the Cherokees West, they were not allowed to share in the payments made to the main body of Cherokee people. Some white North Carolinians, either out of pity or greed for what land the Cherokees had managed to retain, began to agitate for the Eastern Band's removal. In 1868 a treaty was signed which provided for the relocation of the Eastern Band in Indian Territory. However, Congress refused to ratify this treaty, and the North Carolina Cherokees remained in the East where they continued to go unrecognized as a tribal entity—they had no treaty rights and gained nothing from land sales made by the Western Cherokees.

In Indian Territory, the Cherokee National Council continued to work for an agreement by which the Cherokee people would unite. As a result, the Council issued an invitation to the Eastern Band to move to the territory. Accepting the offer 130 Cherokees from North Carolina moved west in 1871 and five years later nearly 100 more joined them.

Dennis W. Bushyhead, who was elected Principal Chief in 1879, took a very active interest in the Eastern Band. Writing to Principal Chief John Ross of the Cherokees East—not related to Principal Chief John Ross of the removal period of the 1830s—he extended the invitation of 1869 to their entire population. Bushyhead also sent representatives to North Carolina

in order to further the cause of reunification; however, in spite of his concern, Bushyhead's plan failed, and the majority of North Carolina Cherokees refused to leave their homeland. Nevertheless, Bushyhead did welcome a few small parties from the East in the late 1880s, but in terms of numbers, the removal was insignificant. The Cherokee people did not become fully united.

Those last few North Carolina Cherokees who came West marked the end of an era of migration. In fact the history of the Cherokee people between the 1790s and the 1880s seemed to have been a story of almost constant movement and change. The earlier migrations perhaps were not as tragic as those during the period of forced removal, yet they were equally the result of the clash of white and Indian cultures. The Bowl left his homeland in anger and John Ross left his in dejection. Both fought against awesome powers, and although they failed to retain their land in the East, they lived to see their people adapt to the new lands.

The Cherokee people have never had a nomadic tradition. Before the coming of the white people only one migration was related by the "Old Ones." But after the coming of the whites, the Cherokees were put into almost constant motion. Nevertheless, in spite of being exiles in their own country, the Cherokee people adjusted to their new homeland and contributed much to the culture and heritage of the region.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

There is a wealth of literature concerning the history and culture of the Cherokee people. The number of books alone is truly phenomenal. As a starting point in the study of the Cherokee people, the student will find Marion Starkey's *The Cherokee Nation* (New York: Atheneum Publications, 1946) to be essential reading. Purported to be a complete tribal history, it actually concentrates on the removal of the 1830s. Newer and more detailed is Grace Steele Woodward's *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963). This study is also concentrated on the removal period. Although her study was very well researched, it was marred by her obvious bias in favor of the acculturation of the Cherokees to the white culture.

Any study of Cherokee-United States relations should begin with an examination of Charles C. Royce's "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 5th Annual Report* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887). Although very old, it gives a sound chronology of the treaties and land cessions made between the Cherokees and the Federal govern-

ment. Two excellent studies of Cherokee history to the removal period are John P. Brown's *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport: AMO Press, 1938) and *Cherokees of the Old South* by Henry T. Malone (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956).

Concerning the early period of Cherokee removal the student should be directed to Grant Foreman's *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest Before 1830* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936). This study is a history of the interaction of the various groups which were involved in the early settlement of the Arkansas-Oklahoma areas. It points out the reality of an American Indian frontier which preceded the white pioneers and gives a complete account of the Cherokee-Osage war. Also valuable to the study of the early Cherokee migrations is Mary Whatley Clarke's *Chief Bowles and the Texas Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

There are several studies of the removal of the 1830's. The standard volume is Grant Foreman's *Indian Removal: the Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932). It contains much information on the removal of all the Southeastern peoples including the Cherokees. A sound collection of documents concerning the removal is *The Removal of the Cherokee Nation*, edited by Louis Filler and Allen Guttman (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1962). One account, written primarily for the general reader, is Dale Van Every's *Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian* (New York: Morrow, William and Company, 1966).

Studies of the removal period must include some biographical material. Of the principals involved in the removal period the members of the Treaty party have been the most written about. One such biography is *Elias Boudinot: Cherokee and His America* by Ralph Henry Gabriel (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941). Another volume which tells the story of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot family is Thurman Wilkins's *Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1970). Although widely researched the author presents some rather naive assumptions concerning Cherokee culture. The Ridge-Watie-Boudinot correspondence is presented in *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokeee History as told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family*, edited by Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940). Concerning the other side of the removal controversy is Rachel C. Eaton's *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menasha: George Banta Publishing Company, 1914). The life of Samuel A. Worcester is presented in Althea Bass's *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936).

The coming of the North Carolina Cherokees is outlined in Morris L. Wardell's *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938). By and large the above mentioned volumes are essential reading in any study of the Cherokee people. The literature is extremely vast and this list is but a mere starting point.

SEMINOLE COLONIZATION IN OKLAHOMA

*By Louise Welsh**

The story of Seminole removal is particularly complex and lengthy, for the tribe was uprooted and transplanted several times, with attendant complications. The most traumatic of these experiences took place in the late 1830s and early 1840s, but was neither the first nor the last removal for the Seminoles. Tribal origins stemmed from a migration, and Seminole history is filled with a tragic search for a permanent home. The determination of the Seminoles to hold a part of the Florida peninsula for that home against the efforts of the United States to move them beyond the Mississippi River culminated in an epic struggle, the Second or Great Seminole War. During much of that conflict the Seminoles fought the United States Army to a standstill, thus resisting to the bitter end removal to an alien land where they would have to live under Creek control. Finally, most of the tribe was forced to go west, but removal was not ended. The Seminoles were bitterly unhappy with their position as a minority among the Creeks, and other moves had to be made before their independent tribal status could be attained.

It is ironic to note that the Seminoles are Creek in origin. This is true, but at the same time it is an oversimplification. And it is again only partially true to say, as many have, that the Seminoles were runaways from the Creek tribe. The people whom we call Creeks actually made up a confederacy, a loose organization composed generally but not exclusively of elements belonging to the Muskhogean language stock. One such component of the Muskogee Confederacy was the Hitchiti, perhaps the most important of the tribes of southern Georgia. Those belonging to this group spoke a language different from that of the Creeks, although it was Muskhogean in origin. An old legend concerning the migration of the Hitchiti tells how the tribal ancestors crossed a narrow, frozen sea and traveled eastward to the Atlantic, along whose coast the whites later found them. Then the Creeks, who claimed to have emerged from the earth somewhere in the Rocky Mountains, came to the Hitchiti country. Because the newcomers were so warlike, the Hitchiti concluded that it would be wise to make friends, and from that time on they and the Creeks were one people.

Among the numerous elements making up the Hitchiti tribe were the Sawokli, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola and probably the Chiaha. The

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Oconees constituted the nucleus from which the Seminole tribe developed and thus deserve more than mere mention. When first found by the English, these people were living along the Oconee River, near Milledgeville, Georgia. However, sometime after the Yamassee War of 1715 they left that stream to join the Lower Creeks living near the Chattahoochee River. It was from this location that another move farther south was made, where, on the plains of Alachua in northern Florida, a town called Cuscowilla developed sometime after 1750. This migration was led by Secoffee. There are a number of different variations of the name of this leader; whether he was also called Cowkeeper is not completely clear. It is possible that there were two separate migrations under two different leaders. In addition, the Upper Creek towns also contributed to the migration to Florida.

The first of the Intercolonial Wars between Spain, France and England for control of North America, beginning in 1689 and lasting until 1697, ended inconclusively, but revealed very clearly Spanish weakness on the southern frontier. At the outbreak of Queen Anne's War, attacks originating in South Carolina resulted in the destruction of Florida missions with the killing of many Indians and the carrying off into slavery of possibly over a thousand others from the province of Apalache. The peace which came in 1713 was only a breathing spell, for it was soon broken by the Yamassee War, 1715–1716, caused chiefly because of the resentment felt, especially by the Creeks, against the tyrannical practices of South Carolina traders. Old Brim—sometimes known as Emperor Brim—of the Lower Creeks, who had done much to provoke the war, eventually abandoned the Yamassee when Cherokee support was not forthcoming. But for a time it seemed that all of the Southern Indians might be engaged against the English. South Carolina narrowly escaped complete destruction before the governor was able to rally his defenses and convert the Cherokees to his cause. The tide then turned, and at the end of the war the Yamassee survivors settled in Florida. Their new home was well known for its mild climate, the quantity of game, the richness of the soil and an abundance of food. The Spanish too were hospitable, being eager to induce immigrating Indians to settle the lands depopulated earlier by Creek and English raids.

The founding of Georgia as an English colony increased the number of frontier disturbances. During King George's War, Creek allies of Governor James Oglethorpe invaded Florida, found its climate inviting and much of its land vacant. Some may have stayed, according to tribal legend; others returned to the area later, among them the Oconee bands. The Apalachicola, one of the few native Florida tribes to escape almost complete extermination during this chaotic period, joined some of the more recent immigrants, among whom were the Chiaha. There were also arrivals from the Sawokli

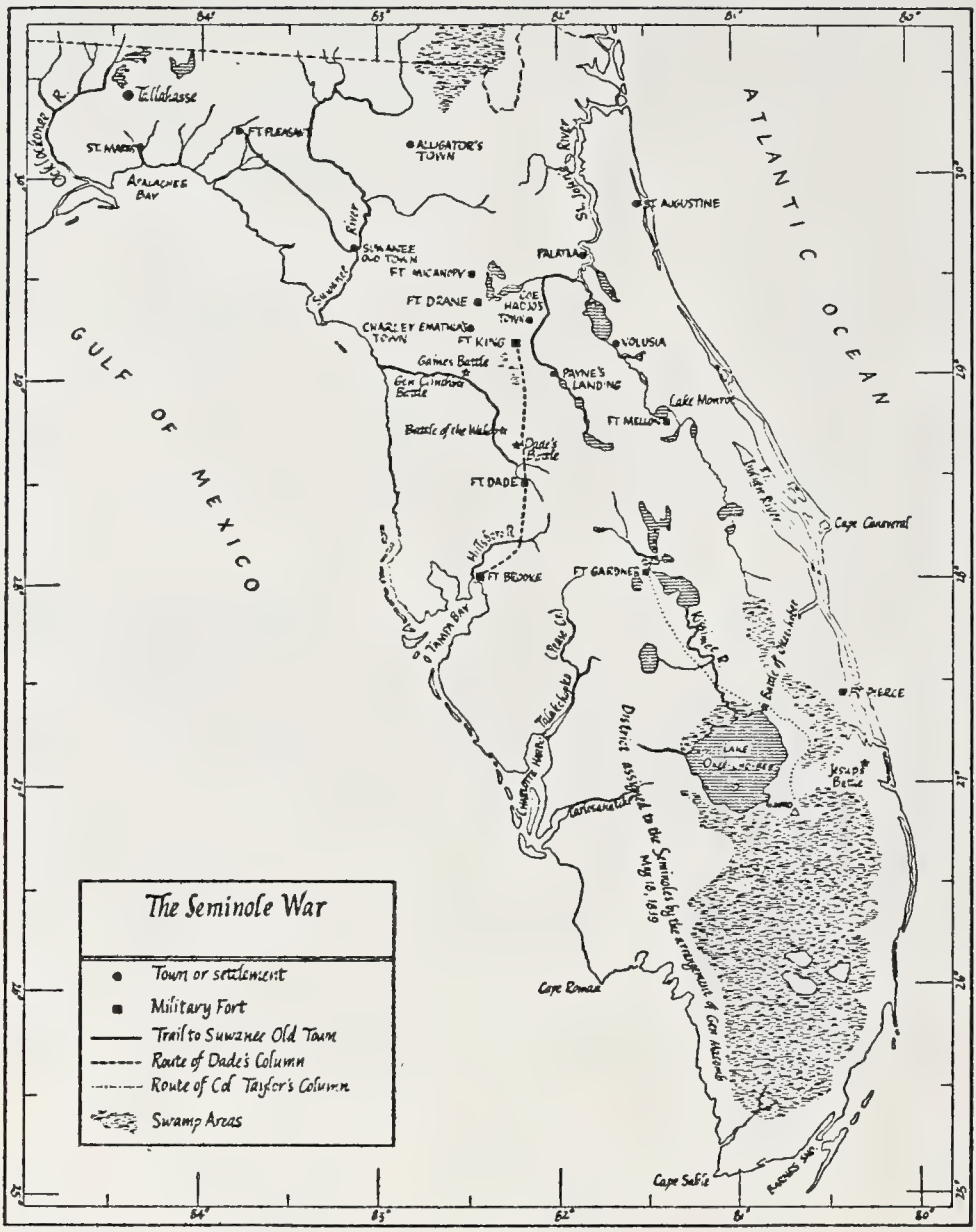
towns on the lower Chattahoochee River; these people became the nucleus for the Mikasuki, destined to constitute one of the most important elements, in terms of power and influence, among the Seminoles. Some Chiaha and Yamassee as well as a few Yuchi may have been associated with the Sawokli emigrants. A town called Mikasuki, noted first in the period from 1763 to 1783, was established on the west side of the lake of the same name in northern Florida. The Mikasuki, however, did not play a major role in Seminole history before the First Seminole War.

By 1762, better than half a century of conflict had dragged to an end with a British victory. It was unlikely that the results of the war, especially Spain's surrender of Florida, were viewed with much enthusiasm by many Indians, particularly the Florida Indians, some of whom were evacuated when the Spanish departed. Nevertheless, Florida was not depopulated at this time, and some of the expatriates may have returned twenty years later, when Florida once more changed hands.

It was during the twenty years of British rule in Florida that Indian Superintendent John Stuart applied the name "Seminole" to the Florida Indians. Several years later, William Bartram used the same terms in referring to the Alachua bands. During the American Revolution the Seminoles were, quite naturally, hostile to the colonists, although Spain, while not officially an ally, did render assistance to the American cause, and, as the result of successful campaigning against the British in Florida, assured Spanish repossession of that area in the Peace of Paris, 1783. By this time, the Seminole element in Florida's population had been augmented by a second wave of migration in 1778, consisting of Hitchiti and Muskogee Loyalists.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Seminoles in Florida had apparently severed all connection with the Creek Confederacy and considered themselves a distinct political unit under a chief whom they called King Payne, probably a son of Secoffee. The story is told of the latter that, when he was dying at seventy years of age, he called Payne and his other son, Bowlegs or Bolek, and charged them to complete his project of killing one hundred Spaniards; he himself had accounted for eighty-six. This may be apocraphal for most of the Florida Indians were friends of the Spanish.

The complete separation of the Seminoles from the Muskogee Confederacy came partially at least as a result of the treaties of New York signed in 1790 and Colerain, agreed to in 1794. In both agreements the Creeks agreed to surrender to the United States all citizens of that country, both white inhabitants and Negroes, who were prisoners in the Creek Nation—the Creeks professing to act for the Seminoles in Florida as well. However, the Seminoles did not recognize this action because they considered them-



Home of the Seminoles before removal to Indian Territory (from Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, p. 149)

selves independent and were, of course, subjects of Spain and not of the United States.

These treaties illustrate that still another ingredient had been added to the mixture of peoples called Seminoles. One of the continuing grievances of English settlers living near the Florida border had been their Negro slaves escaping to Spanish territory, where the government and the Indians received them as free people. This prospect of freedom appealed to slaves in South Carolina and Georgia.

By the time that Spain had regained Florida in 1783, it had become too weak to exercise control over the Seminoles. Border difficulties increased with American settlers and Florida Indians each accusing the other of stealing slaves. After the importation of Negro slaves was prohibited in 1808, prices rose, and slave hunters came often to Spanish Florida. At the same time, the clamor was growing in Georgia and the Southeast generally for the acquisition of that territory from Spain.

When the War of 1812 broke out, Georgians renewed their already zealous efforts to secure Florida and thus eliminate one haven for their runaways. The Spanish government persuaded the Seminoles to retaliate; doubtless little inducement was necessary, for the Indians were well aware that they had much less to fear from the Spanish than from the Americans. British agents were not slow to discover and take advantage of the situation in Florida, and Tecumseh likewise capitalized on it in his efforts to enlist the support of the Five Civilized Tribes. He had some success with a group of Creeks known as Red Sticks; although his eloquence was not required to inflame the Seminoles as their resistance was already an accomplished fact, Tecumseh visited them also.

The Creek War became a reality with the Indian attack on Fort Mims in 1813. Major General Andrew Jackson then moved against the Creek Red Sticks in their position on the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River and defeated them there in 1814. This Creek disaster explains a third sizeable addition to the Seminole ranks in Florida. Some 1,000 defeated Creeks and their families migrated there, perhaps more than doubling the original Seminole population. Among the immigrants came the youth, Osceola, and his family.

By the end of the War of 1812, the amalgamation of the Seminole tribe was complete. Creek now became the speech of all except the Mikasukis, but, in spite of the Creek advantage in numbers, leadership continued to come from the old Oconee. Most of the tribe's components were of Muskogean stock, but there were the Yuchis, one of the few small tribes with a language stock all its own, as well as the remnants of some of the original Florida stocks. Intermarriage with fugitive slaves added yet another

element. There was also some infusion of Spanish blood, though probably not much, for mixed-bloods among the Seminoles were few in number. What resulted from all of these different ingredients was a mixture, volatile and explosive as it was to prove, the product of Creek expansionism and international rivalry and intrigue. The Seminole Nation was born of conflict—and conflict was to dominate its history.

Again, the end of a war did not bring peace to the frontier. During the hostilities, a British officer had built a fort fifteen miles above the mouth of the Apalachicola River; later, this place was taken over by a band of Seminole Negroes and came to be known as the Negro Fort. To counter its activities, the Americans built Fort Scott a few miles from Spanish territory on the west side of the Flint River. Because the Negroes could interfere with the movement of supplies to the American post, its defenders attacked the Negro bastion and managed to set off an explosion in the powder magazine which resulted in heavy casualties. Spain could only protest, and difficulties on the border persisted.

An attack by American soldiers on a Seminole village called Fowltown on the American side of the boundary in 1817 led to Jackson being ordered to bring the Seminoles under control—and the First Seminole War began when the Americans invaded Spanish Florida. The Seminoles fell back before Jackson's advance, with the Red Sticks going to Tampa Bay, the Mikasukis northwest to near Greenville and the Alachuans south into the Florida peninsula. Nevertheless, Jackson marched his army on Pensacola, from whence the Spanish governor fled to Cuba. Concern was felt in Washington that Jackson's actions might imperil the delicate negotiations going on between Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Spanish minister Luis de Onís with respect to the transfer of Florida to the United States, but Spain by now was so weak that she could no longer protest effectively, and in 1819 with the signing of the Adams-Onís Treaty the Florida Indians found that their homeland had again changed hands—and they certainly had no reason to welcome the substitution of the United States control for the weak and distant authority of a Spanish sovereign.

With the acquisition of Florida, Georgians demanded even more vigorously that slaves claimed by them but living in Florida be returned or that the owners be compensated for their losses. Commissioners appointed to negotiate with the Creeks reminded them that the Seminoles were former tribal members and that the Creeks were thus responsible for returning the Negroes who had fled to Florida and for paying for those carried off by the British or killed by the Americans.

More slaves still continued to escape, and when their owners came to Florida to seek them, the Seminoles and Negroes simply fled into the

Unusual patchwork costumes devised by Seminole women with fabric remnants during the time of the Seminole wars

interior. Jackson had made no treaty with the Seminoles at the end of the First Seminole War, and the Indians were in a state of uncertainty about their relationship with the government of the United States. This situation finally produced the first treaty made by the United States with these Indians —the Treaty of Camp Moultrie in 1823. Government officials had decided that the ideal solution to the Seminole problem was to remove them to the West or to merge them with the Creeks. The Seminoles opposed both proposals so vigorously that they were removed to a reservation in the interior of the Florida peninsula below Tampa Bay. No doubt federal officials found it necessary to resort to bribery of certain tribal leaders as one of the methods by which Indian acceptance of this treaty was secured. The Seminoles promised to cede land, to move to the swampy interior and to keep runaway slaves out of their territory. For such concessions they were given annuities along with livestock and farming equipment. The annuities were to continue for twenty years. To the Indians this meant that the treaty was to be in effect for twenty years, and that they would thus be secure in their possession of the Florida reservation for that length of time. By moving the Seminoles to the interior of the peninsula, far away from either coast, the government hoped to sever any intercourse between the

Indians and Cuba, from whence came arms and ammunition in exchange, so it was said, for stolen slaves.

Two years after the treaty was made, government agents pronounced the land given the Seminoles not worth cultivating, a fact of which the Indians were well aware. Not only was the soil unsuitable for farming, but the fugitive slave problem instead of being solved had grown worse. When white owners were allowed to come into the Seminole country seeking their property, Indians and Negroes alike were mistreated, and there were cases where Negroes descended from free parents and grandparents were captured and enslaved.

Meanwhile, the Seminoles found themselves facing actual starvation as the result of a severe drought; often they were forced to choose between remaining within reservation limits and starving or leaving the reservation to steal food from the whites. Pressure for the complete removal of the Southern Indians mounted. Florida was growing in population, and even though the land held by the Seminoles was poor and not suitable for agriculture, the whites wanted the Indians out. The election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1828 added momentum to the removal project, and in 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Bill, which embodied Jackson's well-known views on the subject. It did not provide for forced removal, but anyone acquainted with Jackson's ideas was aware that, if necessary, force would be applied.

The Choctaws and Creeks had already yielded to government persuasion and had signed removal treaties by 1832, at which time Colonel James Gadsden was sent to induce the Seminoles to remove beyond the Mississippi River and join the Creeks in their new home between the Arkansas and the Canadian rivers. This latter feature of the proposal was particularly unacceptable, for the Seminoles remembered that whenever they had fought whites they had also fought Creeks. In addition, they were bitter over Creek slaving raids on Seminole Negroes. In order to understand this period of Seminole history one must always bear in mind the close relationship which existed between the Indian master and his slave. Certainly the slaves had every reason to fear the transfer to owners more demanding and less benevolent.

Gadsden chose Payne's Landing on the Oklawaha River as the meeting place for negotiations with the Indians because it was readily accessible; even so, three months elapsed before enough Seminoles were present to begin proceedings. Eventually eight sub-chiefs and seven chiefs signed a treaty here. Exactly what persuasion was used is uncertain. Micanopy, a descendant of Secoffee and thus a chief representing the authority of the old Oconee, insisted that he had not made his mark, although his name

appeared on the treaty. Charley Emathla, later an advocate of removal, said they were forced to sign. Possibly the Negro Abraham misinterpreted some of the articles. Certainly one factor which facilitated the making of the treaty was that the Seminoles were starving, a condition brought on by drought, a severe freeze in February and consequent crop failures. Yet, in spite of the offer of food if the Indians would agree to removal, the Seminoles insisted on imposing a condition. Relinquishing all their Florida land and removing to the Creek Nation in the West was to depend on the report of an exploring party of chiefs who would go to examine the country. If "they" were satisfied with both the land and the attitude of the Creeks, the remainder of the treaty would be binding. The Seminoles said that "they" referred to the entire tribe; no mere delegation had the power to make such a decision for the whole nation. Other incentives were offered as well as additional annuities: because they were going to a colder climate each Seminole reaching the new home would receive a blanket and shirt. The agreement also stipulated that henceforth the government would pay annuities to the Creeks living in Indian Territory; thus, only by joining them could the Seminoles collect their money, including that which had been promised them earlier and without conditions by the Treaty of Camp Moultrie. Finally, the treaty promised that claims against the Seminoles for slaves and other property supposedly stolen by them would be liquidated up to $7,000.

The actual removal would be accomplished in three years, beginning in 1833, with a third of the tribe leaving each year. The time limit set here caused another complication, for the Treaty of Payne's Landing was not ratified until 1834, two years after it was signed and one year after it was supposed to become effective. Because the government of the United States had not conformed to the provisions of the treaty, the Seminoles believed that they should not have been bound by them either, but they were. The government insisted on compliance from the Seminoles even though the United States had disregarded its part of the bargain.

The Seminole exploring party sent to investigate the proposed new home included Jumper, who was Micanopy's adviser or sense keeper, Charley Emathla, five other Seminoles, Abraham as interpreter and Seminole Agent John Phagan. They reached Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation in the fall of 1832 and found the Stokes Commission awaiting their arrival. Activities provided for the Seminoles included a buffalo hunt, during which they saw enough of the western part of Indian Territory that Jumper could call the Plains Indians there "rogues" and express his surprise that the government would consider placing the Seminoles in such an environment. Later, when the exploring party returned home, they told the

tribe that they found the land satisfactory but did not want to be placed so close to Indians who stole horses.

It is difficult to explain how, in the face of such reluctance, the members of the Seminole party were persuaded to sign the Treaty of Fort Gibson which required the Seminoles to settle in the Creek Nation. Again, it is not clear exactly what methods were used to accomplish this result. Certainly at this time Phagan had a good deal of influence; he may even have threatened not to escort the party back to Florida. Also, some of the chiefs said later that they thought they were signing only a document indicating that they found the land to be assigned them satisfactory. A further questionable point was that the Treaty of Fort Gibson contained a significant change from the wording of the Treaty of Payne's Landing. Instead of the phrase, "should they be satisfied," the new treaty changed the pronoun to "this delegation." It is interesting to speculate by whom this change was made. If, as has been suggested, Phagan was the person responsible, it did him little good, for, although the treaty provided that the removal would be supervised by him, the agent was later removed because of financial irregularities.

It is not surprising that the Seminoles in Florida were shocked when they heard of the Treaty of Fort Gibson, and it is quite logical that they declined to accept it. They knew very well, as did the members of the exploring party, that the latter did not have the power to bind the entire Seminole Nation. According to their interpretation of the Treaty of Camp Moultrie, Seminole status would remain unchanged until 1843, and most Indians did not intend to remove until the expiration of that time limit. Neither did they want to become a part of the Creek Nation in the West. The Seminoles were well aware that the Creeks were anxious to compensate themselves for the $250,000 which the United States government had subtracted from the money due for Creek lands ceded in 1821 in order to pay certain Georgians for runaway slaves supposedly held by the Seminoles. Remuneration might be secured if the Creeks were able to seize enough Seminole slaves.

When anxious and apprehensive tribal leaders asked Phagan to call a general council to discuss the Fort Gibson treaty, he declared that the matter was out of his hands; the agreement had been signed, was binding and removal must be carried out. The Seminoles, however, maintaining that the Treaty of Fort Gibson was no treaty at all, refused to make plans for removal. However, the Apalachicola band led by John Blunt moved to the Trinity River region of Texas where Blunt's uncle had settled years before. By the time that the Seminoles had received the last annuities to be paid them in Florida, they had little trouble in deciding what to do with the money.

It was during this uneasy period when the Seminoles were deciding about what course to pursue that Osceola came into prominence. At a meeting in October of 1834, the new agent, Wiley Thompson, tried to persuade the Indians to prepare for removal. In response, Micanopy, Jumper, Billy Bowlegs and others declared that they intended to remain in Florida; their sentiments were unchanged when another council was held in April of 1835. At this meeting, Colonel Duncan L. Clinch threatened that the United States would use force if necessary, but five particularly influential chiefs still refused, again including Micanopy and Jumper, and Thompson ousted all five from their positions. The agent, of course, had no authority for such a high-handed procedure, and his superiors, even including President Andrew Jackson, repudiated his act. It was when Thompson asked Indian leaders to sign a paper agreeing to removal, and the chiefs were hesitating about what to do that Osceola, not a chief and therefore not entitled to speak, strode to the front of the room where the meeting was being held and thrust his knife through the paper. One version of his words on this occasion has it that he exclaimed to Thompson, "That's your heart and my work!" Another less dramatic account has Osceola saying, "The land is ours, we want no agent." Then he stabbed the paper and said, "This is the way I sign!" There are variations of these stories, and it may be that all are spurious, serving merely to portray Osceola's unalterable opposition to removal and thus faithfully representing the views of the Mikasuki with whom he was closely associated. Certainly, from this time on, Osceola assumed more and more a position of leadership and came to be generally regarded as the oustanding Seminole leader.

At the same time that Osceola's influence among the Seminoles was increasing, his opposition to removal was growing. He and Thompson clashed a number of times, and on one notable occasion Osceola was so furious that he became threatening and abusive, and Thompson had him imprisoned. From then on Osceola was Thompson's implacable foe, determined on revenge, although Thompson soon released him, believing that Osceola would use his influence for removal. Once out of jail, Osceola proceeded to help organize Seminole resistance.

During 1835 the situation in Florida worsened. While Thompson was making arrangements for their removal, the Seminoles were making plans to resist. In the fall came Osceola's famous boast that he had 150 kegs of good powder and did not intend to leave Florida until it was all used up. It is evident that Thompson had waited too long in banning sales of guns and ammunition. A casualty of this disturbed period was Charley Emathla, known to favor removal, who was murdered, probably by Osceola, as an example of what might happen to collaborators. Ironically, Emathla had

Oseola, dressed in full Seminole finery for this George Catlin portrait, was a major opponent of removal to the West

been one of those who had intervened in Osceola's behalf when the latter was imprisoned.

After Emathla's murder, many of his followers fled to Tampa for protection and to await removal; they hoped to go to Texas to live with Blunt's band. However, during this time, some of Emathla's followers fought with Colonel Clinch's soldiers against the hostile Seminoles. It was not until May of 1836 that these migrating Indians were put ashore near Fort Smith, Arkansas having been brought by boat to that point. Twenty-five had died on the way, and many others were ill, their sickness being complicated by heavy rains and poor traveling conditions. When the party reached the new home, only 320 of the original 407 survived. Such voluntary removals among the Seminoles were very rare.

By the end of 1835, the removal controversy was approaching a climax, and in December two surprise attacks heralded the beginning of the Great Seminole War. On the morning of December 28, a band of Seminoles led by Micanopy, Alligator and Jumper ambushed, at a narrow point in the trail, two companies of troops commanded by Major Francis L. Dade on their way from Fort Brooks to Fort King. The initial attack was responsible for the deaths of half of the troops. However, the survivors managed to erect a pine log shelter before the Seminoles returned to the assault; eventually all but three of the remaining soldiers were killed. The survivors saved their lives by feigning death. Although two later died of wounds, the third lived for five years. Indian casualties were light with only three killed and five wounded. Major Dade's guide, Louis Pacheco, was allowed to live, it is said, because he was a Negro. It may also have been because he was secretly allied with the Seminoles and had, in fact, informed the Indians of the route Major Dade would follow.

The second attack took place in the afternoon of the same day, at which time Thompson and a friend were ambushed and killed near Fort King. Osceola was a member of this party, and it was he who scalped Thompson. Other casualties were the fort sutler and two clerks. The Seminoles were away almost before anyone at the fort was aware of what had happened, but Osceola's presence was attested to by his shrill, terrifying war whoop. That night there was a celebration in the Wahoo Swamp, fueled in part by liquor taken with other loot from the soldiers' supplies; scalps were proudly displayed. Attacks such as these were to become a sort of pattern for the entire war—quick, hit-and-run assaults by the Indians, who then melted away almost without a trace, leaving very one-sided casualties for the army. Only infrequently did the Seminoles allow themselves to be engaged in anything resembling a conventional battle.

A third encounter with the Seminoles followed shortly. While the troops

Reconstruction of battle site where the survivors of Major Francis L. Dade's force erected defenses against the Seminoles

of Colonel Clinch and General of Florida Volunteers Robert K. Call were attempting to cross the Withlacoochee River on December 31, they were attacked on both sides of the stream by the warriors of Osceola and Alligator, the Indians opposing very successfully a force more than double their numbers and compelling them to withdraw.

It was after this engagement, while Osceola was recuperating from a wound that he had Abraham write a letter of defiance to be passed on to Clinch: "You have guns and so do we; you have powder and lead and so do we; you have men and so have we; your men will fight, and so will ours until the last drop of the Seminoles' blood has moistened the dust of his hunting ground." He also informed the Colonel that Seminole resistance might continue for five years; his estimate proved remarkably accurate, although Osceola did not live to see his prophecy fulfilled.

A second force under Brigadier General Edmund P. Gaines later was besieged at the Withlocoochee crossing in February of 1836. Here, early in

March, Seminole chiefs asked for a parley, Jumper acting in behalf of the Indians and Captain Ethan Allen Hitchcock for the army. Hitchcock was convinced that Jumper and Osceola were sincere when they declared that enough men had been killed; however, just as the meeting was ending, Clinch's advance guard arrived with aid for Gaines and fired on the Indians. This effectively brought peace negotiations to a halt.

As a result of a loss of confidence in either the regular army commander, Clinch, or in Call of the Florida volunteers, who had received some criticism for failure to come to the aid of the regulars at the first Withlacoochee battle, the task of pacifying Florida now fell to Brigadier General Winfield Scott. During the spring of 1836 Scott attempted to carry out a three-pronged advance into the Seminole country, hoping to drive the Indians into northern Florida where white forces could attack them more easily. The Seminoles, however, did not fight according to Scott's rules; they evaded the army and raided the countryside in its wake. The Indians were simply too vigilant and too active to allow themselves to be caught by the more slowly moving army. In two months Scott accomplished little, and when he was sent to Alabama to command against the Creeks, he was doubtless not unhappy at leaving Florida, particularly at the beginning of the long, hot summer, a season which was an ally of the Indians but always a time of misery and distress for the army. Scott was replaced by Brigadier General Thomas S. Jesup, with Call acting commander until Jesup should arrive.

Jesup, commanding 10,000 men, acted vigorously, and after an engagement near the Great Cypress Swamp in January of 1837, which was rather more costly than usual for the Seminoles in terms of supplies captured, an amnesty offer was made to the Indians. Because of mutual distrust, negotiations were painfully slow. Finally, on March 6, both parties signed an agreement to the effect that the fighting should stop, and the Seminoles would remove. They were to gather at Tampa Bay in April for that purpose. One provision of the agreement promised the Seminoles that they and their allies would be secure in their property and that their Negroes should accompany them to the West. But there was still the unsolved problem of runaway slaves joining the Seminoles after the war's beginning. At first, Jesup had refused to allow any whites to enter the Indian country, but pressure from slaveholders persuaded him to permit some slave hunters to enter the Seminole camps. Such an action was fatal to peace plans; the Indians declared that Jesup had violated his promise. First the Negroes left the site, then the Indians. Armed warriors, probably Mikasuki, virtually abducted Chiefs Micanopy, Jumper and Cloud.

Disappointed that his announcement of the war's end was thus made

ineffective, Jesup tried another method of dealing with the Seminoles and offered to free their slaves if they would come under his protection and leave the hostile camps. During the hot Florida summer, Jesup was quite willing to let the Creeks in his service carry out most of the activity, consisting in the main of the seizure of slaves and livestock. However, Jesup soon discovered to his astonishment that he and the government were involved in the slave trade, because he found it better to pay the Creeks for the captured blacks, later sending the slaves west as Seminole property. Jesup was already on the defensive about this policy; soon an occurrence of even more controversial nature brought increased criticism from the public.

In September of 1837, troops found and captured old King Philip and some thirty of his band. Philip's son, Coa-coo-chee or Wildcat, reached St. Augustine three weeks later under a flag of truce to seek a meeting with his father. Instead, he was put in prison, but he was later allowed to make contact with other Indians to encourage them to remove. As a result, in October Osceola requested a conference and asked that General of Volunteers Joseph M. Hernandez come without a military escort to meet him for a talk. Jesup, however, insisted that Hernandez have a strong enough force to handle any contingency. Osceola, standing under a white flag, made it clear that the meeting was a truce, not a surrender. Hernandez was armed with a list of questions prepared by Jesup; if the answers which he received from Osceola were not satisfactory, Hernandez was to take Osceola and his band prisoners. Because he did not regard Osceola's response favorably, Hernandez gave the agreed signal, the ninety-five people in Osceola's party were seized before they could reach their rifles or make any other resistance, and all were taken to prison in St. Augustine.

In spite of public condemnation of his action as a violation of a flag of truce, Jesup did not abandon the practice, as will be seen. In fact, he defended such actions, justifying them because the Seminoles had repeatedly and treacherously displayed flags of truce and had deceived him by carrying off hostages left by them with the whites. A participant in Hernandez's raid argued that, while the Indians had a flag of truce, they were not told that it would prevent their being captured. In fact, they had been informed several times that the only terms on which they would be received were those of complete surrender. Osceola's real purpose, he maintained, was not to have a talk but to rescue Philip and massacre the inhabitants of St. Augustine.

During this time Cherokee Principal Chief John Ross was in Washington to discuss his own tribe's removal problems. Asked to act as mediator with the Seminoles, he did in fact send a delegation to Florida. They met some of the hostile chiefs and warriors in the swamps and succeeded in persuad-

ing Micanopy and other leaders to go to Jesup's camp under a flag of truce to discuss surrender with the general himself. When Micanopy declared that he was ready to give up but would need time to assemble his followers, Jesup responded that he had been deceived so often that he had lost faith in such offers, and he had Micanopy and the others taken as hostages. The Cherokees were shocked and angry, and Ross protested Jesup's action in a letter to the Secretary of War.

Coa-coo-chee meanwhile had managed to escape from his prison cell and could thus carry the news of Jesup's duplicity to the Seminoles who were still at large. While there are different versions of how Wild Cat got away so successfully, there was no doubt about his ability to influence the Indians. Jesup indeed regarded him as the ablest of all the Seminole leaders. Son of King Philip and Micanopy's sister, Coa-coo-chee was handsome, an effective speaker, intelligent and courageous, with great prestige as a warrior.

By December of 1837, the army in Florida was the largest of any period of the entire conflict, and Colonel Zachary Taylor, who had reached Florida in the summer, had the opportunity to command some of its forces in the largest battle of the war, fought on December 25 near Lake Okeechobee. In contrast to the usual Seminole tactics, the Indians on this occasion decided to stand and fight, although their numbers were only about half those of the whites. This decision was made because they thought they could cause more damage than would be inflicted on them, and they were right, for army casualties were twenty-six killed and fourteen wounded. The battle is also worth mentioning as an example of warfare in Florida at its worst. To reach the Indians' hammocks, the soldiers had to cross a mile of saw grass. Men waded up to their knees or deeper in the swamp, holding their rifles above their heads. With legs and arms lacerated by saw grass, they were forced to endure the Indians' fire, some of the wounded drowning in the mud and water. When, after retreating and reforming to charge again, the troops reached the cypresses, they fought at sometimes point-blank range with a foe they could hardly see among the shadows. But, at last, the Seminoles were dislodged and left the field under pursuit.

It was early in the next year, 1838, that Osceola died in prison at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina where the other Seminole prisoners had been taken following Coa-coo-chee's escape. Osceola could also have fled with Wild Cat, but, perhaps because of illness, chose not to join him. He had apparently been in ill-health for some time; he had suffered from malaria long before his capture, and his condition had worsened during the time that George Catlin was allowed to paint his portrait, the malaria being complicated by an extremely sore throat. Knowing that he was dying, Osceola had his wives prepare him in full war dress. With his face painted,

Coa-coo-chee or Wild Cat provided bold and resourceful leadership for the Seminole struggle following the death of Oseola

his weapons at hand and his family beside him, he died, January 30, 1838, and was given a military funeral the next day.

The other Seminoles including Micanopy held at Fort Moultrie were taken to New Orleans, Louisiana to await transportation to Indian Territory. Jumper and his family with about 250 other Seminoles and Negroes who had surrendered to Colonel Taylor in December, 1837 were sent to New Orleans where they were held at Fort Pike. Many became ill, and Jumper died here in April. The number of prisoners continued to grow, reaching 1,160 by the middle of May. The number of sick also increased. Boats were finally found in which the Indians and their blacks might be dispatched to the West. Because ninety of the Negroes who were at Fort Pike had been taken by the Creeks serving in Florida, several claims to these individuals were made by slave traders, and the long delay at New Orleans was due in some degree to the controversy over ownership. Most of the Negroes were brought to Indian Territory, but the conflict over their status dragged on in Congress. These immigrants reached Fort Gibson in June, their numbers having been diminished by fifty-four deaths, one casualty being old King Philip, who was buried near the Arkansas River about fifty miles from Fort Gibson. He was interred with military honors which included a one hundred-gun salute.

A smaller party of 119 left New Orleans at the end of May, and by the last of June, 349 other Seminole immigrants reached Fort Gibson. Alligator and his family were among those arriving at the beginning of August, and in November the Apalachicola band appeared.

When Taylor was transferred out of Florida in 1840, Colonel Walker Keith Armistead replaced him. Several of Armistead's subordinates showed considerable ability in countering the guerrilla tactics of the Seminoles and were able to find and destroy some of the Indians' crops located in fields hidden deep in the swamps. But the wily Seminoles were still a match for the army, and another council with the Indians in 1840 resulted in Seminole leaders decamping with all the supplies when Armistead tried to bribe them.

By the fall of 1840, several Seminole chiefs who had removed earlier were induced to return to Florida to try to persuade others still fighting to come to Indian Territory, but with little result. During the spring of 1841, however, more than 200 Indian captives were sent to join Micanopy along the Deep Fork of the Canadian River. Another 200 reached the Choctaw Agency in June.

In May of 1841 Colonel William J. Worth was chosen to command in Florida. His plans were simply to conquer the Seminoles by destroying their crops, their cabins and their sources of supplies. Many Indians were able to avoid his traps, but Coa-coo-chee was seized while involved in talks

of removal. Worth countermanded the capture but threatened to hang the leader and the other chiefs if their bands did not come in and agree to remove. Faced with such an alternative, Wild Cat induced 210 of his followers to migrate with him. They reached Indian Territory in the fall.

By February of 1842 Colonel Worth was recommending—again—that the approximately 300 Seminoles still in Florida be allowed to remain there. However, the answer was again no, and the relentless pursuit of Seminole families and bands continued. Low water during the year increased the difficulty of transporting captured Seminoles westward. Some were unloaded at Webber's Falls in the Cherokee Nation and told to walk to the Deep Fork region from there. Instead, they decided to join Alligator's band at Fort Gibson, and it took the efforts of five companies of soldiers to induce the Indians to make the Deep Fork their destination. It was also on account of low water that Second Lieutenant E. R. S. Canby's party leaving Florida in June of 1842 had to go overland from near Little Rock, Arkansas to the Creek council grounds, reaching there in September.

During August, 1842, federal offiicials declared the conflict terminated. It was true that there had been no real engagements for some time, but sporadic hostilities continued past this date. In November when the fighting flared up once more, it was Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock who arranged for the surrender of Pascofa and his followers; these were Creeks who had fled from Alabama to Florida in 1836. They reached Indian Territory in 1843.

Colonel Zachary Taylor, on leaving the Florida theater of operations, was sent west to command at Fort Smith, where he continued to be involved with Seminole removal. In the spring of 1842 he mentioned Seminoles under Alligator north of Fort Gibson, others under Coa-coo-chee south of the fort, Micanopy's band southwest on the Deep Fork of the Canadian, followers of Concharte Micco twenty miles south and a number headed by Black Dirt on Little River. A census taken about two years later listed the number of Seminoles in Indian Territory at 3,136.

In Florida, at the time Worth announced that the Seminole War had ended, there were still groups of Indians in the southern peninsula, though exactly how many Seminoles remained there it is impossible to determine. Billy Bowlegs, a descendant of the older Bowlegs and of Secoffee, was there with his band. Another chief still in Florida and likely to remain was old Sam Jones or Arpeika, now almost one hundred years old, who had vowed long before to die on Florida soil. Bowlegs was also determined never to leave, but a combination of circumstances coupled with a change of tactics on the part of the government made him change his mind.

In 1849 as the result of the murder of a white man named Barker by a

Billy Bowlegs, who held out for years in Florida swamps, was the last of the important Seminole leaders to agree to remove to Indian Territory

group of drunken Seminoles, what is sometimes called the Third Seminole War broke out. Indian depredations were much exaggerated, because of the eagerness of many Floridians to profit from a renewal of military operations. And in spite of the surrender by the Seminoles of three of the five miscreants—the hand of a fourth was produced also—the government determined to complete the removal of all of the Florida Indians and offered greater monetary inducements. Only eighty-five Indians accepted, however. In spite of this, the government continued its efforts. Aided no doubt by the separation of the Seminoles from the Creek Nation in 1856, the more attractive terms brought results, and in 1858 Bowlegs and 164 others set out for the new Seminole Nation in the West. However, old Arpeika, true to his vow, remained behind with only a handful of his faithful Mikasuki warriors to support him. In December of the same year Bowlegs was persuaded to head a small party returning to Florida to find the Boat Indians, still hiding in the depths of the swamps. As a result of his success, in February of 1859 the last Florida emigration took place. Thus the war, begun in the last days of 1835, finally had ground to its close.

It seems safe to say that no people so few in numbers ever fought with more determination and effect for a longer time against greater odds than did the Seminoles. It appears almost incredible that a tribe numbering only about 5,000 was able to carry on a war for 7 years against a nation with a population of some 13,000,000. Altogether, some 40,000 troops were engaged in fighting at one time or another; opposing them were Seminole warriors numbering perhaps 1,500; their ranks grew less as the war took its toll. How many Seminole casualties there were is not known, but there were more than 1,500 deaths among the whites. In terms of money, the war cost the United States between $30,000,000 and $40,000,000—the most expensive Indian war the United States ever fought.

Seminole effectiveness was due in great part to their mastery of guerrilla warfare.The Seminoles' knowledge of the terrain and their ability to survive in such surroundings gave them a great advantage. For the whites, Florida was not only an unknown land but a dangerous one. Maps of the Seminole territory were mainly blank except for a name, Everglades; roads were few and very far between. Water and mud in which the soldiers waded day after day, often seeking vainly for a dry spot on which to sleep at night, and the saw grass which tore clothing, shoes and skin increased the war's hardships. Mosquitoes, poisonous snakes, rain, night winds that chilled through wet clothing, days of burning sun with no breeze in the saw grass—all of these helped undermine the soldiers' health. Disease was a more deadly enemy even than the Seminoles, what with dysentery, malaria and yellow fever. In spite of such perils, the regular troops fought bravely against an

enemy not always visible but usually present, watching from concealed hiding places. The army's difficulties with supply and transportation, intelligence, citizen apathy, low morale among the volunteers and lack of knowledge of Indian psychology all combined to make the troops appear ineffective.

The Seminoles too had problems. They were not completely immune to the mosquitoes. Bands and families, forced from one hammock to another, hid out deeper and deeper in the recesses of the swamp as the war dragged on. Their villages were found and destroyed by the soldiers; although there were no fixed centers, the women and children especially suffered in abandoning their homes. One wonders if it was indeed true that as reported, while in hiding, mothers sometimes killed infants and young children whose crying might have revealed the presence of the band. Food became more of a problem; it was more difficult to find fertile hammocks in the swamp's depths on which to raise crops. In spite of the game usually available and the supply of their staple, koontie flour, there were times when the Seminoles must have suffered hunger. Somehow they managed to secure adequate arms and ammunition; they had accumulated stores of powder and shot before the war, and additional supplies came from Cuba.

Seminole endurance and Seminole leadership met most challenges. And the Seminoles could count on native intelligence, shrewdness and proficiency in war of some very remarkable men. Micanopy held the position as chief, as far as anyone could be said to do so, but probably did not have either the ability or the vigorous character of some of his advisers. Contemporaries thought him fat and lazy. King Philip, Alligator, Jumper, Holatoochee, Arpeika, Abraham, John Coheia, Osceola and Wild Cat were the effective military leaders. Abraham, at one time Micanopy's slave, had as much influence as many of the Indian chiefs and virtually controlled the Seminole Negroes. Alligator, Micanopy's nephew, had a wide knowledge of the country and was evidently a good tactician, as he was in command at the Dade Massacre. Jumper, a Creek, one of the Fort Mims massacre leaders who later fled to Florida and married Micanopy's sister, was intelligent and brave, but also deceitful and overly fond of using what was described as a musical voice. Arpeika was a Mikasuki chief and also a prophet and medicine man who reputedly had the power to cast spells and incantations. Thus, it was the leadership, a terrain favorable for their type of warfare and the ability to endure that maintained the Seminoles in Florida after 1835. However, the odds against them were to prove too great; soldiers hunted down women, children and warriors and dispatched them to Indian Territory in increasing numbers. The Seminoles came as prisoners of war to their new home.

The Seminole dwelling or *chickee* was quickly and easily built and its abandonment caused no great loss

Adjustment in the West proved difficult. Their position in the Creek Nation, their deep desire for land of their own on which to settle, their concern over the safety of their slaves and free Negroes all occasioned uneasiness and fear; there were also inadequate rations and uncertain annuities. Cherokees were patient with the Seminoles who squatted in their nation although they presented a problem because of increased whiskey traffic, general disorder and loss of grain and cattle. It was no doubt a welcome relief to the Cherokees when a new Creek-Seminole treaty was signed in 1845 which allowed the Seminoles to settle any place they chose in the Creek Nation, either individually or collectively and permitted them to make their own town laws, if they were not in conflict with those of the Creeks. Seminoles who had not yet moved to the Creek Nation were encouraged to do so at once. This agreement was a step in the right direction; most Seminoles did finally disperse to the country between the North Canadian and Little rivers, being divided into twenty-five towns or bands.

Difficulties still continued, however. A case in point was that of John Coheia, a freedman. He found his life threatened by embittered Seminoles who objected to his role in removal, and his freedom menaced by the

Creeks. His precarious position made him a natural ally of Coa-coo-chee in the latter's project to establish a colony in Mexico. Wild Cat obviously chafed more under Creek authority than did most Seminoles and thus was carrying the Seminole search for a permanent home to a distant region, far from Creek machinations.

Efforts for the complete separation from the Creeks continued, and in 1856 a treaty between the two Indian nations and the United States ended the unhappy connection into which the Seminoles had been forced. As created by the treaty, the new Seminole Nation included the land between the North Canadian and the main stream westward from about the Ninety-seventh Meridian to the One Hundredth Meridian. The new location made necessary another move, as the earlier Seminole position had been to the east of the Ninety-seventh Meridian. But this removal the Seminoles welcomed, although they were somewhat apprehensive about Plains tribes farther west.

One must admire the persistence, resiliency and courage of a people who could suffer so much misfortune and yet survive. Today, Seminole County, Oklahoma is the home of many descendants of the Jumpers, Browns, Chupcos and others who trace their ancestry to those indomitable warriors of the Florida swamps.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

In a bibliography which includes works providing helpful information for the general reader, William Bartram's description of the Seminoles must surely have a place in spite of its abundant botanical details which are not of major concern to the historian; *The Travels of William Bartram*, edited by Mark Van Doren (New York: Dover Publications, 1940) provides a very early account of the Alachua Indians, the author being one of the first observers to refer to these people as Seminoles.

Important background information and material on Seminole beginnings come from several sources including R. S. Cotterill's *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954) and Verner Crane's *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1732* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1928), both of which are obtainable in paperback. However, there is nothing else quite like the work by John R. Swanton, "Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin Number 73* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), because the author has incorporated rare materials no longer available to the ordinary reader. This source is especially good on Seminole origins but also contains something on the later history of these Indians.

A good description of the natural setting for the Florida war as well as information on the war itself is supplied in Marjorie Stoneman Douglas' book, *The Everglades: Rivers of Grass* (Westminster: Ballantine Books, 1974), which has also been issued in paperback.

There are three accounts of the Great Seminole War written by army personnel which are of considerable interest. John Bemrose was a young Englishman who came to the United States, joined the army and saw service in Florida as a hospital steward. He talked with a survivor of the Dade massacre and was present at the first Withlacoochee engagement, details of which he recounts in *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, edited by John E. Mahon (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966). Jacob Rhett Motte's *Journal into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836–1838*, edited by James F. Sunderman (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953) provides valuable descriptions of the conditions under which the war was fought and defends General Thomas Jesup's seizure of Osceola. The notes are especially helpful. The third work gives a much more detailed account of the war from the point of view of one of the officers, John T. Sprague, whose *The Origins, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York: no imprint, 1848) supplements personal observations and impressions with sometimes lengthy excerpts from other sources. All three works, however, are similar in that they are surprisingly fair and objective in their treatment of the Seminoles.

A very old work on the Seminoles and their struggle which is not particularly objective was written by Joshua R. Giddings; *The Exiles of Florida* (Gainsville:

University of Florida Press, 1964) must be used cautiously because of the author's abolitionist views. Another older book which has been reissued by the University of Florida Press as one of its Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series is Charles H. Coe's invaluable *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1974). However, as the introduction suggests, the reader should remember that Coe "over-states" the Seminoles' case. A more recent treatment of the Seminole war and one that every student of Seminole history must read is John K. Mahon's *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835–1842* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1974), a well-researched, interesting and balanced account by a modern authority. One incident of this same conflict is dealt with in Frank Laumer's *Massacre!* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968), a book which contains all of the details, gory and otherwise, of the Dade massacre.

The only work of its kind and quite indispensable is *The Seminoles* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957) by Edwin C. McReynolds. The research is good and the attitude objective. The section of this source covering the early history of the tribe and the Seminole War is particularly full and well-balanced. This book is now available in paperback.

Grant Foreman provides important material on the actual moving of the Seminoles to Oklahoma, including statistics on casualties, where settled, etc., in his unique and helpful book on *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933).

The reader who wishes to know what Seminole warriors and chiefs were actually like should see the second volume of *The Indian Tribes of North America* (St. Clair Shores: Scholarly Press, 1972) by Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, a work supplying both portraits and biographical information.

Finally, for the younger student there are two accounts worthy of attention. William and Ellen Hartley in *Osceola: The Unconquered Indian* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1973) have provided a well-researched and interesting source which might also be used with profit by the general reader. The chief objection to this book is that the authors have attempted to reproduce the exact conversations and thought of historical characters. Otherwise it is well done. Also interestingly written, but more emotional and less objective is Milton Meltzer's *Hunted Like a Wolf: The Story of the Seminole War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974), published now in paperback.

INDIAN COLONIZATION IN NORTHEASTERN AND CENTRAL INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Linda Parker**

For the Old Northwest tribes, final location in Indian Territory was the end of a tragic succession of removals. The Quapaw, Modoc and Iowa colonizations of Oklahoma were similarly lamentable. These thirty-one tribal remnants suffered in their exodus no less than the more widely known "Trails of Tears" of the Five Civilized Tribes even though the smaller tribes have not received the notoriety of the larger groups.

Most of the Indian tribes residing in Indian Territory in 1890 emigrated there under threat of force during the nineteenth century as the United States followed a policy of tribal consolidation. Each tribe's "Trail of Tears" differed: some were stories of tragic cruelty, death, starvation and impoverishment; others were relatively free of such outrages; the Federal government delivered some tribes to their new reservations like herds of cattle; while for others removal was humane and well-organized; some tribes provided for their own removal, free of government aid; other tribes allowed each tribal member to plan his own relocation to reservations in Indian Territory.

The reasons for forced removal of the tribes can be traced to the opening of the Old Northwest Territory in 1787. The rush of settlers into the area brought them into conflict with the Indian tribes. Governor William Harrison cleared the Old Northwest of Indians faster than the need for land necessitated creating a vacuum into which more settlers poured. Increased white encroachment and depredations against the Indian, supported or at least unimpeded by the government, forced the Northern Indians to part with their land, and each treaty reduced their holdings to even smaller proportions.

Though the Old Northwest tribes offered sustained resistance to white intruders, the conflicts simply reduced tribal populations. The tribes were numerous though small, and this, with poor organization, was a source of weakness. In addition disputes among the various tribes allowed whites frequently to play them against each other. As a result, their resistance to white encroachment was largely ineffective.

Until approximately 1800, the government did not entertain the idea of removing the northern tribes west of the Mississippi River. Even then, the

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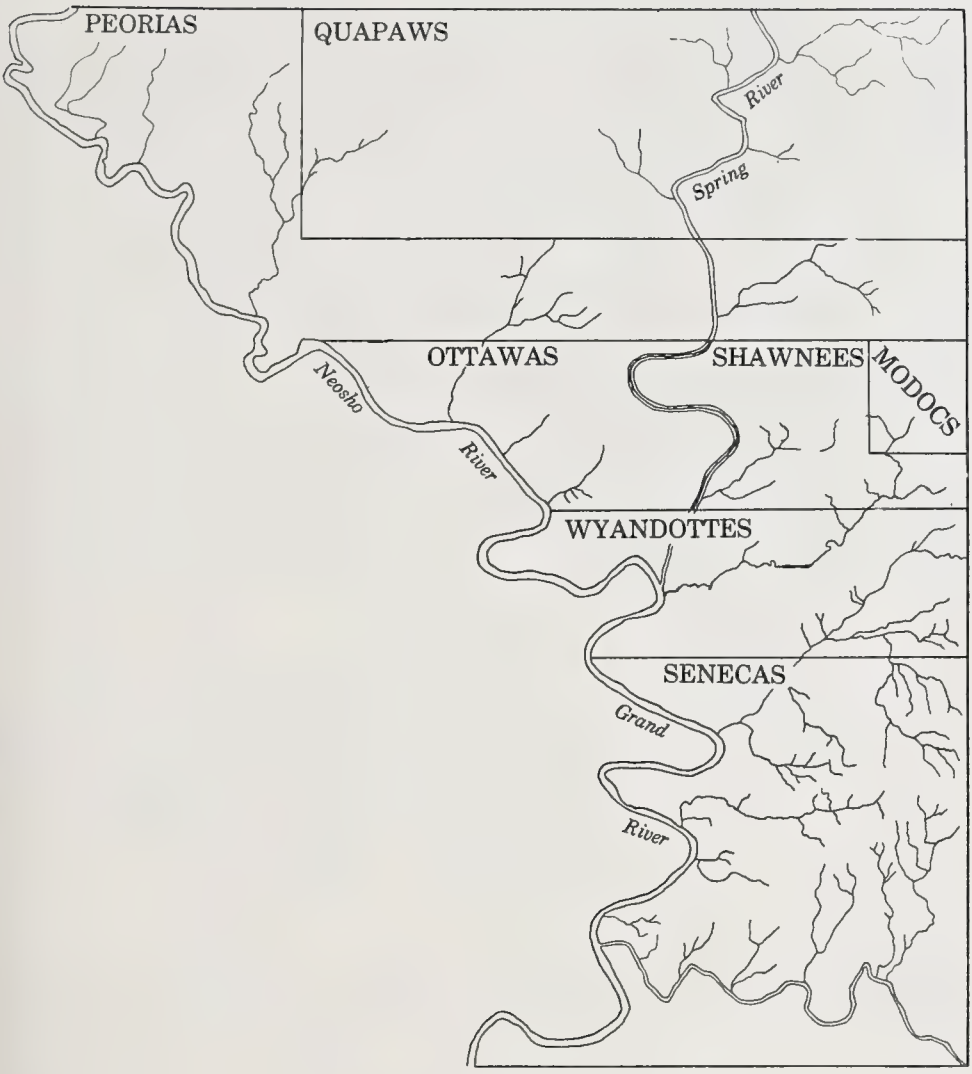

Location of Indian colonization efforts in northeastern Oklahoma (adapted from John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, map 43)

idea was in the embryonic stage, and actual removal did not occur until after James Monroe's first term as president began in 1817. However, with the Indian Removal Act of 1830, forced migration west of the Mississippi River became a reality for both Northern and Southern Indians.

The forced emigration of the tribes was only the beginning of a long succession of tragic removals. After selling their native land in the Great Lakes and Ohio region to the United States, many of these tribes moved from reservation to reservation in Missouri, Iowa and Kansas before finally arriving in present-day Oklahoma. Each time the Federal government promised that the reservation would be their final home. However, in each case, the insatiable demands of white settlers pushed the Indians off their land, removing them to another reservation with the promise, never kept, that at last they were beyond the reach of aggressive frontiersmen. At the time of their removal to Indian Territory in the late 1800s, many of the Delaware and Sac and Fox elder tribesmen had experienced the ordeal of four removals. With each forced migration, the Indians succumbed to more illness, disease, death, white depredations and tribal disunity, leading to tribal decimination and demoralization. The exodus of the tribes into Indian Territory loosely fell into four time periods: the 1830s, 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s.

During the first period, the Federal government removed the Sandusky Senecas, the Mixed Senecas and Shawnees, and Quapaws to northeastern Oklahoma. The Sandusky Senecas were a composite of remnants of six Iroquois tribes which in early times lived in New York. Moving early in the eighteenth century from Pennsylvania to Ohio along the Sandusky River, the Senecas became known as the Senecas of Sandusky. In Ohio they were later joined by immigrating bands of the Eries, Cayugas, Conestogas, Mohawks and Tuscaroras.

On February 28, 1831, Colonel James B. Gardiner, special United States Commissioner from Ohio, concluded a treaty at Washington, D.C. with representatives of the Sandusky Senecas. Their leaders, Comstick, Small Cloud Spicer, Seneca Steel, Hard Hickory and Captain Good Hunter ceded claim to the Seneca Ohio lands totaling 40,000 acres. In turn, the Sandusky Senecas received 67,000 acres in Indian Territory north of the Cherokee Nation, adjoining the boundary of Missouri. The government agreed to pay the expenses of the removal and to supply the Senecas with food for a year. Other provisions of the treaty included the government's promise to build a grist mill, a saw mill and a blacksmith shop on Seneca land in Indian Territory. As well, the United States would hire a miller and blacksmith for an unspecified period of time. Additionally, the government would advance the Senecas $6,000, in lieu of improvements on their land.

These funds were to be used to build houses and establish their farms in Indian Territory. The treaty stipulated that the Seneca lands in Ohio would be opened to public sale. After the minimum price of public lands, the $6,000 cost of building the saw and grist mills and blacksmith shop and expense of surveying the land, were deducted from the revenue of land sales, the remainder was to be set aside as an emergency fund. From this, the tribe would receive an annuity of five percent interest income from the principal.

The Senecas' reluctance to leave their Ohio land and the tardiness of the arrival of government supplies delayed their departure until the fall of 1831. However that year they boarded a steamboat at Dayton, Ohio and departed for St. Louis, Missouri. From there, they traveled to the Cowskin River in northeastern Indian Territory. On July 4, 1832, approximately 400 Sandusky Senecas arrived at their destination, after their eight-month journey had been delayed by much hardship and suffering from winter storms, illness, death and floods. The Sandusky Senecas came to their new home well-prepared to establish homes and farms. They brought household articles, farming implements, clothing and seeds for sowing. However, upon their arrival, they discovered to their surprise that the part of their assigned land that lay west of the Neosho River belonged to the Cherokee Nation.

Three hundred Seneca and Shawnee Indians had also left Ohio under the provision of the 1831 treaty, but only 258 arrived at their destination on the Cowskin River on December 13, 1832. On their long and difficult journey they were exposed to cholera from which some died while enroute. Upon their arrival they were also shocked to discover the tracts assigned them were Cherokee lands. The treaty designated that the Seneca and Shawnee Reservation began two miles north of the Cherokee Nation and two miles west of the Sandusky Senecas' western boundary. The confusion was so great that the tribes involved sought an adjustment of the lands assigned to the Senecas and Shawnees.

In July, 1832, President Andrew Jackson appointed a commission to deal with the Indian tribes, consisting of Governor Montfort Stokes of North Carolina, Henry Ellsworth of Connecticut and Reverend John Schermerhorn of New York. Called the Stokes Commission, this group set about to adjust the lands assigned to the Senecas. And eventually on December 29, 1832, Chief Comstick and thirteen Sandusky Seneca leaders and Chief Methomea with eleven Mixed Seneca and Shawnee leaders signed a treaty at Cowskin River in northeastern Indian Territory with federal officials. The tribes ceded all their assigned lands west of the Neosho or Grand River, in exchange for an equal amount of land east of the Neosho,

north of the Cherokee boundary and east of Missouri in the present Ottawa County, Oklahoma. The Stokes Commission granted in fee simple the southern half of this tract to the Sandusky Senecas and the northern section to the Mixed Senecas and Shawnees. In addition under the terms of this treaty the Sandusky Senecas and the Mixed Senecas and Shawnees confederated.

In 1833, federal officials assigned the Quapaws a reservation in Indian Territory. Indigenous to most of present Oklahoma, Arkansas and northern Louisiana, the Quapaws at the time of Hernando De Soto's visit in the 1540s were among the most powerful of the Southern tribes. However, contact with the whites introduced the ravages of foreign diseases such as the smallpox, leading to a decimation of the Quapaw population. After the Louisiana Purchase, white intruders into the Quapaw country urged the organization of Arkansas Territory and the removal of the Quapaws from the region. In 1818 the Quapaws ceded almost 30,000,000 acres to the United States in exchange for a paltry $4,000 in merchandise, an annuity of $1,000 in goods, a perpetual right to hunt in the relinquished territory and a small tract on the south side of the Arkansas River between Arkansas Post and Little Rock. With the official organization of Arkansas Territory, came demands for the obliteration of the Quapaw Reservation, and in 1824 the Quapaws capitulated and ceded their Arkansas lands. For compensation they received $4,000 in goods and an eleven-year annuity of $1,000 a year in addition to their previous perpetual annuity. The treaty stipulated that the Quapaws would move to the Red River region of Louisiana and merge with the Caddoes. The government provided $1,500 to pay the expenses of the removal, assigned an agent to travel and reside with the tribe and allocated $15,372 for a six-month ration of food.

In December, 1825, the Quapaws reluctantly removed to the Red River in groups of fifty with Antoine Barraque serving as the removal agent. In their new homeland, the Quapaws constructed homes and began cultivation of their fields; however, floods ruined their crops the following spring and summer, leaving them near starvation. So desperate was their condition that one-fourth of the tribe died of starvation or disease.

After six months in Louisiana, the cruelties of nature, the inhospitable Caddo hosts and reduction of tribal funds drove one-fourth of the tribe under the leadership of the mixed-blood Sarasin back to their old habitat in Arkansas Territory. Those who remained on the Red River continued to receive a small assistance from the Federal government, but their lands were regularly flooded, and the money was not enough. The conditions led most of the remaining Quapaw to migrate back to their ancestral homes, and by 1830, less than forty Quapaw remained on the Red River.

Seeking relief from Arkansas Territory and federal officials, the tribe sent Chief Heckaton to Washington in 1830 in an attempt to regain some of their former lands. As a result of the dire condition of the Quapaws, the Federal government signed a treaty with tribal leaders at New Gascony in Arkansas Territory on May 13, 1833. And while awaiting congressional approval of the treaty, Sarasin and about 300 Quapaws returned to the Red River Indian Agency in Louisiana to collect back annuity payments. Congress finally ratified the treaty on April 12, 1834. Under its provisions the Quapaws yielded their title to the land given them by the Caddoes on Bayou Treache of the Red River in exchange for 150 sections, or 96,000 acres, under patent from the United States, located west of the Missouri border and near the Senecas and Shawnees in northeastern Indian Territory. The Quapaws also received the usual supply of goods including farm animals, implements, rifles and powder. In addition the Federal government employed a blacksmith and a farmer to provide agricultural instruction, and appropriated $1,000 per year to be used by the Quapaws for educational purposes. The government ended the tribal annuities in lieu of paying $4,180 of tribal debts but also awarded them a twenty-year annuity of $2,000.

Agreeing to pay the expense of the removal and provide provisions for one year, the Federal government selected former Quapaw Agent Wharton Rector, a man thoroughly distrusted by the tribe, to oversee the removal. He was able to enroll 176 Quapaws, only a third of the tribe in Arkansas, because most Quapaws on the Red River were afraid of living near the Osages and refused to join their tribe on the Indian Territory reservation.

Nonetheless in September, 1834, Rector removed 161 Indians to their new reservation. But because they were uncertain that Rector had located them on their reserve, the Quapaws were reluctant to establish permanent homes and farms. Confirming their doubts, an official survey conducted four years later revealed that Rector had relocated the Quapaws on Seneca and Shawnee lands.

The Quapaws would have to move again, leaving their homes and farms. Because of this, many of the disheartened Quapaws left the reservation and joined their kinsmen on the Red River. Another group of about 250 settled in a village on the South Canadian River in the Creek Nation, near the future Holdenville where they acted as a buffer between the Creeks, Comanches and Plains tribes. A separate band joined those Cherokees in Texas. Later, some of these tribal members returned to the reservation, and by 1857 over half of the tribe was living on their reserve in present-day Ottawa County, Oklahoma—by 1893 most had permanently returned.

After the end of the Civil War, the Federal government colonized numerous Indian tribes in Indian Territory on the land ceded by the Five Civilized

Group of Quapaw Indians in native dress by tents

Tribes in their Reconstruction treaties of 1866. In 1867, federal officials persuaded the Quapaws, Shawnees and Senecas to sell some of their lands to the United States in order to provide necessary revenue to lift themselves out of their state of destitution caused by the Civil War in Indian Territory. Several former Old Northwest tribes living in Kansas as well as the Modocs purchased the surplus lands in northeastern Indian Territory, and during the late 1860s and early 1870s were relocated on their new reserves.

The Wyandots, formerly of the Ohio region until removing to a reservation in Kansas in 1843, purchased a 20,000 acre tract from the Senecas in 1867. Previously, in 1855 the Federal government, prompted by the white settlers, persuaded the Wyandots to agree to allotment in severalty. The Manypenny Treaty designated two divisions in the tribe: the competent and the incompetent. Those Wyandots classified in the former group could alienate their allotments immediately; the so-called incompetents obtained that privilege after a five-year period. The Wyandots received United States citizenship and their tribal organization was dissolved.

By 1857 most of the Wyandots had alienated their lands and were impoverished and homeless. That year a band of 200 destitute Wyandots wandered to the Seneca reservation in northeastern Indian Territory, and the Senecas, repaying a half-century-old act of befriendment, agreed on November 22, 1859, to convey 33,000 acres at the north end of the Seneca reservation to the Wyandots. However, the Federal government neglected to approve this transaction until the 1867 Omnibus Treaty. Under its provisions the Wyandots purchased the 20,000 acre tract north of the Seneca reservation for $1.00 an acre. The agreement also provided for the establishment of a commission to set the amount of taxes that Kansas authorities illegally collected from the Wyandots, and on May 29, 1872, Congress reimbursed the tribe for $11,703.56 and gave them an additional $5,000 to become established in Indian Territory. Those Wyandots who wanted to resume their tribal identity moved immediately to their newly established reservation. Later, in 1871, Wyandots living in Indian Territory were joined by some of the members of their tribe from Kansas.

Joining the Wyandots in northeastern Indian Territory were remnants of ten Algonquian tribes federated into the Peoria and Miami Confederacy. They included Peorias, Miamis, Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamaroas, Michigameas, Moingwenas, Piankashaws, Weas, and the Eel River Indians. By 1803, the Kaskaskia Confederacy consisted of remnants of the Cahokia, Tamaroa, Michigamea, and Kaskaskia tribes. In 1832 by the Castor Hill treaties the Kaskaskia and Peoria Confederacies ceded their remaining lands in Illinois and Missouri to the United States. At this time the Kaskaskias and Peorias confederated and were jointly assigned a 150-section reserve in eastern Kansas. Two other tribes from the former Illinois Confederacy, the Piankashaws and Weas, resided on nearby reservations in Kansas. In 1851, federal officials reasoned there was little difference among the four tribes. Their frequent intermarriage, adoptions, plus their akin language and habits gave them a similar appearance. As a result the Federal government urged the tribes to consolidate. Consequently, in 1854, the Peorias, Kaskaskias, Piankashaws, and Weas merged into one tribe, named the Confederated Peoria. According to the terms of the 1854 treaty, the tribes ceded their Kansas reservations to the United States, and in return each tribal member received an allotment of 160 acres. In addition the confederated tribes retained a ten-section reserve in common. Kansas authorities, eager to obtain the Indian lands, illegally taxed and then sold some of the Indian allotments, and by the beginning of the Civil War, some members of the Peoria Confederacy had already drifted to Indian Territory to reside among the Senecas and Shawnees. A small number of the Miami tribesmen accompanied them on their southward journey.

The Federal government in its effort to make Indian Territory a colonization zone for numerous remnants of tribes, signed a treaty with the confederated Peorias on February 23, 1867. This Omnibus Treaty provided for a reservation in northeastern Indian Territory. The tract, located east of the Grand River, consisted of twenty-five sections of the Quapaw Reservation which was ceded to the United States for $1.15 an acre for the purpose of providing land for the Peoria resettlement. The restrictions on alienation of their allotments in Kansas were removed, and the Peorias agreed to relocate in Indian Territory within two years. Many members of the Peoria Confederacy immigrated to their new reservation soon after they sold their Kansas lands, and on May 29, 1872, Congress appropriated $20,000 to aid in their removal.

Some Miamis, with a band of Eel River Indians who federated with the Miamis in 1828, joined the Peorias in their migration to Indian Territory. One of the provisions of the 1867 treaty was the incorporation of the Miamis into the Peoria Confederacy if they wished. However, having the choice of joining the Peorias or retaining their tribal identity, the majority of the Miamis remained on their lands in Kansas.

In order to promote Miami removal, Congress approved a treaty on March 3, 1873, which abolished Miami tribal relations and confirmed the consolidation of the Peorias, Miamis, Weas, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias into the United Peoria and Miami. Nevertheless, the Miami tribal organization continued to operate, and even though some individual Miamis joined the United Peoria and Miami, the tribal union was never completely successful. Promoting Miami removal, the same act provided for the sale of individual land holdings in addition to tribal land held in common. Settlers were able to purchase the land at bargain prices. The tracts occupied by white squatters were appraised and sold to the occupant. Surplus lands were advertised and sold to the highest bidder. Those Miamis remaining in Kansas had to relinquish their Indian status and become United States citizens. Because of this, most of the Miamis migrated to Indian Territory to join their kinsmen. By 1873 most of the Confederated Peorias and Miamis had removed to their reservation in northeastern Indian Territory.

Another former Old Northwest tribe, the Ottawas, accompanied by a band of Chippewas, removed to Indian Territory in 1868–1869. In common with other Indian tribes in Kansas, the Ottawas were harshly treated by the settlers who wanted to rid Kansas of the Indians so that whites could obtain their land.

The Blanchards Fork and Roche de Boeuf Ottawas, united with bands of Chippewa since before the French and Indian War, ceded their Ohio lands to the United States in 1831. In exchange they received a 74,000-acre

reservation with fee simple title along the Marais des Cygnes River in present Franklin County, Kansas.

At first the Ottawas refused to move west and finally in 1836 government agents forceably removed them to their new reservation. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Ohio, Colonel J. J. Abert, oversaw the removal and five hundred Ottawas arrived at their new home in December, 1836. Demoralized and in poor health after their forced exodus, almost one-half of the Ottawas died within five years. Nevertheless, the Ottawas slowly revived and built comfortable homes and farms. However, within a quarter of a century, white settlers began intruding once again on the Ottawa reservation. The settlers agitated for the opening and sale of the Indian lands, and the Ottawas concluded a treaty on June 24, 1862. According to its provisions, each head of a family received 160 acres and every tribal member an allotment of 80 acres. The tribe set aside 20,000 acres to support a school. In addition, the agreement stipulated that the Ottawas sell the surplus lands to settlers at a minimum of $1.25 an acre, and that within five years the tribe would dissolve and end its tribal relations and become United States citizens. An 1867 treaty extended the period by two years in which they would become citizens. However, if a tribesman wanted citizenship immediately, he could receive it through the courts. In the 1862 treaty the Federal government also promised a $13,005.95 payment for stolen horses, cattle and timber.

During the Civil War the Shawnees, Senecas, and Quapaws had fled to the Ottawa reservation in Kansas. As a result, in 1865 Chief John Wilson made a contract with the Shawnee reservation, allowing those Ottawas not desiring to become American citizens to settle on the Shawnee Reservation in Indian Territory.

The Omnibus Treaty of 1867 assigned a part of the Shawnee Reservation to the Ottawas, and allowed the tribe to purchase nearly 15,000 acres, east of the Neosho River, next to the Peoria Confederacy. In order to facilitate removal, the treaty allowed individuals the right to sell their allotments, and because of the aggressive thrust of the white settlers, most of the Ottawas sold their land and between 1868 and 1869 removed to Indian Territory. However, many of the Kansas settlers failed to pay for the Ottawa land, leaving the tribe to struggle in poverty on their new reservation.

In 1873, the Federal government removed 153 Modocs from the West Coast to a small reservation in northeastern Indian Territory. This Lutuamian tribe's native habitat was the Tule Lake area in northern California and the Klamath Lake region in southern Oregon. White settlers had encroached on Modoc territory and agitated for the Indians' land, and in 1864 the Klamaths, Yahooshin band of Snake Indians and the Modocs ceded

their lands to the United States, in return for a reservation in southern Oregon. Resentful over the fact that they had not been allotted land that was traditionally theirs, Captain Jack, the Modoc hereditary chief, complained that the Klamaths were mistreating his people in the Oregon reservation. When his pleas were ignored, Captain Jack and about fifty warriors left the Klamath reservation, to return to their homeland around Lost River where they requested a reservation of their own. They were later joined by other Modocs from the Klamath reserve.

Finally the federal military's attempt to return the Modocs to the Klamath reservation erupted into the Modoc War of 1872–1873. Greatly outnumbered, the Modoc warriors fought five battles with United States military forces without a single defeat. The army pushed the Modocs to the lava beds south of Tule Lake, where after six months of warfare, sixty-five Modocs surrendered on May 22, 1873. Ten days later, the military with the aid of a few of the Modocs captured Captain Jack and twenty-five warriors. The army took the prisoners to Fort Klamath, Oregon and confined them to small stockades. The leading warriors, including Captain Jack, were secured with heavy shackles within three wooden cells. Only the six Modocs who had killed some peace commissioners faced the six-man military commission, where without benefit of lawyers or the ability to speak or understand English, Captain Jack and five others were tried and sentenced to hang on October 3, 1873. Later President Ulysses S. Grant commuted the sentences of two of the convicted men to life imprisonment.

The Federal government decided to remove the remainder of the Modocs to Indian Territory as prisoners-of-war, and on October 12, 1873, 115 Modocs left Fort Klamath for their new homes. Captain H. C. Hasbrouck and Battery B of the Fourth Artillery supervised the removal. The prisoners were taken by wagon to Sacramento, California. From there military guards escorted those whose sentences had been commuted to the United States military prison at Alcatraz, located in San Francisco Bay. The main group of Modocs left by train for Fort Russell, Wyoming and then proceeded to Fort McPherson, Nebraska. There, they remained until mid-November, when they were taken to Baxter Springs, Kansas. During this phase of their journey, they were chained together in cattle cars. Arriving at Baxter Springs on November 16, 1873, the Modoc prisoners, escorted by Captain Melville Wilkinson, special commissioner in charge of the removal, soon departed for Indian Territory by wagon.

The Modocs, uninformed of their destination, poorly fed and clothed, were later praised for their cooperation and good behavior during the removal. Captain Wilkinson and Hiram Jones, the Quapaw Agent, decided to temporarily locate the Modocs on the Shawnee reservation. However, on

Modoc Indian war prisoners wearing leg irons

June 23, 1874, the temporary arrangement became permanent, when the Federal government purchased a 4,040 acre reserve, formerly the northeastern corner of the Shawnee Reservation, for the Modocs. This was the end of Indian colonization in northeastern Indian Territory.

Other tribes formerly from the Old Northwest were settled in two other portions of Indian Territory. Remnants of the Delaware, Shawnee, Munsee, Stockbridge and Chippewa tribes migrated to northern Indian Territory. In the late 1860s these tribal bands were incorporated into the Cherokee Nation.

The Delaware "Trail of Tears" was characterized by four removals. In each migration, the westward expansion of white settlers forced the Delawares to cede more land to the United States and move farther west. Occupying an area along the shores of the southern Great Lakes, a portion of the Delawares began their westward trek in 1817 when they ceded all their lands in Indiana, in exchange for a region west of the Mississippi River. This removal like so many others was characterized as one of extreme hardship, filled with starvation, malnutrition, illness and death. Nevertheless, some Delawares remained on reserves in Ohio. However, it was not long before the insatiable land hunger of the settlers again confronted the Delawares. Under the terms of a treaty signed August 3, 1829, they ceded the rest of their land in Ohio and agreed to join the remainder of the tribe in Missouri. But before the weary tribesmen had even begun the journey another treaty was signed for the removal of the tribe from Missouri. From this pact the Delawares received a new reservation in the form of a triangular tract between the Kansas and Missouri rivers in eastern Kansas. In 1830, Chief William Anderson and 100 Delawares moved west to their new home. Later the remainder of the tribe arrived in Kansas; however, a splinter group of the Cape Girardeau Delawares wandered south to Texas.

Once in Kansas, most of the tribe adjusted reasonably well to their new reservation. Their contentment, however, was one of short duration. Kansas lay on the trail to California, and as a result, white settlers overran the Indian lands, and after the establishment of Kansas Territory in 1854, even more settlers crowded onto the reservations. Once again public opinion pressured the Federal government to extinguish the Indian land titles and open the lands to white settlement. Eventually, a treaty between the United States and the Delawares in 1854 diminished the Kansas reserve. Another treaty was signed in 1860, due mostly to the pressure for railroad construction in the area. One of its provisions provided for the sale of the Delawares' surplus lands, amounting to 223,966.78 acres to the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad Company—later the Union Pacific. The Delawares also agreed to take allotments in severalty, inalienable except to the United

States or to other Delawares, and in 1861 individuals received allotments of eighty acres.

The Delawares sought relief from the settler depredations and encroachments of over 2,000 refugees from "Bleeding Kansas." In 1860 the tribe sent a delegation to the Cherokees to discuss the possibility of purchasing 200 sections—128,000 acres—and becoming citizens of the Cherokee Nation. At this same time they asked the Federal government to remove them to the Rocky Mountains where they hoped to live in peace with their own government, free from white encroachment. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs refused to grant the request and urged them to remove to Indian Territory.

In order to facilitate the consolidation of tribes in Indian Territoy, the Federal government signed a treaty with the Delawares on July 4, 1866, which provided for the purchase of a new reservation in Indian Territory. This reserve was to be large enough to give each tribal member 160 acres. However, any Delaware wanting to remain in Kansas would receive an allotment, a share in the tribe's invested funds and become a United States citizen. Nine hundred and eighty-five tribal members enrolled for tribal membership and became known as the Registered Delawares.

A special delegation of Delaware leaders was sent to Indian Territory to select the tract. They chose land in the northern part of the Cherokee Nation. However, this region was not a part of the land ceded to the United States by the Civilized Tribes in the Cherokee Reconstruction Treaty of 1866 and the Federal government could not give the Delawares the land as provided in the 1866 agreement. To solve the problem on August 11, 1866, the United States and the Cherokees agreed to allow "civilized" Indians friendly to the Cherokees to settle on unoccupied lands east of ninety-six degrees longitude and join the Cherokee Nation. Later in 1866, both the Cherokees and Delawares selected delegates to meet in a council, and on April 8, 1867, at Washington, the two tribes reached an agreement. John Conner, John Sarcoxie, Isaac Journeycake, Charles Journeycake—the Delaware delegates— and Jesse Bushyhead, William Ross, and Riley Keys—the Cherokee representatives—signed the contract, in which the Delawares paid the Cherokee a total of $279,424.28 to purchase 157,600 acres of land and for equal rights and participation in the Cherokee government.

In the fall of 1867, the 985 Registered Delawares began moving to an area located on the Caney River, south of the Kansas border in the Cherokee Nation. Removal was at the expense of the individual Delaware, and some families traveled to Indian Territory alone while others went in groups. Even though the Delawares traveled only 180 to 200 miles, removal proceeded

slowly, especially in the winter months. The wealthier Delawares made the journey easier than did poorer tribal members. The former took household goods, stock and seeds in one trip and were able to start farming in the spring of 1868. The poorer Delawares made several wagon trips, bringing goods, the sick and elderly to Indian Territory. By 1869, most of the Delawares had removed to the Cherokee Nation, giving up their tribal affiliation and becoming Cherokee citizens.

Originally a division of the Delaware tribe, the Algonquian Munsees had become known as an entirely separate tribe during the course of their one hundred-year westward movement from the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New York. Under the terms of the 1832 treaty between the United States and the Menominees, a band of Munsees had confederated with the Stockbridges and purchased a reservation on Winnebago Lake in Wisconsin. Later the Stockbridges and Munsees signed a treaty in 1839, ceding their Wisconsin lands, and according to its provisions, 169 out of 342 Munsees emigrated to Kansas, where they resided on the Delaware Reservation until the Delawares objected. Afterward, in 1859, the Munsees federated with the Swan Creek and Black River bands of Chippewas. That same year the Federal government assigned the confederated Munsees a reservation in Kansas. Nonetheless, the acts of white aggression common to the other tribes residing in Kansas plagued the Munsees, and as a result, they entered into an agreement with the Cherokees in 1867. By this compact the Confederated Munsees paid $4,000 for rights of Cherokee citizenship, and immediately removed to Indian Territory, locating near the Delawares in the northern Cherokee Nation.

The last tribal remnant to merge with the Cherokee Nation were the Shawnees. This Algonquian tribe obtained their Kansas reservation in 1825. At that time Black Bob's band ceded their Cape Girardeau lands in Missouri, in exchange for a reservation in eastern Kansas, south of the Kansas River. For ten years, Shawnees from all parts of the country migrated to this reserve—in two years, 1834 and 1835, 1,250 Ohio Shawnees immigrated to the Kansas reservation.

In 1854 the Federal government concluded a treaty with the Shawnees by which these Indians ceded their reservation of 1,600,000 acres to the United States. According to its terms, the reserve tract was to be alloted in severalty, 200 acres to each member. However, the Black Bob and Longtail bands refused to receive individual allotments and maintained separate reserves with communal ownership. The treaty also provided that the surplus reserve lands be alloted among the Absentee Shawnees, provided they return to Kansas within five years.

Still the Kansas settlers intruded on the reservation, dispossessing the

Shawnees and stealing timber and horses. To increase pressure on the Indians to remove, Kansas officials in 1860 declared all Indians citizens and therefore subjected their lands to taxation, even though the act organizing Kansas Territory in 1854 specifically exempted the Indian lands from taxation. Ignoring this law, territorial authorities proceeded to illegally tax and confiscate the Shawnee lands, as well as that of the other tribes.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, the Shawnees were forced to flee from their land and homes, and at the conclusion of hostilities, the dispersed tribesmen returned to their homes only in many instances to find themselves dispossessed and their lands occupied by the white intruders. Under these conditions the Shawnees signed a treaty with the United States on February 23, 1867, ceding their Kansas lands in exchange for a reserve in Indian Territory. After ratification of the treaty on October 14, 1868, the Shawnees contracted with the Cherokees for a new homeland and in June, 1869, agreed to pay $50,000 for land and citizenship in the Cherokee Nation for 722 Shawnees. The tribe had two years in which to move to the Cherokee Nation, and soon after the conclusion of the agreement, the Shawnees began drifting southward to their new home. Some had few possessions to take with them. Others, traveling in caravans, took wagons filled with household goods, farming implements, farm animals and food. By 1871 most of the Shawnees had removed to the northern part of the Cherokee Nation.

The third geographical area used as a colonization zone for the former Old Northwest tribes was in east central Indian Territory. From the late 1860s to 1883, the Absentee Shawnee, Potawatomi, Sac and Fox, Mexican Kickapoo and Iowa tribes relocated there.

Unlike most of the other tribes, the Absentee Shawnees did not receive their reserve in Indian Territory through the means of a formal treaty. Their rights to land east of the Seminole reserve were acknowledged by an act of Congress in 1872. Some Shawnees from Cape Girardeau, Missouri had migrated southward to Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Arkansas about 1800. By 1836 some Absentee Shawnees resided in the Creek and Choctaw nations, along the Canadian River in present-day Oklahoma. Another band came into Indian Territory with the Texas Cherokees in 1839. Additional members of the Kansas Shawnees migrated to the Canadian River to join their kinsmen in 1846.

Until the Civil War, the various bands of Absentee Shawnees resided in scattered areas of Indian Territory. However, during that conflict most of the isolated bands of Absentee Shawnees migrated to the Walnut River Valley in Kansas, where they remained refugees until the termination of hostilities. In 1867, the Federal government attempted to colonize the

Absentee Shawnees in Indian Territory, west of the Seminole Nation, and although Congress never ratified this treaty, many Absentee Shawnees removed to the area, until by 1868 they were occupying the land, building homes and developing farms. Still later they were joined by Black Bob's band from Kansas in Indian Territory.

Eventually in 1867 the United States assigned the reserve occupied by the Absentee Shawnees to the Potawatomis. Thus, when they removed to Indian Territory in 1870–1871, they discovered the Absentee Shawnees residing on the land promised them. Though the Potawatomis demanded the removal of the Absentee Shawnees from their lands, this was not done and on May 23, 1872, Congress enacted legislation recognizing the right of the Absentee Shawnees to land on the Potawatomi Reservation. No conflict developed between the two tribes because the Absentee Shawnees had settled in the northern part of the reserve and the Potawatomis in the southern and central areas.

The Potawatomis were a fragmented Algonquian tribe, formerly from the Great Lakes region, and originally had received a reservation in the northern portion of Indian Territory, which later became Kansas. In several previous treaties with the United States, the Potawatomis had ceded millions of acres in the Old Northwest, until by 1840 most of the Potawatomis lived west of the Mississippi River. The Prairie band settled in Iowa while bands from Indiana received a reservation in Kansas in 1837. Eleven years later the Federal government attempted to unite the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa tribes and assign them a new reservation in Kansas. The Potawatomis of the Woods and the Prairie band then removed to the 576,000 acre reserve, west of present Topeka, Kansas.

The fate of the Kansas Potawatomis closely resembled that of the other Kansas tribes: white depredations, allotments in severalty and gross exploitation at the hands of Kansas settlers. In 1861 the Potawatomis signed a treaty with the Federal government, in which they agreed to allotment in severalty and the sale of their surplus lands. Most of the tribe accepted their eighty-acre allotment and became United States citizens, and thereafter, this segment was designated the Citizen Potawatomis. The Prairie band, however, refused the allotments and withdrew from tribal intercourse with the other bands. As a result the Federal government assigned them an 87,680 acre reserve in Kansas. However, the main body of the Potawatomis sold 576,000 acres of their land, largely to the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad, because many tribal members believed that such a sale would enhance the civilization of the tribe.

Discouraged by acts of the white settlers and crop failures during the Civil War, some of the Potawatomis began searching for a new home. With

that purpose, forty Potawatomis visited the Cherokee Nation while others journeyed to Iowa and Wisconsin. Another group left for the Red River to join the Kickapoos. A few of these returned bearing unfavorable news but most traveled on to Mexico.

The Citizen Potawatomis, receiving shabby treatment from Kansas settlers and state and federal officials, decided to sell their allotments and purchase a reservation in Indian Territory. As a result on February 27, 1867, the Citizen Potawatomis signed a treaty providing for the registration of tribal members desiring to remove to Indian Territory. Representatives of the Citizen Potawatomis, along with leaders of other Kansas tribes, accompanied a United States commission to Indian Territory, but returned without selecting a site for their new home. Nevertheless at the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the commission arbitrarily selected a location west of the Sac and Fox reservation, even though the Potawatomis objected to that location. Later tribal leaders visited the area and made adjustments in the tract. The final location selected was a 575,870.42-acre reserve between the South Canadian and North Canadian rivers on the Creek and Seminole cessions. The Potawatomis purchased the reservation from the sale in 1870 of their surplus lands in Kansas, to the Santa Fe Railroad. Within two years 1,800 Potawatomis lived on the new reservation.

The Sac and Fox reservation adjoined the Potawatomi lands. The removal to Indian Territory in 1869 was the fourth one in a period of two generations for some of the Sac and Fox tribesmen. Continually pushed westward, this confederated Algonquian tribe had lost its lands first in Wisconsin, then in Illinois, Nebraska and Missouri. By the spring of 1846, they lived on a tract on the Osage River in Kansas, but within a few years, white settlers and the railroads began agitating for removal of the confederated tribes to Indian Territory. The Sac and Fox tribe considered removal as a possibility as early as 1852, and dismayed by their new home, the high rate of mortality, and the white pressure for their tribal lands, they wanted to remove beyond the reach of white civilization.

Treaties signed in 1854 and 1859 further reduced their Kansas reserves, and following the common pattern, the latter treaty provided for allotment in severalty and selling of surplus lands. The Sac and Fox tribe ceded 290,000 acres to the United States, to be sold to the settlers in tracts of 160 acres in order to pay accounts owed to traders. From the 150,000 acre reserve, individual allotments were given in eighty acre tracts, with the exception of mixed bloods and Indian women married to white men who received 320 acres each. These allotments were inalienable except to other Sac and Fox or to the Federal government. When this treaty was negotiated most of the Fox were on a hunting expedition, and upon their return they refused to

Sac and Fox Indians in front of frame and bark roofed summer house on the Sac and Fox Reservation

accept it. Outraged, many Fox tribesmen returned to Iowa to join some kinsmen who had acquired a tract of land there in 1856.

Another attempt to remove the Sac and Fox tribe to Indian Territory was made in 1863. Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Dole negotiated a removal treaty but after the United States Senate attached some amendments the Indians refused to accept it. However, after the Civil War, the tribe requested that removal negotiations be held, and on February 18, 1867, the Sac and Fox leaders signed a removal treaty. Selling their diminished reserve in Kansas to the United States for $1.00 an acre, the tribe received a 479,667 acre reserve between the Cimarron and North Canadian rivers, west of the Creek Nation.

Almost three years elapsed from the time the treaty was signed to the date of departure for Indian Territory. Mainly the tardiness of Congress in appropriating funds to finance the removal caused the delay. The waiting period was a difficult one for the Sac and Fox tribe as squatters increasingly moved onto the Indians' lands and dispossessed the tribal members. Plains Indians in western Kansas hindered the Sac and Fox's hunting expeditions,

and consequently the Federal government had to provide rations for the tribe.

The decision to remove to Indian Territory had divided the tribe. Mokohoko, a Sac and Fox chief, refused to acknowledge the treaty and would not leave Kansas. Two hundred and forty tribal members remained in Kansas with Mokohoko, while the majority, left for their new reservation. Under the charge of their agent, they began their southward journey on November 25, 1869. Twenty-three wagons filled with baggage, farming implements, seeds and provisions had previously departed for Indian Territory. The emigrants, taking seventeen wagons, transporting the elderly, sick and young, reached their destination in nineteen days, and the mild winter weather enabled the Sac and Fox removal to proceed with few difficulties. Once on their new lands, the tribe lived in tents until they could construct homes. By May, 1870, 387 Sac and Fox resided on the reservation; however, this number increased in the succeeding years as some of the Sac and Fox in Kansas, Iowa and Nebraska joined their kinsmen in Indian Territory.

Eventually, in 1875, Mokohoko moved to the new reserve but he soon returned to Kansas to be near his old home where his band was soon reduced to a small, poor, migratory group, at the mercy of the white settlers. In 1886, members of the Sac and Fox band in Indian Territory visited Mokohoko in a futile attempt to persuade him to return with them. The settlers in Kansas also sought the removal of Mokohoko and his band and finally in November, 1886, the army escorted them to the Sac and Fox reservation in Indian Territory.

Among one of the last Indian tribes assigned a reservation in east central Indian Territory were the Mexican Kickapoos, removed from Mexico in December, 1873. In the following spring they selected a tract located east of the Sac and Fox and north of the Potawatomi reservations.

In 1819 the Kickapoos ceded all their Illinois land and as compensation received a reserve on the Osage River in Missouri. Many tribal members objected to the terms of the treaty and migrated to Texas instead. There, they allied with the Cherokees, and after the Texans defeated the Cherokees in 1839, they retreated north of the Red River, to the Choctaw Nation. Until 1850–1851, one group resided on Wild Horse Creek; however, at that time, they followed Wild Cat, the Seminole, to Mexico. Another segment settled on the Canadian River in the Creek Nation, where, they served as a buffer between the Creeks and Plains tribes. At the beginning of Civil War hostilities, they emigrated to Mexico, where Mexican officials granted them a reservation and a pledge of no government interference in exchange for protection of the Mexican border from the Plains tribes' raids.

Restricted from raiding in Mexico, the Kickapoos extended their activities

Kickapoo women taking part in a game

to Texan settlements, inflicting havoc there from 1865 to 1873. In mid-1873 the United States Commission to Texas investigated the Kickapoo war on Texas, and concluded that removal of the Mexican Kickapoos to a reservation in the United States would solve the problem. This report was instrumental in the future attempts to remove the band to Indian Territory. In 1871 Jonathan Miles traveled to Coahuila, Mexico to discuss removal with the Mexican Kickapoos but his mission was not fruitful. In 1873 two opposing methods of dealing with the Indians existed in the Federal government: the War Department advocated a "force policy," while the Bureau of Indian Affairs supported "a peace polcy." Both methods were applied in the attempt to remove the Kickapoos to Indian Territory.

In May, 1873, the Bureau of Indian Affairs sent a second commission consisting of Henry M. Atkinson and J. J. Williams to Mexico to persuade the Kickapoos to return to the United States. It received Mexican assurances that their officials and local individuals would refrain from interfering in the negotiations. At the same time Colonel Ranald Mackenzie was carrying out the War Department's policy of force. For months Mackenzie specifically trained the Fourth Cavalry for the mission, and finally after learning of the departure of the warriors from the Kickapoo villages, Mackenzie and 400 soldiers invaded Mexico in the dead of night. Upon reaching Nacimiento, Mexico, which was occupied by only women, children and old men, he ordered the villages

burned and forty women and children seized as prisoners-of-war. Sending them first to San Antonio, Texas under heavy guard, they later were transferred to Fort Gibson in Indian Territory.

At first Atkinson believed the Mackenzie raid had ruined the chances of persuading the Kickapoos to remove to Indian Territory. After unsuccessfully attempting to meet their demands that their women and children be returned prior to the start of negotiations, Atkinson was able to turn the Indians' concern for their loved ones to his advantage. Atkinson used the Kickapoo prisoners-of-war as a lure, telling the warriors that the only way they would be reunited with the women and children was for them to remove to Indian Territory. Atkinson proceeded to make plans for the removal, and in lieu of immediate removal funds appropriated by Congress, the Commissioner obtained a loan from the Bank of San Antonio to finance the removal. Through the influence of C. W. Brackenridge, a close friend and president of the Bank of San Antonio, he obtained credit at some San Antonio stores. So devastating had been Mackenzie's raid that the Kickapoos had to be completely outfitted for their removal with replacement weapons, tools, food, clothing and cooking utensils. They eventually received over $20,000 worth of supplies and weapons.

On August 28, 1873, Atkinson and Williams escorted 317 warriors, women and children northwest to Indian Territory. In order to avoid the Texas settlements, they took a longer route, crossing the Rio Grande west of the Pecos River. From there, they headed north until they reached Fort Sill on December 20, 1874. Here two chiefs, Wahpesee and Thahpequah, then took the 317 Mexican Kickapoos to the upper Washita River where they erected winter lodges, were reunited with the women and children captives and remained until spring.

Prior to their arrival in Indian Territory, Andrew Williams had been appointed special agent in charge of selecting a reservation and preparing for the Kickapoo arrival. He chose a tract west of the Osage and Kaw reservations. Upon learning that the Federal government had selected a reservation for them, the Kickapoo chiefs strongly objected and refused to accept it. Their resistance was based on two reasons: one of the conditions of their removal was that the chiefs could select their own reservation, and the tract assigned was next to their old enemies, the Osages and the Kaws. Because the Federal government hoped to obtain the return of 400 Kickapoos remaining in Mexico, federal officials acquiesced. Atkinson then arranged for them to stay at their upper Washita encampment and provided them with blankets and winter supplies.

In the early sping Chief Thahpequah and other Kickapoo leaders began searching for a new home in Indian Territory. Their choices were few as

Iowa Indians in Indian Territory just before statehood

most of the land was occupied by other colonized tribes. They finally selected a 100,000 acre tract west of the Sac and Fox and north of the Potawatomi reservations, between the Deep Fork and North Canadian rivers, and west to the Indian Meridian. By early April, the Mexican Kickapoos were living on their new reservation.

In December, 1874, Atkinson and William Edgar returned to Coahuila to induce the remaining Kickapoos to return to the United States. The commissioners persuaded Mosquito's band of 115 Kickapoos to remove to the reservation in Indian Territory, and provided each family supplies and food for their journey. On April 15, 1875, the second group of Kickapoos left Mexico, and by the end of 1875, 432 Mexican Kickapoos had settled on their reservation in Indian Territory. By executive order in 1883, the Mexican Kickapoos were assigned their first reservation.

That same year, by executive order, the Federal government assigned the Iowa Indians a reservation in Indian Territory. In 1876, the Iowas on their Kansas reservation had discussed allotment by severalty, and about one-half of the Iowas had objected to the plan and migrated southward in small bands. Between 1876 and 1883 several bands had emigrated to the Sac and

Fox reservation in Indian Territory, but because of the uncertainty of the status of these Iowa bands and because of their state of destitution, the Federal government assigned them a reservation in 1883. One hundred and eighty-five members of this Siouan tribe settled on the 225,000 acre tract, located west of the Sac and Fox and north of the Kickapoo reservations, between the Cimarron and Deep Fork rivers.

The assignment of the Iowa Reservation in Indian Territory brought to a close the colonization of the three geographical areas, largely occupied by remnants of former Old Northwest tribes. Bands of over thirty tribes removed to reservations in these regions. Each "Trail of Tears" differed somewhat but in each case the tribes suffered loss of property, hardships, demoralization and tribal disunity. For the most part, the westward push of settlers had led to the abrogation of the Indian's title to their native lands and to their final removal to Indian Territory.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

Few works exist on the subject of removal of the Old Northwest tribes, and the Quapaws, Modocs and Iowas to Indian Territory. Excellent background material in summary form is found in Muriel Wright's, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951). Essential to a study of the exodus of the northern tribes from their homelands is Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).

An article published by Anne Abel in the *Annual Report of American Historical Association, 1906* (Washington, 1908), pp 233–450, titled "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River," is an adequate study of the development of Indian policy leading to Indian colonization. Dealing with the final phase of tribal residence on Kansas reservations and the loss of lands are: Paul Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts and Kansas Land Policy, 1854–1890* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1954) and

Annie Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and Extinguishment of Their Title," *Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII (1903–1904), pp. 72–109.

The resettlement of the tribes in northeastern Indian Territory has been treated briefly in Dora Buford, "A History of the Indians Under the Quapaw Agency," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1932 and in Joseph Fensten, "Indian Removal," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (December, 1933), pp. 1072–1083. An undocumented pamphlet by Charles Banks Wilson, *Quapaw Agency Indians* (Miami, Oklahoma, 1947) deals with the relocation of the tribes in present Ottawa County, Oklahoma. Several articles treat the Quapaw removal: Vern Thompson, "A History of the Quapaw," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1955), pp. 360–383 and David Baird, "The Reduction of a People: The Quapaw Removal, 1824–1834," *Red River Valley Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Spring, 1974), pp. 21–36. Ray Merwin, "The Wyandot Indians," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. IX (1905–1906), pp. 73–88 touches briefly on the final removal of the Wyandots to Indian Territory. Bert Anson's tribal history, *The Miami Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970) relates their tragic "Trail of Tears." Several studies deal with the Modoc War which culminated in the removal of part of the tribe to Indian Territory: Keith Murray, *The Modocs and Their War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959) and Richard Dillon, *Burnt-Out Fires: California-Modoc Indian War* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall 1973). Both Lucille Martin, "A History of the Modoc Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1969–1970), pp. 398–446 and Frank Johnson, "The Modoc Indians and Their Removal to Oklahoma," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1939 treat the exodus of this western tribe to present Ottawa County, Oklahoma.

Little has been written on those Old Northwest tribes which dissolved their tribal governments and joined the Cherokee Nation in the late 1860's. C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians, A History* (New Brunwick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972) is the definitive work on this tribe. Henry Harvey's undocumented book, *History of the Shawnee Indians* (Cincinnati: E. Morgan and Sons, 1855) covers the Shawnee removal and resettlement to the Treaty of 1854. Grant Harrington, *The Shawnees In Kansas* (Kansas City, Kansas, 1937) is a pamphlet which briefly treats the Shawnee relocation in Indian Territory.

The tribes removed to east central Indian Territory have received a more adequate treatment from historians. The definitive tribal history of the Sac and Fox tribe is William T. Hagan, *Sac and Fox Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958). Dealing exclusively with the final removal and resettlement of the Sac and Fox tribe is Donald Osborn, "Sac and Fox Indians: Reservation Years in Indian Territory, 1869–1891," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1960. The removal of the Potawatomis is treated in Joseph Murphy, "Potawatomi Indians of the West: Origins of the Citizen Band,"

Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1961. Berlin Chapman, "The Potawatomi and Absentee Shawnee Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946), pp. 293–305 deals with the final resettlement of those two tribes. Arrell M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963) is the definitive history of the former Old Northwest tribe. The Iowa removal is dealt with in Berlin Chapman, "Establishment of the Iowa Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (December, 1943), pp. 366–377 and Roy Meyer, "The Iowa Indians, 1836–1885," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1962), pp. 273–300.

INDIAN COLONIZATION IN THE CHEROKEE OUTLET AND WESTERN INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Carol Hampton**

Between 1855 and 1894 the Federal government colonized twenty-six tribes in the Cherokee Outlet and that portion of Indian Territory west of the Ninety-eighth Meridian. Though most of these tribal relocations occurred after the Civil War, the process of colonizing Indian tribes in western Indian Territory began before 1861.

In 1855 the United States government leased several western tracts to be used as reservations for Plains Tribes. One large area rented from the Choctaws and Chickasaws and called the Leased District extended from the Ninety-eighth Meridian westward to the Texas border. It embraced the entire present counties of Tillman, Cotton, Comanche, Kiowa, Washita, Caddo, Custer and Roger Mills in southwestern Oklahoma, and parts of Beckham, Dewey, Blaine, Canadian, Grady, Stephens and Jefferson counties. However, Choctaws and Chickasaws permitted, even encouraged, Wichitas, Keechies, Caddoes, Wacoes, Shawnees and Delawares already occupying the Leased District to remain in their western territory because they provided a buffer between the Five Civilized Tribes and the fierce, nomadic Plains tribes. This arrangement continued after 1855 with the only addition of a federal agent to oversee and aid the Wichitas and their affiliated bands, although it was evident that the Federal government intended to move other tribes onto that land. For thirty-five years—from 1859 to 1894—the Leased District was the scene of forced tribal settlement of Plains tribes on reservations set aside by the United States.

Also in 1855, Federal officials leased two tracts of land in Texas to provide temporary reservations for Texas Indians which included Caddoes, Wacoes, Tawakonies, Keechies, Ionies, Anadarkoes, Lipans, Tonkawas and a band of Penateka Comanches. Although government Indian agents chose sites on the Brazos River in present Young County, seemingly far beyond the frontier, within a few years the line of white settlement had moved close to the two Texas reservations creating problems for the resident Indians.

Marauding bands of Plains tribes ranging the Texas frontier caused not only fear and panic but a strong desire by the settlers to be rid of all Native American neighbors. Although federal and state officials repeatedly exonerated reservation Indians of depredations on white settlements, several

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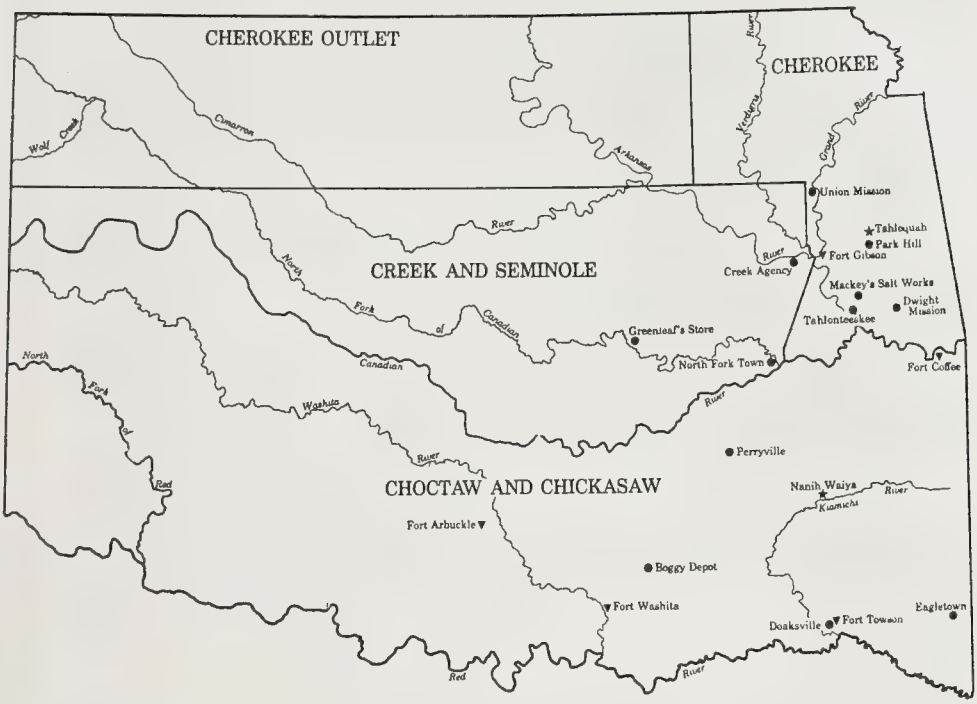


The Leased District, for thirty-five years, 1859 to 1894, was the scene of forced tribal settlement of Plains Indians (adapted from John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, map 25)

frontiersmen led by a disgruntled former Indian agent inflamed public hostility against the reservation Indians thus precipitating their removal.

Recognizing a threat to their families, Texas Indians and their agents prepared to abandon their reservation and seek new homes. Accordingly, in the spring of 1859, several tribal leaders aided by Robert S. Neighbors, federal Indian superintendent, selected a new reservation on the Washita River in the Leased District and requested that the United States Army establish a fort nearby for their protection.

Nevertheless, the hostile frontier attitude toward all Native Americans continued unabated throughout that spring and summer. Federal officials had promised to move the Texas Indians as soon as a new reservation had been selected. After several skirmishes between frontiersmen and Indians, Texas Governor Hardin R. Runnels appointed a peace commission in June,

1859, to prevent further bloodshed. The commissioners recommended that the Federal government remove the reservation Indians as quickly as possible, a plan already initiated by Superintendent Neighbors.

As the Texas Indians gathered their belongings for their migration north to the Leased District, Governor Runnels sent a company of state troopers to keep peace and prevent rioting. By promising to shoot on sight any Indian found outside the reservation boundaries, these troopers prevented the Indians from collecting their stray cattle. The Indians, furthermore, had scanty crop harvests because the threatened attacks by white settlers during the spring had prevented them from plowing and sowing.

Upon hearing a rumor that a group of frontiersmen planned to ambush the Indians as they departed the reservation, Superintendent Neighbors kept the date of the first day's march secret, even from the Indians. On July 31, 1859, the Penateka band of Comanches abandoned their camp on the Clear Fork of the Brazos River. On the following day the Caddoes, Anadarkoes, Wacoes, a small band of Delawares, Tonkawas, Tawakonies, Keechies and Ionies left their homes on the Brazos River. Accompanied by a federal military escort the two groups traveled separately until August 8 when they met and crossed the Red River together. As they marched one hundred seventy miles to their new home, only the Penateka Comanches looked forward to rejoining their kinsmen who ranged over western Indian Territory. The other 1,100 Texas Indians could, at best, anticipate greater problems as they moved deeper within the hunting grounds of their traditional enemies—the Kiowas and Comanches.

Suffering from the deprivations of a two-week forced march in the August heat—on one memorable day the temperature climbed to 106°—the Penateka Comanches and Texas Indians arrived on August 15 at the site on the Washita River where an agency was established. Fort Cobb, a military post for the protection of the Texas Indians, was finally completed on the first of October about four miles southwest of their agency.

Approximately 1,200 Wichitas and Keechies settled on Rush Creek 60 miles west of Fort Arbuckle in the Leased District and, by 1857, 300 Wacoes inhabited a village on the Canadian River 50 miles northwest of that post. The first Wichita agent visited his charges in the Leased District in 1858 and suggested that they improve their living conditions by selecting a new location where they would have some protection from the prairie blizzards which swept out of the north. As a result the Wichitas and Keechies moved in 1859 to a sheltered village site on the Washita River near the new homes of the Texas Indians, and, thereafter, a combined agency directed their affairs.

For two years the Texas Indians attempted to build homes and plant

crops, but Texas Rangers continued to harass them. On August 12, 1861 Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike signed a treaty with these tribes at the Wichita Agency, thus bringing them into the Civil War on the side of Texas and the Confederacy. Some members of each of these affiliated tribes, however, chose to remain loyal to the United States and fled to Kansas and Colorado for the remainder of the Civil War. After Pike's visit to Fort Cobb the Confederacy assumed the administration of that garrison, but most Indians believed that the quality of their rations and degree of protection had declined with the change in administration.

In the fall of 1862 officials heard rumors that pro-Northern Shawnees and Delawares planned to attack the Confederate agency and that Caddoes were preparing to massacre the Tonkawas in retaliation for the murder of a Caddo boy. The rumors proved true, and on October 23 Indians attacked and burned the Wichita agency. The Tonkawas, upon learning of this assault, immediately broke camp and started for Fort Arbuckle where they hoped to receive military protection. As they rested in their overnight camp the combined force of Delawares, Shawnees, Caddoes and Wichitas attacked them early in the morning and killed 167 Tonkawas. Only a few survived to reach Fort Arbuckle, and, still feeling unsafe there, they continued their flight south to Fort Griffin, Texas.

During the Civil War marauding bands of Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Comanches, Cheyennes and Arapahoes took advantage of diverted military forces and increased their raids on settlements and supply trains. In addition military leaders used the excuse of the war to wantonly attack even the peaceful members of these tribes. The infamous Sand Creek Massacre perpetrated by Colonel J. M. Chivington and the Colorado militia upon Black Kettle's unsuspecting band of Cheyennes swayed public opinion, and, in 1864, induced Union government officials to re-investigate their policy toward Indians.

The result of this inquiry led to a new stance by the United States—a policy of negotiation rather than extermination. Consequently, in 1865, federal negotiatiors convened the Council of the Little Arkansas to propose a treaty committing Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, Cheyennes and Arapahoes to peace with the United States and assigning them reservations south of the Arkansas River. By this agreement, lands allotted to these five Plains tribes included parts of southwestern Kansas and all of western Indian Territory south of the Cherokee Outlet.

Meanwhile, as the southern Plains tribes were relinquishing portions of their hunting grounds, the United States government signed a treaty with the Osages in Kansas by which that tribe agreed to cede a part of their land and to begin arrangements for their move to Indian Territory. How-

Federal commissioners listening to chiefs at the council held at Medicine Lodge Creek in southern Kansas

ever, five years passed before the Osages departed for their new home.

As a part of their policy of negotiation toward confinement of all Indian tribes on reservations, the United States government forced several treaties on the Five Civilized Tribes after the Civil War. These so-called Reconstruction treaties penalized those tribes for aiding the Confederacy and appropriated their western lands for future reservations. The Choctaws and Chickasaws relinquished all claims to the Leased District, the Cherokees surrendered a portion of their Cherokee Outlet and the Seminoles and Creeks ceded their western lands.

Having acquired these territories, United States commissioners again convened a council with the Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, Cheyennes and Arapahoes on Medicine Lodge Creek in southern Kansas in October, 1867. The commissioners at that council warned the Indians that,

with the disappearance of the vast herds of buffalo, an agricultural life with an occasional government issue of beef would benefit them. Nevertheless, two Indian delegates made moving rejoinders to the commissioners' demand that the Plains Indians abandon their traditional far-ranging, nomadic life and confine themselves to farming on diminished reservations. Satanta, a Kiowa leader, stated that: "I love to roam over the wide prairie, and when I do it, I feel free and happy, but when we settle down we grow pale and die." Then the Comanche chief, Ten Bears, rose and declared: "I was born upon the prairies, where the wind blew free, and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures, and where everything drew a free breath. I want to die there, and not within walls."

Although the United States delegation listened attentively to these speeches the commissioners had already made the decision that the Indians had to accept a greatly reduced hunting range to allow space for railroads and the opening of new territories to settlers. The federal officials promised that in return for Indians settling on reservations the United States would

assimilate them into frontier society, and provide houses, schools and churches—those things which the Indian delegates most expressly feared.

Terms of the Treaties of Medicine Lodge assigned the Kiowas, Comanches and Kiowa-Apaches a reservation in the Leased District, partly on lands granted previously to the Wichitas, Caddoes and affiliated bands and occupied by them and their kinsmen who had returned from Kansas and Colorado in the autumn of 1867. By placing traditional enemies on the same lands, government officials created inevitable boundary arguments.

Although the new Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation extended across the Cherokee Outlet between the Cimarron and Arkansas rivers, they preferred to settle south of that area on the North Fork of the Canadian River. In fact, few of the southern Plains tribes occupied their reservations at first. Most of them simply continued their nomadic search for buffalo.

Military actions between Indians and United States troops usually ceased with the onset of winter. The Plains Indians settled into large encampments to await the coming of spring and the resumption of large-scale buffalo hunts and forays against white settlers. However, Major General Philip Sheridan, commander of the Department of the Missouri, hoped to take advantage of the Indian dormancy with a surprise winter assault. Early in 1868 he directed troops to establish a new military post, later named Fort Supply, as a base from which to initiate a winter campaign against the Indians.

As troops massed at Wolf Creek in November, 1868, in preparation for the forthcoming campaign, a heavy snow began to fall. Still Indian scouts of the Seventh Cavalry were able to locate Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes on the upper Washita River. Early on the morning of November 27, Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer surprised the Cheyennes with a lightning-swift attack on their camp. Black Kettle and 100 warriors were killed and few of his band, women and children, escaped to reach the rest of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes camped farther down the river.

At the beginning of the assault Custer had directed Major Joel Elliott to circle the camp and attack from the other side. During the action Elliott's men pursued some fleeing Indian boys away from the main body of military troops and suddenly confronted warriors from a larger camp downstream. Receiving no assistance from Custer, none of Elliott's men survived the battle. In retaliation, Custer ordered his men to destroy the entire herd of horses belonging to Black Kettle's band.

The Massacre of theWashita marked a definite change in southern Plains Indian life. That battle divided each of the involved tribes into peaceful and warring factions. Disheartened by the destruction of their horse herd

by Custer, several of the more peaceful bands of Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Kiowas moved to lands reserved for them.

A presidential proclamation in 1869 assigned the Cheyennes and Arapahoes a new reservation on the North Fork of the Canadian, west of the Ninety-eighth Meridian and north of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache reserve. However, Cheyennes and Arapahoes camped near Fort Supply in northwestern Indian Territory, particularly after the Battle of Summit Springs ended Cheyenne occupation of the area between the Platte and Arkansas rivers in southern Nebraska, Wyoming and Kansas. Their first agency was located on Pond Creek, a tributary of Salt Fork, but in 1870 the agency moved to its final site at Darlington, near El Reno.

During this period several other tribes, notably those who lived on reservations in Kansas, found white settlers occupying their land. In 1869 the Otoes and Missouris, natives of Kansas and Nebraska, agreed to sell their reservation which lay within those states and buy a new home in Indian Territory. However, eight chiefs and one hundred men not satisfied with the agreement sent a petition to President Andrew Johnson, requesting that the treaty ceding their land be rejected. As a result the Otoes and Missouris postponed their removal.

Another Kansas tribe did agree to move south into Indian Territory. An act of the United States Congress in July, 1870, permitted the Osages to sell their reservation in Kansas which had been reduced in size through previous treaties and to use the proceeds to purchase a new home in the Cherokee Outlet. Though definite boundaries for the new reserve were originally omitted, they were added the following year. Moving in 1872, the Osages at first settled just east of their assigned lands in the Cherokee Outlet. However, a short time later they finally moved to an area bounded by the Cherokee Nation on the east and the Arkansas River on the west.

Soon after the Osages had moved onto their new reservation in the Cherokee Outlet, the Otoes and Missouris reconsidered the possibility of removal and directed their leaders to seek a home in Indian Territory. The Otoe and Missouri delegation selected a tract of land adjacent to the Osage western boundary. Once again, however, the tribes divided on the subject of removal and they temporarily remained on their northern reservation.

Although the Federal government had established an Indian Peace Commission in 1867, two years later a group of Quakers met with President Ulysses S. Grant to assert that a peace policy had yet to be implemented. As a result, Grant invited them to offer their own members as commissioners and agents on the reservations—a challenge the Quakers enthusiastically accepted. Because of this as the tribes arrived at their assigned lands they

met Quaker agents eager to help tribal members become civilized.

In 1871 federal Indian policy again underwent a major change, Congress passed an act in the spring of that year abolishing the sovereignty of Indian tribes. No longer would the relationships between the United States and Indian tribes be that of equal and independent states. Thereafter, acts of Congress and executive orders would determine all Indian relations with the federal government rather than treaties.

These changes made little difference to most Kiowas and Comanches on the Great Plains as they continued to hunt and raid settlements, particularly in Texas. In 1871 a party of Kiowas led by Satanta, Satank and Big Tree attacked a large wagon train near Jacksboro, Texas. Though three Kiowas lost their lives, the survivors were pleased with their success—unaware that their apparent victory would lead to ultimate defeat.

General William Tecumseh Sherman and his staff had arrived at Fort Richardson, Texas, after an inspection tour of border posts only a few hours before one of the survivors of the wagon train attack was admitted to the post hospital. After learning his story Sherman immediately directed the Fourth Cavalry to pursue the Indians and bring them to Fort Sill, a post established in Indian Territory only two years before, where Sherman would meet them.

When Sherman reached Fort Sill with news of the wagon train assault Lawrie Tatum, Quaker Indian agent for the Kiowas and Comanches, assured him that the missing Kiowas would soon arrive to receive their regular rations. Indeed Satanta, Big Tree, Satank and other Kiowas duly appeared at Fort Sill. When asked by Sherman and Tatum about the raid the chiefs eagerly admitted the act. Sherman thereupon ordered the three men arrested, and the Fourth Cavalry took them into custody for the trip back to Texas to stand trial, a new experience for Indians. Guards killed Satank on the trip when he attempted to escape, but the other two chiefs were tried, found guilty and sentenced to hang. Subsequently the Texas governor commuted the sentences to life imprisonment in the state penitentiary at Huntsville. Because of this the other Kiowas remained quiet, as they had promised, hoping not to upset Satanta's and Big Tree's opportunity for parole, granted in 1873.

While Plains warfare diminished during 1871 and 1872, the Cherokee Outlet became a thriving center of Indian removal. The Osages moved onto their reservation in 1872 and were soon visited by a delegation of Otoes and Missourias still seeking a new reservation. Several acts of Congress permitted a related tribe, the Kansa or Kaw, to sell their Kansas lands and purchase a tract of land in the northwestern corner of the Osage Reservation. The Kaws left their homeland in early summer, 1873, and made the journey

Federal troops moving Plains Indians to new homes in Indian Territory

to their new reservation in seventeen days. However, they arrived there with almost no food as white settlers had prevented the tribesmen from planting crops their last years in Kansas, and the Federal government had made no provision for them.

Pawnees from Nebraska also began their move to Indian Territory in 1873 after they had sold the last of their northern reservation in 1872. Welcomed by the Wichitas and Caddoes, because of their long-standing relationships, many Pawnees settled near the Wichita agency; however, most of them chose to move to a reservation in the Cherokee Outlet extending south into former Creek lands between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers south of the Osages. The Federal government established a tribal agency for them on Black Bear Creek in 1875.

Although the Federal government promised to provide food for the tribes on reservations, the amount supplied was insufficient and frequently inferior, thus necessitating the men to hunt in order to feed their hungry families. By this time, however, white buffalo hunters competed with Indians for the diminishing herds. Plains Indian hunters particularly disliked white hunters because of their habit of taking only hides and leaving rotting carcasses on the plains. These problems contributed to the

expiration of the Quaker peace policy in 1874 and the outbreak of the last conflict between the United States and Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes and Arapahoes.

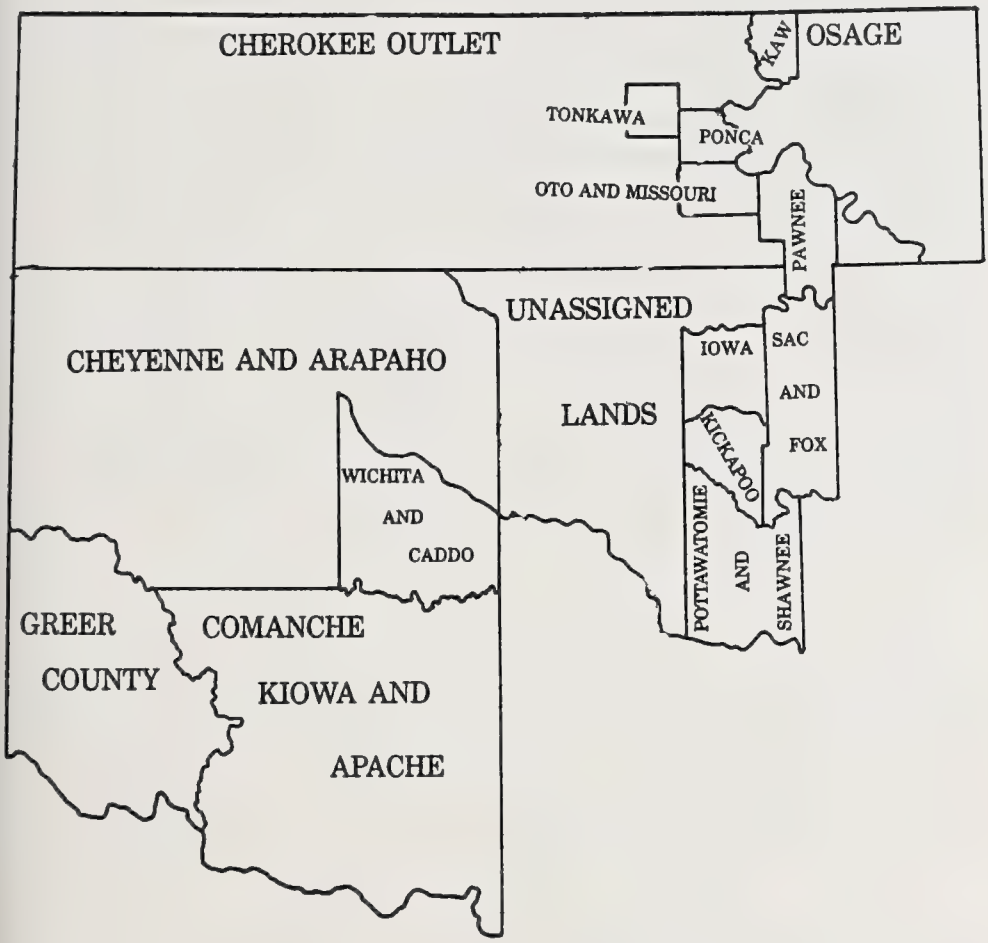
Hostilities began with a concentrated attack by about 200 Comanches, Cheyennes and Kiowas on an old trading post in the Texas Panhandle known as Adobe Walls which was used as a base by white hunters seeking buffalo. It was during this raid that Quanah Parker made his reputation as a leader although the Plains warriors lost the battle. The white hunters were able to successfully defend their post with long-range buffalo guns.

As a result of the Adobe Walls encounter, in mid-July, 1874, the War Department proposed to set a date, August 3, by which all friendly Indians must report to their respective agencies and remain there for periodic roll calls. All others were considered hostile. Any belligerents, when caught, were to be disarmed, divested of their horses and held as prisoners of war. By the middle of August many Plains Indians had arrived, agents had completed enrollment, and the army had begun preparations to attack those unenrolled.

Within a week, as the Wichitas, Caddoes and Delawares peacefully drew their rations, the belligerents showed their contempt for the army's new plan by attacking the Wichita agency. Caddoes, Wichitas and some Pawnees at first joined in the attack, but subsequently later aligned themselves with the United States and served as scouts for military expeditions in the ensuing campaign against the Plains tribes. The United States army saved the agency with difficulty as the Kiowas and Comanches scattered, mistakenly thinking that they were outnumbered. After that skirmish federal soldiers won most of the battles and finally the war.

As each band straggled into Fort Sill to surrender they realized that the United States government's Indian policy had changed. They received no gifts and were offered no treaties. Instead, their horses, weapons and other gear were confiscated and their chiefs arrested and incarcerated. Seventy-two chiefs were sent as prisoners of war to Fort Marion in Florida. The last Indians to surrender were the Quahadi Comanches led by Quanah Parker.

Although the War Department focused its attention on rounding up the Plains Tribes—northern and southern—Congress and the Department of the Interior planned to move other tribes into the Cherokee Outlet. The Poncas in South Dakota and Nebraska had ceded almost one-third of their reservation to the United States in 1865. Three years later their condition suddenly worsened when a federal commission gave a portion of their remaining, unceded lands to the Sioux, old enemies of the Poncas. Finally, in 1876, Congress passed an act authorizing funds for the removal of the Poncas to Indian Territory, but the Poncas, after inspecting the lands



Locations of the various Indian tribes in the Cherokee Outlet and Western Indian Territory in the late nineteenth century (adapted from John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, map 30)

offered, refused to move. Although the congressional act authorizing Ponca removal specifically required their consent, the War Department sent troops to force them to move.

Thus began another tragic forced migration to a new home. Many Poncas declared their desire to die rather than move to a "hot country," but most of them realized the futility of resistance. At the end of April, 1877, a group of 170 Poncas began their march, followed, two weeks later, by most of the remainder of the tribe. Disastrous weather and untimely deaths marked the journey. Heavy rains, swollen rivers and even a tornado hampered them. Finally, on July 9, the second group of Poncas crossed the border into Indian Territory and onto the Quapaw Reservation to join the earlier arrivals. Discouraged and ill, the Poncas found that the Federal government had sent no provisions for them. They had no food, no homes and no crops in the middle of summer in the hated "hot country." Dissatisfied, several Ponca leaders requested a reservation in another part of Indian Territory. Selecting an area on the west bank of the Arkansas River in 1878, once again the Poncas prepared to move. This trip took eight days during July with temperatures rising to 100°, and as a result, they arrived exhausted. Having been settled in a place too short a time to plant and harvest crops, the Poncas had little food. Also, during the first summer on their new reservation they faced a disease they had previously escaped in their northern home—malaria.

The tragedy of the Ponca removal culminated in 1879 in the death of Chief Standing Bear's eldest son. Unwilling to bury his son in a strange land as he had several other family members who had perished during the repeated moves, Standing Bear asked and received permission from the Ponca agent to return his son's body to Nebraska. The chief and sixty-five fellow tribesmen left their encampment for the traditional Ponca burial ground during a blizzard. Upon their arrival at the Omaha agency, Federal troops immediately arrested the little band and prepared to return them to Indian Territory. Compassionate public sentiment in the city of Omaha, however, supported Standing Bear's position. A federal court reviewed his case and decided that an Indian was entitled to the protection of the United States constitution—a landmark decision which freed Standard Bear and his band and allowed them to return to their old reservation in Nebraska.

Ponca complaints continued, however, until they came to the attention of the United States Senate in 1880. As a result, the United States paid the Poncas $165,000 as restitution. And as the Poncas in Indian Territory became more reconciled to the "hot country," most of them decided to remain there. Subsequently, the Federal government recognized two bands of Poncas—a northern band in Nebraska and a southern band in Oklahoma.

Although the Poncas received some redress for the wrongs committed against them by the United States government, the Nez Perce tribe had little hope for a similar restitution when United States troops brought them to Indian Territory as prisoners of war in 1878. Brevet Major General Nelson A. Miles had captured the Nez Perces led by Chief Joseph as they attempted to escape to Canada. In accordance with the terms of surrender, Miles planned to send the Nez Perces back to their home in the Pacific Northwest; however, these terms were countermanded and the Nez Perces were first sent to Fort Abraham Lincoln in Dakota Territory, then to Fort Leavenworth in Kansas and finally to the Quapaw Reservation in the extreme northeastern corner of Indian Territory. Later the Nez Perces moved to a reservation in the Cherokee Outlet northwest of the Poncas known as the Oakland Reservation.

Protesting their continued exile from the Pacific Northwest, Nez Perce leaders complained of the hot, moist climate of Indian Territory. The Indian Rights Association and Presbyterian church leaders recommended to Congress that the Nez Perce tribe be returned to Idaho, but Congress hesitated for two years before finally repatriating the Nez Perce. Dividing them into two groups the Federal government sent Chief Joseph and a small band to the state of Washington while the other group was settled in Idaho.

When the Nez Perces relinquished the Oakland Reservation and returned to the Pacific Northwest, their former Cherokee Outlet lands became available for another tribe—the Tonkawas. Soon afterward, in 1884, Congress passed an act providing for support of the Tonkawas who had gathered around Fort Griffin, Texas. That autumn the Tonkawas moved to Indian Territory and camped temporarily on the Sac and Fox Reservation. In 1885 a small group of Tonkawas and a few Lipans arrived on their new reservation which the Nez Perces had so recently evacuated. Though a severe winter had killed most of their livestock and their food supplies were almost exhausted, the Tonkawas had farmed in Texas and they immediately planted new fields.

Although the Otoes and Missouris had begun ceding their northern land to the United States and searching for a new home in Indian Territory well before other tribes colonized the Cherokee Outlet, they were the last to receive a reservation. In 1877 Otoe and Missouri leaders requested permission to visit Indian Territory, at tribal expense, to determine its desirability for settlement, but their petition was denied. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs planned to choose their reservation himself and at that time intended to place them with the Kaw tribe in the Cherokee Outlet. The following year four families moved to the Sac and Fox Reservation. They were soon

followed by many more. An act of Congress in 1881 permitted the sale of Otoe and Missouri land in Kansas and Nebraska and purchase of a suitable reserve in Indian Territory.

As a result a delegation of Otoes and Missouris visited Indian Territory, but they rejected the Sac and Fox lands on which some tribesmen had settled and selected a tract of land on Red Rock Creek south of the Poncas. A bitter controversy over which lands best suited the Otoes and Missouris resulted. Eventually the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the site south of the Ponca reservation, and those Otoes and Missouris in Nebraska and Kansas moved onto those lands in 1881, even though it was two years before they received a deed to that land. Otoes and Missouris on the Sac and Fox reservation joined their kinsmen over the next few years, and in 1884 the Otoes and Missouris reimbursed the United States government for their lands in Indian Territory.

Geronimo's band, mostly Chiricahua Apaches, were the last Indians to be moved into Indian Territory. They had raided settlements in Arizona, New Mexico and Mexico for at least ten years. Though Geronimo had surrendered once to the United States Army, he had been allowed to join his people in Arizona. Soon afterward he again left the Apache Reservation, leading a small band of warriors and their families on raids across the Southwest. In 1886 Miles took command of a campaign designed to end the Apache raids, and he succeeded in his mission with the help of Apache guides. The War Department sent Gernoimo's entire band to hot, humid Fort Marion, Florida, as prisoners of war. Many Apaches died, and the survivors were transferred to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, a year later, but the high death rate continued. They begged their captors to allow them to return to their homeland; however, white settlers in Arizona wanted none of Geronimo's band to be returned. Eventually, in 1894 the Secretary of the Interior ordered Geronimo's band to be transferred to Fort Sill where they arrived that autumn. They remained at Fort Sill as prisoners-of-war for nineteen years. It was not until the spring of 1913 that the Apaches were freed. Most of them returned to New Mexico where they joined the Mescalero Apaches. Eighty-seven, however, chose to stay at Fort Sill and purchased land from the Kiowas and Comanches on which to build their homes.

By 1894 the United States government had conquered all dissident Plains tribes and enforced its policy of confining many of them to an agricultural life on small reservations in Indian Territory. No tribe was completely satisfied with reservation life, and none thrived. They had land, although considerably less than they had roamed over only a few years before. White settlers, however, coveted even the small Indian reservations. The Federal

Chiricahua Apache prisoners of war at the Fort Sill military reservation depot after having been allowed to return home

government, therefore, conceived a plan by which Indians would own their land individually rather than the traditional method whereby all land was held in common. After each Indian received his allotment of 160 acres, usually, all surplus lands were opened to white settlement. As a result in only thirty-five years the Native Americans who had been forced to migrate to Indian Territory were settled and efficiently dispossessed of their last claim to their reservations.

SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL READINGS

Comprehensive works on all Indian tribes presently in Oklahoma include Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951) and Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965). Both books present Native American removal and colonization in Indian Territory in a format of individual tribes.

Among the several books describing events which led to the United States policy of confinement of Southern Plains Tribes to reservations in Indian Territory are Ralph K. Andrist, *The Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indian* (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1964); Douglas C. Jones, *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge: The Story of the Great Treaty Council as Told by Eyewitnesses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), based on vivid reports of contemporary journalists; William H. Leckie, *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), a description of the military events which forced the southern Plains Indians onto reservations; and Wilbur Sturdevant Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969) a book rich in circumstantial detail from military records and personal narratives from Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowa-Apaches, Wichitas and Caddoes. Thomas C. Battey wrote an autobiographical account of his experiences as a teacher for the Caddoes, Wichitas, Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches—*The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1875).

Articles describing Native American removal and colonization in Indian Territory include: Alfred A. Taylor, "The Medicine Lodge Peace Council," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. II, No. 2 (June, 1924), pp. 98–117, an eyewitness account; Joseph B. Thoburn, "Horace P. Jones, Scout and Interpreter," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1924), pp. 380–391, a biography of a man who lived among the Wichitas, Caddoes, and Tonkawas for twenty years; Martha Buntin, "The Quaker Indian Agents of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, No. 1 (June, 1932), pp. 204–218; Aubrey L. Steele, "The Beginning of Quaker Administration of Indian Affairs in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVII, No. 4 (December, 1939), pp. 364–392; G. E. E. Lindquist, "Indian Treaty Making," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Winter, 1948–49), 416–448; and Edward Everett Dale, "The Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. V, No. 1 (March, 1927), pp. 58–78, which opens with a description of the removal of Osages, Kansas, Poncas, Otoes and Missouris, Pawnees and Tonkawas to the Cherokee Outlet in the late nineteenth century. Another account of the circumstances surrounding the removal of Osages, Kansas, Poncas and Otoes and Missouris to Indian Territory is Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservation in Kansas and the

Extinguishment of Their Title," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. VIII (1903–1904), pp. 72–109.

Histories of those tribes who colonized the Cherokee Outlet include William E. Unrau, *The Kansa Indians: A History of the Wind People, 1673–1873* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); only the final two chapters relate the events which prompted their removal. Chapter twelve of *The Pawnee Indians* by George E. Hyde (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974) describes removal, and chapter thirteen recounts their colonization in Indian Territory. An account of the Ponca removal can be found in James H. Howard, *The Ponca Tribe* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965). Berlin B. Chapman, *The Otoes and Missourias: A Study of Indian Removal and the Legal Aftermath* (Oklahoma City: Times Journal Publishing Company, 1965) relates that tribe's experience in Indian Territory. Merrill D. Beal, *"I Will Fight No More Forever:" Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963) gives a detailed account of the Nez Perce surrender to General Nelson Miles, their journey to Indian Territory, temporary colonization there and subsequent return to the Pacific Northwest. Two books by John Joseph Mathews relate the history of the Osage tribe—*The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961) and *Wah'kon-tah: The Osage and the White Man's Road* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932). The first work is a complete account of the Osages from pre-historic times to the twentieth century. The latter is a narrative by Major Laban J. Miles, who became United States agent to the Osages after their removal to Indian Territory.

Studies of the southern Plains Tribes include Virginia Cole Trenholm, *The Arapahoes, Our People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), an account of that tribe from its earliest history to 1890; Mildred P. Mayhall, *The Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); and Alice Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), an entertaining and scholarly description of the Kiowas. Clarence Wharton, *Satanta: The Great Chief of the Kiowas and His People* (Dallas: B. Upshaw and Company, 1935) is oversimplified but pleasant reading. Accounts of the confinement of the Comanches in Indian Territory can be found in Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), an ethnohistory of that tribe and Rupert Norval Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement: A Century and a Half of Savage Resistance to the Advancing White Frontier* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1933). George Bird Grinnell's *The Cheyenne Indians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923) and *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956) and Donald J. Berthrong's *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963) contain definitive accounts of the removal of the Southern Cheyennes. Wichitas, Caddoes and affiliated tribes have no published tribal histories. Gladys Gate, "The Wichita Indians from 1859 to 1868," Master of Arts

Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1926, is an accurate description of that tribe's colonization in Indian Territory. Odie B. Faulk, *The Geronimo Campaign* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969) discusses the band of Apaches who were finally brought to Indian Territory after imprisonment in Florida and Alabama. An extremely readable personal narrative of Geronimo's band is Jason Betzinez with Wilbur S. Nye, *I Fought with Geronimo* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Company, 1959). An informative account of all Apache bands and their experiences with white men is John Upton Terrell, *Apache Chronicle* (New York: T. Y. Crowell, 1972).

Articles concerning individual tribes moved to Indian Territory include: Allen D. Fitchett, "Early History of Noble County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (March, 1939), pp. 75–86, about Poncas and Otoes and Missouris; Berlin B. Chapman, "The Otoe and Missouria Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), pp. 132–158; James Edwin Finney, as told to Joseph B. Thoburn, "Reminiscences of a Trader in Osage County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (Summer, 1955), 145–158, about Osages and Pawnees; two articles by Frank F. Finney, "The Kaw Indians and Their Indian Territorial Agency," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (Winter, 1957–1958), pp. 416–424 and "The Osages and Their Agency During the Term of Isaac T. Gibson, Quaker Agent," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Winter, 1958–1959), pp. 416–428; Grant Foreman, "Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (June, 1941), pp. 129–140; Raymond Estep, "The Removal of the Texas Indians and the Founding of Fort Cobb," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1960), pp. 274–309; Muriel H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2 (Spring, 1956), pp. 53–78; and Berlin B. Chapman, "Establishment of the Wichita Reservation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (December, 1933), pp. 1044–1055.

MARK OF HERITAGE
OKLAHOMA'S HISTORIC SITES
Volume II—The Oklahoma Series
By Muriel H. Wright, George H. Shirk and Kenny A. Franks

The second of a topical series devoted to the history of the Sooner State, *Mark of Heritage* is a comprehensive listing of the 253 markers, 11 historic sites and 6 museums maintained by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Containing 166 historic photographs and maps, the book covers all aspects of Oklahoma's unique past from old Wheelock Mission in far southeastern Oklahoma to the Santa Fe Trail in the Panhandle. To aid in the location of the 269 markers, sites and museums identified in the book, an eighteen by twenty-four inch, full-color map is included.

Printed in a limited edition, *Mark of Heritage: Oklahoma's Historic Sites* is available for $5.95 in paperback or $10.50 in hardback. To order your copy contact the: Publications Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105.

H. MILT PHILLIPS HONORED

H. Milt Phillips, a member of the Board of Directors for the Oklahoma Historical Society, was presented with an Honorary Doctor of Law degree at the December graduation ceremony, Thursday, December 18, 1975, at Oklahoma Christian College.

OKLAHOMA TRACKMAKER SERIES

The publication of *The Judge: The Life of Robert A. Hefner*, by Clifford Earl Trafzer, the first volume in the Oklahoma Trackmaker Series, represents the culmination of plans to honor notable Oklahomans who have left their tracks in the development of the state.

Plans for the series began to take shape more than five years ago, under the guidance of Stanley Draper, former head of the Oklahoma Heritage Association. The idea was a series of books about notable Oklahomans and their achievements.

The initial step in bringing the idea to reality was the formation of a statewide Trackmaker Committee within the Oklahoma Heritage Association. Members of that committee are George Lynn Cross, President Emeritus, University of Oklahoma; Dolphus Whitten, Jr., President, Oklahoma City University; Paul F. Lambert, Oklahoma Heritage Association; William H. Bell, Tulsa; Stanley Draper, Oklahoma Heritage Association; Odie B. Faulk, Department of History, Oklahoma State University; Arrell M. Gibson, Department of History, University of Oklahoma; Robert A. Hefner, Jr., Oklahoma City; John M. Houchin, Bartlesville; Lowe Runkle, Oklahoma City; Edward A. Shaw, University of Oklahoma Press; George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City; and J. Paschal Twyman, President, University of Tulsa.

The Trackmaker Committee has blocked out a program for the Oklahoma Trackmaker Series, with Odie B. Faulk as Series Editor. That program involves the publication of the first volume in the series on November 16, 1975, with two additional volumes planned for the spring of 1976. Additional volumes are planned for the series on a regular basis over the coming years. Books in the series are being published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

MEMORIAL TO A DECEASED MEMBER OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Eva M. Richardson, owner and publisher of the Hammon *Advocate* until her retirement, died in October, 1975 and was buried in Red Hill Cemetery in Roger Mills County. Although born in Manor, Texas, on June 11, 1897, she had lived in Oklahoma since 1923, when she and her husband purchased the newspaper in Hammon. She was a member of both the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Press Association. As rancher Carl Dean noted on the day of her funeral, Eva Richardson lived in the spirit of western Oklahoma that allows the people to tough out the rough times and enjoy the good years all the more.

SERIES IN ANTHROPOLOGY

By Martha Royce Blaine

Fort Washita, From Past to Present, An Archeological Report is the first in the Oklahoma Historical Society's *Series in Anthropology*. It is a result of the Society's early steps in carrying out a program of preservation, restora-

tion and interpretation of this important historical site established in 1842 in the Chickasaw Nation.

In 1969, Elmer Fraker, Executive Secretary; Martha R. Blaine, then Chief Curator of Museums; and Don Wyckoff, Director of the State Archeological Survey, met in conference after the latter two visited both Fort Towson and Fort Washita and brought the suggestion that the Society and the Archeological Survey could cooperate in the necessary historical research and archeological work required for various sites of the Society across the state. This cooperation resulted in work done and publication by Dr. Ken Lewis of *Archeological Investigations at Fort Towson, (1824–1865) Choctaw County, Oklahoma in 1971 by the OAS*. The present work is by Dr. Lewis, Martha R. Blaine, David Lopez and John Penman. It is divided into an ethnohistorical and archeological chapters and contains 281 pages in addition to 89 plates with 17 tables. The price is $5.95 at the Society and $6.50 by mail order.

THE BLACK SOLDIER AND OFFICER IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY, 1891–1917. By Marvin E. Fletcher. (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1974. Pp. 205. Bibliography. Index. Appendices. $11.00.)

The Indian Wars of the American West were over by 1890, and 1891 to 1917 were generally peaceful years for the United States Army with the exception of the brief Spanish-American War in 1898 and Philippine Insurrection which followed it. Black soldiers had been used exclusively in units stationed first in Texas and then throughout the West from early Reconstruction to 1891 when a new era of army administration related to black soldiers began which continued to World War I.

These years also coincide with the nadir in social and political status of blacks in America. By affirmative legislative action which the courts upheld, Southern states forced segregation in public accommodations and education upon blacks and denied them the franchise, and in the North the white attitude ranged from indifference to hostility. Slight educational and economic progress hardly offset the denial of equality of citizenship.

How did blacks in the United States Army fare during this era? That is the question Professor Fletcher has answered in this study. His story is that of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry, and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry regiments of the regular army and volunteer regiments in the Spanish-American War and Philippine Insurrection.

The blacks had reputations as good soldiers on the Indian frontier, and they maintained that standing. Nevertheless, belief in their inferiority continued. The army enforced segregation and made sure the prevailing racial mores were observed. Some blacks earned commissions, but they were commanded mainly by white officers.

In August 1906 a small group created a disturbance at Brownsville, Texas, by firing shots which damaged property, wounded a police officer, killed a bartender and created terror among residents. The charge was quickly made that the raiders were from two companies of Twenty-fifth Infantry stationed at nearby Fort Brown. When the black soldiers refused to give testimony and guilt could not be established, 167 blacks were discharged from service without honor. Fletcher's account of the incident and resulting controversy is the high point of his narrative. His own research probably is as thorough as is possible, and he notes the recent work of John Weaver and Ann J. Lane and an earlier study of James A. Tinsley before concluding that evidence is lacking to convict any individual, that there is still reason-

able doubt as to the guilt of all the soldiers and that the black soldiers would have been acquitted if normal judicial precedure had been applied.

This scholarly book is easy, but not exciting reading. It fills well a gap in our knowledge of Black History.

William A. Settle, Jr.
University of Tulsa

INDIAN AMERICA. By Jamake Highwater. (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1975. Pp. xxiii, 419. Illustrations. Maps. Index. Appendices. $10.95.)

Jamake Highwater says he waited most of his life to write this book. Reservation born, heir to the Indian experience, he made it in the white man's world competing in the most competitive of fields, that of writing and publishing. Refusing to trade on his Indianess and Indian name, he has been writing under the pen name of J. Marks for such prestigious publications as the *New York Times, Esquire, Cosmopolitan, Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. He has written travel books and has to his credit a best seller on rock music. It was through his association with Eugene Fodor of the well-known line of travel books for whom he is associate editor that he came to write Fodor's *Indian America*.

Indian America is in part a kind of travel guide, and as such it is most valuable. Wherever there are Indians, Jamake Highwater gives you their location, the price of a good motel and how to get there. He tells you how to plan for every kind of trip; where to get travel literature; names and addresses of arts and crafts shops; hints as to what are the specialities of every location; instructions on how to recognize fine Indian jewelry; what to look for when buying a rug; the calendar of ceremonials and other public events; tourist etiquette; driver hints; restaurants and museums. In short, a good classical travel book with an Indian flavor. However, as Jamake Highwater says: ". . . it is easier to get to the moon than to enter into the world of another civilization. Culture—not space—is the greatest distance between two peoples." It is in attempting to diminish that distance that he has made a unique and very real contribution. We are treated to a series of masterful essays which discuss the culture of the American Indian in general and that of many of the tribes in particular. They are written with deep insight and much feeling. Well-grounded in anthropology, history, philosophy and art, Highwater's sense of perspective is removed from the egocentric viewpoint of the dominant culture. His perspective is that of the commentator with a keen understanding of the human condition in general. There is

much on Indian religion, history, art, music and philosophic outlook. Other topics discussed include the cinema and the Indian, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian activism and Red Power-Black Power.

There are some inaccuracies such as attributing the founding of the Native American Church to the Cherokees. These do not detract from the value of this book as a travel guide and a superlative introduction to the Indian way.

The numerous maps, charts, illustrations of pottery and rug types and the historic chronology are all helpful. The illustrations and art work by Indian artist Asah Battles are excellent.

Arthur Silberman
Oklahoma City

BIG BEND: A HOMESTEADER'S STORY. By J. O. Langford with Fred Gipson. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1952. New Edition, 1973. Pp. viii, 159. Drawings. Photographs. Index. $7.50.)

Big Bend: A Homesteader's Story is a personal account of a courageous response to the words, "Go West, young man." The book was inspired by and dedicated to Henry B. du Pont who encouraged J. O. Langford to share his unique story with the aid of a well-known classic story teller, Fred Gipson, author of *Old Yeller* and *Hound Dog Man*. Together Langford and Gipson have reproduced an authentic and sentimental epoch of life in the Old West during the early twentieth century (1909–1927). Excellent pen and ink sketches by Hal Story appear at the beginning of each of the twenty-two chapters; each chapter is a complete episode or story within itself.

The homesteader's story as developed in *Big Bend* is that of a young Mississippian who found himself at an early age debilitated with malaria. His search for employment and good health took him to Tennessee, Alabama and Texas but it was not until he gambled upon homesteading a tract in Big Bend that his strength was to be regained.

The Langfords' way of life as depicted is one of beautiful simplicity, living close to nature and close to one another. In those days Big Bend was untamed, unspoiled and undeveloped. Amazingly enough it was on that homestead of the mouth of Tornilla Creek that Langford regained his health.

In time however, the Mexican Revolution provoked raids along the Rio Grande and the Langford family was forced to leave their promised land for the sake of safety. Fourteen years after their forced withdrawal, the

Longford family returned to find Big Bend no longer the same. High prices for cattle had started a trend in land waste which, within twenty years, reduced much of the Big Bend from vast regions of grasslands to wastelands of waterless creeks and bare eroded ground.

Big Bend captures the real-life experiences of a young man in a young land. As our country approaches the celebration of its bicentennial, this book is especially appropriate because it centers in on the commonality of the Western experience. This personal and heartwarming account of life in the Old West is broad in its perspective and rich in picturesque description and nostalgic substance. *Big Bend* relates a beautiful epoch of an "unspoiled" and "untamed" era in our country that profoundly brings its readers to the reality of the present in its last sentence, "Yet never again did we have that which we'd had in the beginning. Somehow the brightness seemed gone from the land."

Gary Starnes
Dallas Baptist College

THE GUNFIGHTERS. By the editor of Time-Life Books with text by Paul Trachtman. (New York: Time-Life Books, 1974. Pp. 238. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $9.95.)

The James Brothers, the Dalton Gang, Belle Starr—these names are known to most Americans thanks to the movie and television industry. However, they were not the romanticized heroes that many acclaim. Instead they were common robbers, murderers, social outcasts and pathetic killers who plagued the more law abiding citizens of the American West. In such a light, Trachtman portrays the lives of both the desperadoes and those pledged to the upholding of law and order—though admittedly the line which separated the two classes was often very thin and sometimes indistinguishable.

A product of the untamed frontier, where the institutionalized legal codes of the East had not yet penetrated, the "shooties" as the men themselves preferred to be called, flocked to the frontier during the post-Civil War West. Some became well-known during thir lifetimes because of the efforts of dime novelists; however, most lived and died without any widespread fame. As the author points out much of material flashed across movie and television screens is simply myth. The epic "high-noon showdown" very seldom occurred. The gunfighters preferred the advantage of ambush or superior numbers, which greatly increased their chances.

The book is not entirely devoted to the lawless element of the West, but a large amount of space tells the story of those who strove to bring a system

of justice to the frontier. Many found it necessary to resort to the gun to accomplish their objective. Indeed, frontier justice was often harsh, especially when it resulted in the formation of vigilante groups to bring law-breakers to their fate. The results of such extra-legal measures produced several epic confrontations such as the conflict between the large cattle barons and the smaller ranchers in Johnson County, Wyoming. However, the days of the "shootist" were limited, and as improved communications and technology allowed law officers to coordinate their efforts, one by one the gunfighters were either killed or brought before the bar of justice.

Full of photographs, some never before published, gathered from throughout the American West and richly illustrated with color reproductions of such famous frontier artists as Frederic Remington and Charles Russell, *The Gunfighters* presents a unique history of one of the most exciting aspects of the frontier.

Martha Mobley
Oklahoma Historical Society

THE CIVIL WAR ERA IN INDIAN TERRITORY. Edited and with an Introduction by LeRoy H. Fischer. (Los Angeles: Lorrin L. Morrison, Publisher, 1974. Pp. xiv, 175. Illustrations. Maps. Index. Paper, $4.95.)

Shiloh, Bloody Shiloh, along with Vicksburg, Bull Run, Gettysburg, and the Virginia Campaigns have their chroniclers, just as Bushwhackers, Jayhawkers, Ulysses S. Grant, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, William T. Sherman and John Bell Hood have their biographers. National parks and monuments mark the site where Blue met Gray and blood stained the land. Tens of thousands of pages of print have been devoted to this most tragic of conflicts, the American brothers' war. The public, along with many historians, would assert that no aspect of this four years of America's past has been neglected. Yet, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Oppenheim Regents Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, has found one facet of that war overlooked by his co-workers in the field of Civil War history: the conflict within Indian Territory.

In his seminars at Oklahoma State University, Professor Fischer directed his students to study the original sources, and to this he has added the rare quality of original ideas. The result is a scholarly study focusing on events within Oklahoma where the Five Civilized Tribes were ripped asunder—and ruined—by the war. Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles and Wichitas were involved, often with the members of each tribe splitting in their allegiance. And happily the study continues past 1865 to show the lasting consequences for these tribes. Names not familiar to most

students of the Civil War—John Ross, Stand Watie, Samuel Maxey and Honey Springs—are given the attention they deserve. Two articles worthy of special mention are Gary E. Moulton's "Chief John Ross and William P. Dole: A Case Study of Lincoln's Indian Policy," and Kenny A. Franks' "The Breakdown of Confederate-Five Civilized Tribes Relations;" each of these would serve as an excellent model for anyone attempting to write local history set in national perspective. Paul F. Lambert likewise deserves special mention for his thoughtful study, "The Cherokee Reconstruction Treaty of 1866;" in it the reader will see the true horror which the Civil War brought to the Indians of Oklahoma.

A bibliography at the end of this volume would have been helpful, but the notes are properly placed at the bottom of each page. In his Introduction to the book, noted Western historian Odie B. Faulk correctly assesses Fischer's work: "Both Professor Fischer and his students are to be commended for probing research, innovative synthesis, and felicitous writing." Now that Fischer has whetted our appetite with this excellent edited study, let us hope he will devote himself to the larger task of writing a definitive work on the same subject; certainly no one knows the subject as well as he.

Carl N. Tyson
Oklahoma State University

HISTORY OF THE ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE RAILWAY. By Keith L. Bryant, Jr. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1974. Pp. xvi, 398. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliographical Essay. Index. $12.95.)

In the *History of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway*, a volume in Macmillan's "Railroads of America" series, Keith L. Bryant, Jr. traces the historical development of one of the nation's great railroad companies. Founded in the 1860s by the resourceful promoter Cyrus K. Holliday, the "Atchison" quickly grew into a sizeable rail operation. Unlike the majority of American railroads, the firm followed conservative methods of financing for much of its history. Yet, at the turn of the century, the Santa Fe could boast of a Chicago-West Coast line and more than 6,500 miles of trackage. Further expansion took place in the twentieth century. By the early 1970s the railroad through its holding company, Santa Fe Industries, had broadened its financial base by developing various non-rail subsidiaries.

Bryant's work is well researched, highly informative and a joy to read. He writes with a sense of humor. The style is crisp. Bryant, moreover, demonstrates a real feeling for both the Santa Fe and railroading generally. Outstanding features of the book are those sections that describe the road's

construction, its disposal of land-grant acreages, and the saga of restaurateur Fred Harvey. Railfans especially will enjoy Bryant's coverage of the evolution of Santa Fe motive power. The book's numerous maps and illustrations are splendid.

This reviewer, however, has several complaints. The book lacks extensive documentation and the index at times is hard to use and faulty. More importantly, the description of the relationship between the company and political reformers, namely Populists and Progressives, is unbalanced. Contrary to Bryant's statements, both groups did have justifiable complaints against the carrier, e.g. the issue of Santa Fe "tax-dodging." Finally, Bryant fails to develop and clarify a highly important incident in the railroad's history: the nationally famous scientific management experiment conducted by Harrington Emerson in the Topeka shops between 1904 and 1907. Emerson was a disciple of the "father" of scientific management, Frederick W. Taylor, and his ambitious assignment became widely known with the appearance of detailed accounts in *The Railroad Gazette, Engineering Magazine* and similar publications.

H. Roger Grant
The University of Akron

STAGECOACHING ON EL CAMINO REAL. By Charles F. Outland. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1973. Pp. 339. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. $12.50.)

Prior to completion of the railroad in California, commercial travel along the coast was restricted to coastal passenger ships and satgecoaches. Charles Outland's work deals with the history of land transportation between San Francisco and Los Angeles from its beginnings in 1861 to its termination with the completion of the railroad at the turn of the century. The author's extensive research reveals a wealth of material hitherto unpublished in one volume and clarifies a record long obscured by literary romanticism and the motion pictures. Mr. Outland has gone to considerable length digging into sources previously neglected by historians, skillfully blending anecdotal material with information obtained from dusty newspaper files and stage line records. It is a fascinating picture of nineteenth century stagecoach travel in California and covers everything from the establishment of routes, administration and maintenance of lines to conditions of travel and the pirce of a ticket. Mr. Outland has drawn heavily from contemporary newspaper accounts and from numerous personal descriptions by people who used the stages. The reader is led to feel what it was like to throw his gear

onto the roof and climb aboard one of the leather sprung, hard-seated vehicles and make the sometimes dusty, often wet and generally uncomfortable journey over roads scarcely worthy of the name. Some routes did not guarantee a passenger a ride the entire distance. There were places he had to alight and walk while the stagecoach was hauled over a difficult pass or coaxed across a swollen stream.

The stage driver, that peculiarly wild breed of individual without whom stagecoaching would not have been possible, is dealt with at some length, but one regrets Mr. Outland did not devote more space to one of the most interesting characters. "One-Eyed" Charley Parkhurst, though not the greatest stage driver in the world, was one of the most amazing. She certainly was one of the greatest of male impersonators and deserves more than the scant mention she received. The omission seems to have been predicated on the fact Ms. Parkhurst was active as a stage driver on routes in the Mother Lode country, a region somewhat beyond the scope of Mr. Outland's work. In the 1860s she operated a stage station and saloon on the road between Watsonville and Santa Cruz. No one knew she was a woman until she died in 1879.

No story of stagecoaching would be complete without a bit of "Throw down the box and get down with your hands up!"—and Mr. Outland has not neglected that aspect, advising that the record leaves doubt if anybody actually ever said that. On the other hand, he is careful to point out that hazardous roads, not highwaymen, presented the greatest difficulty to travel in California in that era. An unseen chuckhole or a wash that had not been there on the last trip could and sometimes did cause a stagecoach to overturn or hurl the driver from his seat with disastrous results. Add to this the unusual weather prevailing in that part of the country—from snow and torrential rain to blistering heat and sandstorms—and the reader is left with no doubt that a trip in a stagecoach must have been a miserable experience. But it cannot have been dull.

Mr. Outland's effort may be described as popular history. His writing is sprightly and entertaining. But it is also a scholarly treatise and well worth the time of any serious student of Western History. The stage lines in California fulfilled a vital function, not merely by carrying passengers and mail but also by bringing closer together communities in the central and southern parts of the state. The 1890s witnessed the final trips of the stagecoaches out West. Stage lines grew shorter as the railroads grew longer. In the last days stage lines supplemented the railroad in places it had not yet reached. Stagecoaches rapidly became anachronistic and the drivers, the "knights of the lash," found themselves unemployed and for the most part unemployable as the picture underwent bewilderingly rapid, almost over-

night, change. Mr. Outland has recorded these events thoroughly and without false sentimentality.

Wesley R. Wilson
University of Oklahoma

STUDIES IN SOUTHEASTERN INDIAN LANGUAGES. Edited by James Crawford. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1975. Pp. 453. Map. Bibliography. $13.00.)

At the time of the discovery of the New World, early explorers found a Babel of tongues—more than in all of Europe and Asia at that time. However, contrary to the belief shared by European scholars, there was no "American Indian" language common to the Indians of North America, but rather some 550 distinct and eloquent languages, each comprising numerous dialects relating rich unwritten traditions of poetry, oratory and drama.

Although the Indian tribes inhabiting the old southeast shared numerous cultural traits, their languages were legion. Keyed to the total culture, *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages* is a scholarly compilation of papers pertaining to the linguistic families and isolate Indian languages indigenous to the Southeastern quadrant of the United States. It should be of special interest to many Oklahomans in that a majority of these tribes were eventually removed to this area. Most of the studies were originally presented in symposia at the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society in 1970 and 1971, believed to be among the first of such conferences ever devoted exclusively to the languages of that region.

Organizer of the symposium held in 1971, Dr. James M. Crawford has skillfully compiled and edited the collection, including a comprehensive introductory overview of the languages of the area and an intriguing glottochronological study of "The Phonological Sequence *Ya* in Words Pertaining to the Mouth in Southeastern and Other Languages," authored by himself.

Major linguistic divisions explored in the volume include the extensive Algonquian family, represented by a study of the "Shawnee Noun Inflection," along with a description of its ancestor, the Proto-Algonquian, in a reconstituted and historical phonology of the Powhatan language; the Muskogean speaking tribes, exemplified in an example of "Choctaw Morphophonemics," together with an intrafamilial examination of "The Position of Chickasaw in Western Muskogean;" and the Iroquoian stock, effectively illustrated by a commentary on the highly inflected Cherokee language. Supplementing these dissertations, the divergent Caddoan division is also

probed in a semantic analysis of the verb of the Wichita, a language spoken in an area adjacent to the Southeast.

One of six language isolates native to the region, Yuchi Morphonology is also investigated in the text, in addition to a highly interesting study of the fascinating Mobilian trade language shared by the Southeastern tribes, contributed by the eminent scholar Mary R. Haas.

A tool analogous to archeological methods for dating the past, the science of linguistics has helped to reconstruct the long road traveled by ancestors of contemporary North American Indians throughout millenniums past—leaving poetic traces of their star-crossed journey indelibly impressed upon the atlas and language of the United States.

Janet Campbell
Oklahoma Historical Society

APACHE LIGHTNING: THE LAST GREAT BATTLES OF THE OJO CALIENTES. By Joseph Stout, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. Pp. ix, 210. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $8.95.)

Belying the somewhat sensational title this is a solidly researched account of the Victorio campaign of 1877–80. The Apache chief's military exploits against a variety of white adversaries makes compelling reading. His eventual and inevitable death provided a dramatic ending for Professor Stout's meticulous reconstruction of the social, political and military milieu that produced the famous war leader.

The story begins, logically enough, with the original inhabitant of the American Southwest and Northern Mexico, the Indian. By way of background the first chapter briefly traces the history of the Apache from the time that the tribe appeared in that region between A.D. 900 and 1200, waging war with the Indian groups that already inhabited the area. From the beginning of contact with the first white encroachers, the Spanish, in 1540, the Apaches represented a formidable obstacle to European and later Anglo-American settlement. In spite of all efforts by the Spanish and Mexican governments the tribe clung to its traditional mountain strongholds and continued a life style which depended upon raiding the frontiers of both the United States and Mexico.

Stout views the bloody past of the Southwest as a clash of three cultures—Indian, Mexican, and Anglo-American—with the beginning of the end for the Apache coming in 1846 which witnessed the finish of the Mexican War. If the Apache gained a temporary advantage from the imposition of an arbitrary and artificial boundary line which precluded any real coopera-

tion between Mexican and American against them, they lost the centuries-long warfare with the whites as their homeland was invaded for the first time by relatively large number of permanent settlers. Only the lack of coordination which marked the next thirty years of the United States Army's attempts to end the wars saved the Apache from a more rapid destruction. Hampered by the convenient international boundary which allowed the Indian raiders to retreat into northern Mexico and elude pursuit, the Army was additionally slowed by the division of authority resulting from the 1865 creation of Arizona and New Mexico into separate military departments. Further complicating any efforts toward a coordinated campaign was the interference of the Bureau of Indian Affairs agents who were charged with the responsibility for establishing reservations and peaceful relations with the Apache.

The battles of the Ojo Calientes under Victorio during the last three years of the 1870s decade occurred during the period when the majority of Apaches had already been shunted onto the hated reservations. The band that Victorio led belonged to the eastern branch of the Chiricahua Apaches of southeastern Arizona. The author makes clear a point which has been missed by many interested in Southwestern Indians by noting the American and Mexican habit of identifying the various groups of Apaches by the particular region they occupied. He further explains that Victorio's groups was known by a variety of place names depending upon the area in which they lived at any given time. By whatever name Victorio's warriors compiled an amazing successful string of victories over the troops employed against them month after month. On October 15, 1880 they were finally cornered in Mexico and lost their famous leader in a final battle.

There was little gained by Victorio's death. Stout notes the irony of the Army's success in corraling the Apaches on reservations and then leaving, with their withdrawal contributing to an economic depression for the remaining white civilians. Throughout the book each action is similarly analyzed in terms of its ultimate ramification. Each protagonist, whether Indian, Mexican or Anglo-American, receives a dispassionate handling as the author skillfully interweaves the numerous strands of persons and events leading to Victorio's demise. *Apache Lightning*'s bibliography reveals an impressive list of government documents, newspapers and primary source materials from both sides of the Rio Grande. When this evidence of scholarship is added to the especially fine collection of historical photographs and the author's quick reading narrative style this volume is easily recommended.

Terry Wilson
University of California at Berkeley

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF OKLAHOMA. Vol. 1 of The Oklahoma Series. Edited by LeRoy H. Fischer. (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1975. Pp. vii, 150. Illustrations. Map. Index. $3.95 [paperback], $6.95 [hardback].)

This special issue of the *Chronicles*, published here as volume one of The Oklahoma Series, is devoted to political biographies of the Territorial Governors and the two Territorial Secretaries who served briefly as interim Governors. Edited and with an introductory essay by Professor Leroy H. Fischer of Oklahoma State University, these articles were written by graduate students in his seminar.

It is ironic that so little political history of Oklahoma Territory has been published, although its land openings, outlaws and exploits of its United States deputy marshals have become an enduring part of the state's colorful past. Aside from Dora Stewart's political chronology, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory*, written more than forty years ago, the solid work done by Berlin B. Chapman in his histories of early Oklahoma City and Stillwater and a handful of articles and reminiscences, the Territory remains one of the most overlooked areas in Oklahoma history.

Readers will find interesting bits of information in these articles. From 1890 to 1901 the Governor's office was located over a Guthrie saloon. Then there is the scandal associated with Governor Jenkins' purchase of stock in the privately owned, but government subsidized, "sanitorium" for the insane at Norman. Ex-governor Seay was in San Francisco when the earthquake struck in 1906. And ex-governor Barnes was working as a telegrapher in Kansas when he died.

One of the more important themes in most of these articles is Republican Party factionalism. An important source of division appears to have been the simple quest for political office, although some national political issues, such as "free silver" in 1896, coalesced around factional leaders. Because the Governor's political fate was decided by the President in Washington, fights were fought locally on the fields of intrigue and conventions rather than at the ballot boxes. Factions formed around the Washington-appointed Governor on one side and the convention-chosen, popularly elected Congressional Delegate on the other. Thus, splits developed between the followers of Dennis Flynn and Cassius Barnes, and Thompson B. Ferguson and Bird McGuire.

Analyses of Territorial politics are badly needed, as these writings imply. For example, the old charge (hurled about mostly by the Democrats) that Republican Presidents stuffed Territorial offices with "carpetbaggers" should be carefully re-examined. The only "outsider" appointed Governor

was the first, George Steele of Indiana. Because he arrived on the scene only sixteen months after the Run of '89 with the admitted intention of resigning the office as soon as President Benjamin Harrison could find a suitable replacement, one is tempted to call Steele only a "semi-carpetbagger." The first Supreme Court of the Territory was indeed made up of outsiders. And two future governors originally arrived in Oklahoma as political appointees —Abraham Seay Associate Justice of the first Supreme Court, and Cassius Barnes, Receiver of the General Land Office at Guthrie. But both became accepted citizens of their communities before moving to the executive office. And all the governors except Steele were living in Oklahoma when appointed. The only latecomer was the last governor, Frank Frantz, who did not move to Oklahoma until 1900.

Another topic needing research is the structure of politics within the counties. What were the sources of Republican factionalism on the local level aside from the county office "bones?" And what were the stresses, if any, within local Democratic Party ranks?

This volume is a good starting place for some thorough studies on the Territory as well as for other special editions on Oklahoma topics.

Donald E. Green
Central State University

EDUCATION AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN: THE ROAD TO SELF-DETERMINATION, 1928–1973. By Margaret Szasz. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974. Pp. xviii, 251. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $10.00.)

For over a century the Federal government has assumed primary responsibility for educating the youth of the Indian tribes of the United States. Until recent times the intent of the federally-sponsored Indian education program has been to eradicate tribal culture and quicken the assimilation of aboriginal peoples into the mainstream of American society.

This work examines the educational goals of the federally-sponsored Indian education program. And it evaluates the functioning of federal boarding schools, reservation day schools and federally-supported educational programs for Indian students in the public schools. The author concludes that, generally, federal management of the educative process for Indian youth has failed. This is evidenced by poor attendance, high dropout rates, lack of motivation and general defeatism on the part of Indian students. Down to 1928, Indian education managed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs was "an archaic system of paternalism." For the Indian student, the school was an instrument of tyranny, often of torture, in its calculated attempts to

strip him of his Indian identity and culture. His bureau-appointed teachers inflicted severe punishment for his determined attempt to use his native language and to observe his tribal religion.

The author gives much credit to the Meriam Commission for instigating reform in Indian education. Soon after the Meriam report was published in 1928, Congress responded by directing a reluctant bureaucracy in the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alter its suppressive educational policy. While the magnitude of Indian reform began in 1933 with the advent of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, substantive changes in Indian school curriculum and management were underway three years earlier.

Another major threat to fulfillment of Collier's goals for Indian educational reform was the calculated mis-direction of federal funds allocated to the states for the benefit of Indian students in the public schools. Before the turn of the century the Bureau of Indian Affairs had allocated funds to certain states to pay instructional costs of Indian students attending public schools. The Johnson-O'Malley Act, 1934, formalized and expanded this process. The author reveals that state education officials were "far more interested in the additional funds than in Indian pupils," mishandling of federal funds for educating Indian youth was "notorious" and the education provided Indian students in public schools was "inferior."

During the 1950s, Indian policy changed. There occurred a concomitant change in Indian education. In the Congress there was a reaction which led to an attempt to restore the policy of assimilation and eradication of Indian culture. This flowered in the termination and relocation programs.

Escalating ethnic consciousness during the 1960s caused Indian leaders to charge that for a century education in federal and public schools for tribal youth had failed to recognize and respect Indian cultures. Federal officials and state educators had disregarded the right of Indian parents and tribal leaders to have a voice in educational policy formation and administration. Indian leaders sought to revise educational policy to respond to aboriginal needs, "shaped and directed by their own people."

Education and the American Indian is a revealing, informative and provocative study. If it has a single fault it is omission of notice, evaluation and analysis of those private schools which attempt to provide educational opportunity for tribal youth.

Arrell Morgan Gibson
University of Oklahoma

ADVENTURES IN THE APACHE COUNTRY: A TOUR THROUGH ARIZONA AND SONORA, 1864. By J. Ross Browne. Edited by Donald M. Powell. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974. Pp. xv, 297. Illustrations. Map. Index. Appendix. $4.25.)

Among America's wanderers in the nineteenth century, J. Ross Browne occupies a prominent place. His *Adventures in the Apache Country* (1869), which first appeared in *Harper's Monthly* in 1864–1865, represents a unique contribution to the descriptive literature of Arizona. The post of special revenue agent for the Federal government provided him with the opportunity to travel much of the Pacific Coast states and territories. But Browne, born in Ireland in 1821 and raised in Louisville, Kentucky, did not confine his travels to the frontier.

Browne journeyed to Arizona and Sonora at the invitation of Charles D. Poston, a pioneer entrepreneur, in order to examine the progress of the Southwestern mining business. The author left his home in Oakland, California, on December 6, 1863, and returned early in the following year. His itinerary took him to Yuma, Tucson, Tubac, Calabasas and then into Mexico to Magdalena. On the return trip, Browne's party visited various mines: Santa Cruz, the Mowry (Patagonia), Santa Rita and others. But his status report on the Arizona mines is only one aspect of the book. He portrays a society, one that is fighting to survive against the predatory Apaches. A host of fascinating characters dot the book: Chief Pascual of the Yumas, for whom Browne prescribes snuff for a cold; an exiled Sonoran official; the unfortunate "fast woman," an errant American girl whom a male partner had stranded in Sonora and the unforgettable "Bull," the faithful watchdog and victim of a bullet from a skittish guard.

While the author provides the reader with a glimpse into a forgotten society, he possessed a sarcastic and cynical attitude toward his subjects. He demeaned the Hispano laborers of Arizona and Sonora as treacherous, dishonest and lazy and blamed miscegenation for the conditions of the region. He bemoaned the absence of "a higher and more intelligent class" of American laborers, but he predicted a rejuvenated economy, once "the spirit of American enterprise" returned. These comments should not discourage the reader, since many of Browne's observations and illustrations are delightful. Donald M. Powell, head of the Special Collections Division of the University of Arizona Library, has added a useful introduction, annotations and an index. The University of Arizona Press is to be applauded for the publication of an attractive and substantially bound paper edition of this classic volume.

Larry D. Ball
Arkansas State University

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: October 23, 1975

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 10:00 a.m., October 23, 1975, by President George H. Shirk. Mr. Jack Wettengel, Executive Director called the roll. Those responding were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydstun; O. B. Campbell; Joe W. Curtis; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; E. Moses Frye; Nolen J. Fuqua; Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. A. M. Gibson; John E. Kirkpatrick; Dr. James Morrison; Fisher Muldrow; Mrs. Charles Nesbitt; H. Milt Phillips; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; George H. Shirk; and H. Merle Woods. Those asking to be excused were Senator Herschal B. Crow, Jr.; and W. E. McIntosh. Mr. Boydstun moved to accept the absence requests from Senator Crow and Mr. McIntosh and Mr. Woods seconded the motion, which carried.

Mr. Shirk introduced the guests from Guthrie to the Board members—Jon Gumerson, President, Chamber of Commerce; Jack Parsons, Manager, Chamber of Commerce; and Darrell Dilks, Manager of the Guthrie office of the Oklahoma Gas and Electric Company. Mr. Gumerson pledged the support of the community of Guthrie in making the State Capital building an outstanding museum, one which will become a showcase of Oklahoma history. Mr. Gumerson said the purpose of his visit was to present to President Shirk and the Oklahoma Historical Society a release of mortgage, warranty deed and abstract of title to the State Capital building.

Mr. Gumerson extended an invitation to all the Board members to visit Guthrie. Mr. Shirk told of the trip he and Mr. Phillips had made in July, 1975 to work out the details of the transfer of the property to the State of Oklahoma.

Mr. Phillips moved to accept the conveyance, subject to the provisions outlined in the memorandum attached to the minutes of the July 24, 1975 meeting. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, and it was passed. Mr. Shirk instructed Mr. Wettengel to record the deed, and added that the building has been appraised for over $323,000 and will be eligible for federal matching money under Public Law 89–665. Mr. Frye suggested that the documents be placed with an abstract company for safekeeping after they are filed.

Mr. Wettengel reported that forty-seven applications for membership had been received during the quarter, as well as one application for life mem-

bership—former annual member Mrs. Edna May Armold of El Reno. Miss Seger moved to accept the applications; Mrs. Nesbitt seconded and the motion carried.

Mr. Pierce had written Mr. Wettengel prior to the meeting, calling attention to an error in the minutes of the special meeting of the Board of Directors on September 11, 1975. On page three, paragraph two, the new location of a log cabin at Fort Gibson should read "re-erect a log house a block south of the stockade." Mrs. Nesbitt moved that this correction be made in the minutes; seconded by Mr. Pierce, and passed.

Mrs. Bowman presented the Treasurer's report for the quarter. Mr. Shirk noted that no state money has been appropriated to the Overholser Project.

Mr. Shirk called for committee reports. Mr. Phillips advised that remodeling has been going on in the Microfilm Department, and that only one operator had been working during part of the quarter. Mr. Phillips said however that the department should be able to process about one million pages per year after the remodeling is completed. Mr. Wettengel added that many distinguished researchers had used the facilities of the Newspaper Library during the quarter.

Dr. Morrison presented to the Board the first in an anthropological series prepared for the Oklahoma Historical Society. This first issue, *Fort Washita, From Past to Present, An Archeological Report*, edited by Kenneth E. Lewis with contributions by Martha Royce Blaine, Oklahoma Historical Society staff archivist; Mr. Lewis; David Lopez; and John T. Penman, is a detailed study of the history and archeological survey of the fort. The series seeks to produce many anthropological, ethnohistorical and historical studies that have not yet been considered for publication by the Society. Dr. Morrison advised that the limited edition could be purchased from Mrs. Blaine for $5.95.

Dr. Morrison also presented to the Society two copies of his study of the Choctaw establishment of a system of formal education, entitled *Schools For The Choctaws*. This work is not for sale, but many schools in McCurtain County will be provided with a copy.

Mr. Wettengel referred to the archeological excavation conducted by Douglas D. Scott, former staff archeologist, at Fort Towson during the past summer. Approximately 20,000 artifacts were recovered as a result of this effort.

The success of the reprint from *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, "Territorial Governors of Oklahoma," was reported by Mr. Shirk. The printing cost of this publication has been paid for by the sale of this work and orders are still being received. Dr. Kenny Franks, editor, has also published a guide for researchers entitled *State Records, Manuscripts and Newspapers at the*

Oklahoma State Archives and the Oklahoma Historical Society. This, too, has more than paid for itself. In addition, Mr. Shirk announced that the historic sites directory, *Mark of Heritage*, is at the University of Oklahoma Press and advance orders are now being received.

Mr. Shirk reminded the Board members of the annual Muriel H. Wright Endowment Award to be presented at the Society's annual meeting in April, 1976. He said that the corpus of the fund is not yet sufficient to earn $300 a year; however, Mr. Foresman has agreed to make up the difference for 1976. The Publications Committee welcomes nominations of articles appearing in Volume LIII of *The Chronicles* to receive this award.

Dr. Fischer's museum report gave the progress of the renovation of the museum which should be completed within a two-year period. The behind-the-scenes work is largely completed, much of it done by the Junior League volunteers. The construction of an exhibit in the East gallery depicting Oklahoma history from 1907 to 1957 will be completed in February, 1976. Dr. Fischer also described the work of the Capital Improvements Authority on the entire power and lighting requirements of the building.

Mr. Boydstun announced that the final report of the excavation conducted at Honey Springs had been received from Dr. Charles Cheek of the University of Tulsa. Mr. Boydstun moved to pay the balance owed to the University from the $15,000 contract price upon receipt of all artifacts and files connected with the project. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion, which carried.

A ten-minute film describing the Oklahoma Historical Society and some of its exhibits has been completed by the Education Department, according to Mr. Foresman. He spoke of the growing number of highschool Heritage Clubs sponsored by the Historical Society and discussed the possibility of the development of a video tape series which could be made available to state schools. He suggested that state universities, television stations, or private corporations might assist with such a program.

Mr. Curtis reported that the library's new check-out procedure has been effective in curbing the loss of books from the genealogical section. Over 3,000 researchers made use of the library during the last quarter and while the number of books which have disappeared from this section over the past two years is regrettable, it is not unusual for a facility serving that many persons. An electronic system is to be installed as soon as details can be worked out.

Discussion followed on the transfer of "Section 3" funds for the Museum of the Western Prairie to the Healdton Oil Museum. It was reported Senator Herschal Crow had agreed to the transfer but was unable to attend the meeting to support the proposal. The Board, after a roll call vote, agreed to adhere to

the decisions made at the special Board meeting held on September 11 for the purpose of allocating the $365,000 appropriated in Section 3, Senate Bill 73, First Session, Thirty-fifth Legislature. Governor David L. Boren had agreed to accept the decision of the Board in assigning the funds from this Section, and the Board reaffirmed its decisions of September 11, 1975.

A resolution was presented to the Board by Mr. Woods which urged the Department of Agriculture to take steps to preserve all of the remaining historical buildings intact at old Fort Reno, opened in 1876 as a protector for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Agency at Darlington. The resolution called upon the National Park Service, the Defense Department, the State of Oklahoma or other agencies or individuals to raise finances to rehabilitate and restore the remaining historical buildings. Mr. Frye moved the adoption of the resolution; Mr. Phillips seconded and the motion passed. Mr. Woods was asked to forward copies of the resolution to such agencies.

Mr. Shirk reported on the fiscal year 1976 federal apportionment to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Eleven sites and an amount for Survey and Planning have been approved by the National Park Service, although funds have not been appropriated by the Congress.

Dr. William J. Murtaugh, Keeper of the National Register, had written a letter to Mr. Shirk in May requesting that the Society upgrade its professional staff to include an architect, archeologist and historian. Dr. Murtaugh was of the opinion that the Society's relatively small number of historic sites was due to the lack of a staff with the above disciplines.

Mr. Shirk advised the Board that a possible solution to this request would be to hire Dr. Howard L. Meredith to head up the Society's federal program; that Bob Stone could be hired on a contract basis; Dr. Robert Bell would serve as a consulting anthropologist and Don Wyckoff would serve as the archeologist. Mr. Shirk said that half of certain salaries would be paid out of federal matching monies. The recent resignation of Mrs. Elena Hildenbrand, Administrative Technician, Historic Sites Department, would leave some available funds, thus making these solutions within the realm of possibility. All effort will be made to comply with Dr. Murtaugh's request by January 1, 1976.

President Shirk asked Miss Seger and Mrs. Bowman to serve as tellers for the election of a new member to the Board—the position left by the late H. B. Bass. Support statements were given for I. C. Gunning of Wilburton, and Jack T. Conn of Oklahoma City. Mr. Boydstun withdrew without prejudice his nomination of Britton Tabor, Checotah; Mr. Pierce and Dr. Fischer, who had seconded this nomination, withdrew also without prejudice, in favor of Mr. Gunning. After a ballot, Mr. Shirk was advised by the tellers that Mr. Conn had received the majority of the votes. Mr. Pierce

moved to make the election of Mr. Conn unanimous to serve out the term of Mr. Bass, deceased, ending in January, 1979.

The Board was advised by Mr. Shirk that November 7 had been officially designated as John E. Kirkpatrick Day in Oklahoma City. Mr. Kirkpatrick, a member of the Board since 1960, has long been a supporter of the cultural development of Oklahoma City and the community has taken this means to express its gratitude.

A copy of *The Dean, The Life of Julien C. Monnet*, by Dave R. McKown, was presented to Mr. Shirk in behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society by the author. Dean Monnet was the founder of the School of Law of the University of Oklahoma. Mr. Muldrow moved to accept the book, which will be placed in the Society's library, and Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. Woods advised the Board members that the legislature has designated the Oklahoma Heritage Association as the manager of the annual observance of Oklahoma Heritage Week, November 10 through 16. A program is being carried out to induce all counties throughout the state to observe Oklahoma Heritage day and week. He urged the Board members to encourage this observance in each of the counties of the state.

A written statement was handed to the members of the Board by Mr. Shirk. Mr. Shirk then read the statement which asked that he be permitted to retire as President of the Society at the conclusion of the current term—in January of 1976. After serving nine terms as President, through a period of unprecedented growth, Mr. Shirk said he felt the time had come for the Board to consider his retirement, stating that he was advising them of this in ample time to select a successor. He told of his gratitude for the confidence given him throughout his term in office and said he knew this spirit would prevail in maintaining the Society's position in the forefront of historic preservation in Oklahoma.

Although Mr. Shirk had spoken of retiring from time to time, the Board members expressed their desire that Mr. Shirk reconsider his decision. Dr. Fischer said he felt that Mr. Shirk was serious and that Mr. Shirk had brought unmatched character and dignity to the Society. Dr. Deupree read a portion of the resolution passed by the Senate and House of Representatives in April, 1951, printed in *The Dean*, which he felt also expressed the feeling of the Board members for Mr. Shirk.

Mr. Pierce added that Mr. Shirk is widely regarded as "Mr. Oklahoma History," and felt that state newspapers, legislators, and educators would ask him to reconsider. Mrs. Nesbitt recommended that Mr. Shirk be given a standing vote of thanks. Mr. Shirk thanked the Board members for their expressions of gratitude and, after discussion, designated a committee of

three to poll the Board for nominations for the office of President. Mr. Muldrow moved to ask Mr. Shirk to choose such a committee to recommend a successor; Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, which passed unanimously. Mr. Shirk then appointed Mr. Phillips as chairman, Mr. Campbell and Mrs. Nesbitt. The committee was instructed to poll the Board members individually by mail to determine the consensus for consideration at the next meeting.

Dr. Fischer spoke in support of the Society becoming a sponsoring member of the Western History Association. He cited the benefits of membership in the organization and advised that the cost of a sponsoring institutional membership was $100 annually. Dr. Fischer said that Mr. Shirk and the Society staff had recommended the membership, and placed the recommendation in the form of a motion. Mrs. Nesbitt seconded and all approved.

Meeting adjourned.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the opening of the great Southwest portion of the United States was fraught with great hazards for the settlers due to the Indian depredations designed to halt the infiltration of the whites, and the construction of a number of historical forts became essential for the maintenance of peace, and

WHEREAS, old Fort Reno, opened in 1876 as a protector for the new Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Agency at nearby Darlington, served notably in the following functions:

a. Provided a connecting link in the line of forts from Kansas, through Oklahoma and into Texas;

b. Was an important guardian of the old Chisholm Trail and the stage lines from Kansas, through Darlington, Fort Reno, Fort Sill and on into Texas;

c. Was headquarters for General Philip S. Sheridan in his role of subduer of the Plains Indians;

d. Was a policing arm in controlling the Indian uprisings in all areas of Oklahoma.

e. Was the main agency for removing the Boomers and Sooners attempting illegally to colonize the Indian lands;

f. Provided military forces to control and police the land-hungry settlers in various openings of the new country;

g. Provided regimental training facilities during the Spanish-American War;

h. Bred and trained many thousands of equines for military use from 1908 to 1947, including the breeding program of providing stallions for farmers all over the southwest on a contractual basis whereby the quality of equines throughout this area was greatly improved;

i. Trained and sent many pack train units to the Asian Theatre during World War II;

j. Purchased and trained thousands of mules for use against Communist guerillas in both Greece and Turkey following World War II.

k. Is presently providing a highly beneficial program of livestock experimentation under the Department of Agriculture; and

WHEREAS, since the title to the reservation has now passed to the Department of Agriculture, one by one the historical old buildings are being razed as they become no longer habitable and some of them are actually in a dangerous condition, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that the Oklahoma Historical Society urge the Department of Agriculture to take steps to preserve all of the remaining historical buildings intact, calling upon the National Park Service, the Defense Department, the State of Oklahoma or other agencies or individuals if necessary to raise finances to rehabilitate and restore such buildings and other historic features of the old post.

Adopted by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at its quarterly meeting at Oklahoma City, this 23rd day of October, 1975.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, PRESIDENT

Attest:

JACK WETTENGEL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the gifts of the following people to its various departments during the third quarter of 1975:

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Mrs. W. W. Storm
John R. Hill
John J. O'Brien
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Ira B. Carmichael
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Jack Countney
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Mrs. Henry S. Johnston

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

July 25, 1975 to October 23, 1975

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Adams, T. H.	Tulsa
Austin, Maxine S.	Enid
Bentley, Nina Beth	Oklahoma City
Bliss, Judge C. F., Jr.	Oklahoma City
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Whitaker, Edgar Jay	Sand Springs

Williamson, Mitchell	Oklahoma City
Wright, Frances	Lawton

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

July 25, 1975 to October 23, 1975

Armold, Edna May	El Reno
New Annual Members	46
New Life Member	1—Edna May Armold
Total New Members	47

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article VI, Section 5—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma* shall publish the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Society; and shall pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history, including necrologies, reviews, reprints of journals and reports and other activities of the Society. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, fall, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

Annual membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is $5.00 and each member receives *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* free. The subscription rate for institutions and libraries is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *The Chronicles* are available for most years and the price will be supplied on request. In addition business memberships are available at $25.00 per year; corporate memberships with annual dues of $100.00; and life memberships priced at $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issues of *The Chronicles*, and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

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VOLUME LIV *Summer, 1976* NUMBER 2

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THE COVER An illustration from John Fleming's *Istutsi in Nakt-soku* or *The Child's Book*, the first book printed in present-day Oklahoma. A primer for elementary education containing single words, illustrations and simple sentences, the book, written in the Creek language, was produced at Union Mission in the Creek Nation in 1835.

OKLAHOMA'S FIRST BOOK: "ISTUTSI IN NAKTSOKU," BY JOHN FLEMING

*By Guy Logsdon**

The leaves were turning to the multi-colored hues of autumn in Indian Territory around the deserted, decayed buildings of Union Mission. It was October, 1835, and two men, one a missionary-publisher and one a printer, had been slowly printing the pages of a small book. The buildings had not been used for over a year when, during the summer, the men moved a printing press into one of them. Nonetheless, in late October, when they completed their efforts, a number of printing "firsts" in Oklahoma had occurred—the first printer on the first press within the first mission buildings had produced Oklahoma's first book.

The book, entitled *Istutsi in Naktsoku* or *The Child's Book*, was by the Reverend John Fleming, a missionary representing the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Creek Indians in Indian Territory. Published in 1835 by Samuel Austin Worcester, at Union Mission, which housed the first printing press in the territory, the book was printed by Fleming, Worcester and James Perryman, a Creek Indian.

The Child's Book, a primer for elementary education containing single words, illustrations and simple sentences, was sixteen centimeters in height and twenty-four pages in length, with paper covers and a stapled binding. The text was entirely in the Creek language, but following the title page there was a Creek alphabet with upper and lower case letters accompanied by a pronunciation guide in English. On page four the vowels were listed along with "nazalized vowels" and their pronunciation, together with a list of dipthongs.

The title page was illustrated with a farm scene depicting two men flailing wheat in a barnyard containing animals, fowl and trees. Through the door of the barn, a house could be seen. The text was written by Fleming in the Creek alphabet, which he had created after spending much time learning the language with the assistance of Perryman. Fleming's original purpose was to reduce the language to writing in order to provide religious tracts and hymns which the Creeks could more easily understand.[1]

The Creeks belonged to the Muskhogean linguistic stock, which also

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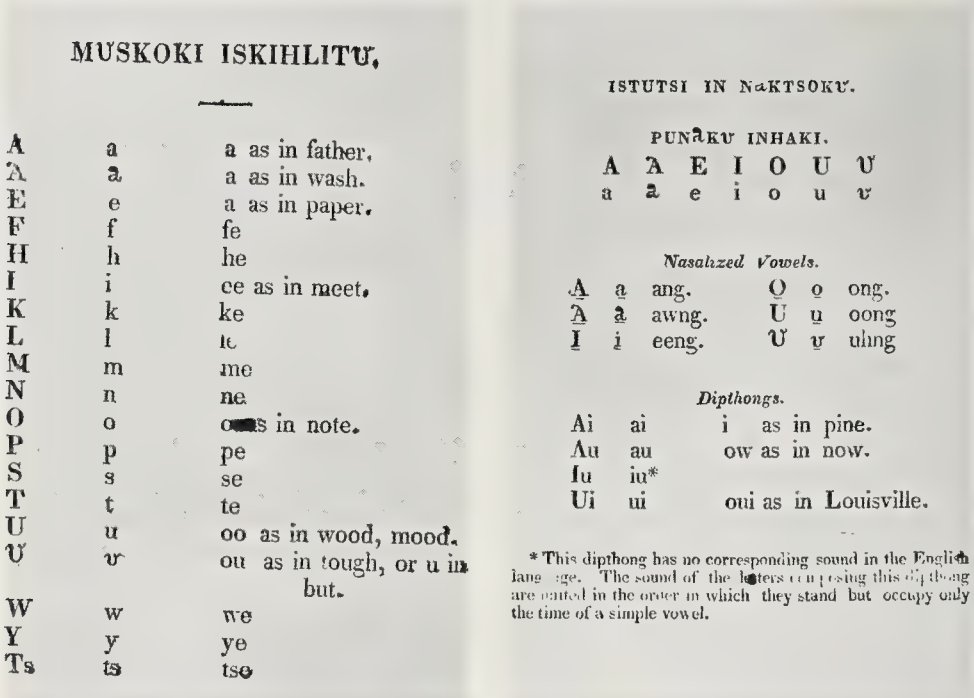
* The author is currently Director of Libraries, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

[1] James C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Muskhogean Languages* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), pp. 34–35.



MUSKOKI ISKIHLITŬ.

A	a	a as in father.
Ȧ	ȧ	a as in wash.
E	e	a as in paper.
F	f	fe
H	h	he
I	i	ee as in meet.
K	k	ke
L	l	le
M	m	me
N	n	ne
O	o	o as in note.
P	p	pe
S	s	se
T	t	te
U	u	oo as in wood, mood.
Ŭ	ŭ	ou as in tough, or u in but.
W	w	we
Y	y	ye
Ts	ts	tse

ISTUTSI IN NAKTSOKŬ.

PUNAKŬ INHAKI.

A Ȧ E I O U Ŭ
a ȧ e i o u ŭ

Nasalized Vowels.

Ą	ą	ang.	Ǫ	ǫ	ong.
Ȧ	ȧ	awng.	Ų	ų	oong
Į	į	eeng.	Ŭ	ŭ	uhng

Dipthongs.

Ai	ai	i as in pine.
Au	au	ow as in now.
Iu	iu*	
Ui	ui	oui as in Louisville.

* This dipthong has no corresponding sound in the English language. The sound of the letters composing this dipthong are united in the order in which they stand but occupy only the time of a simple vowel.

The alphabet, nasalized vowels and dipthongs as they appeared at the front of an original copy of *Istutsi in Naktsoku*

included the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Alabama, Koasati, Hitchiti, Natchez and a few smaller tribes. The original home of this linguistic group was the Southeast and the Gulf Coast of the United States. The name Muskhogean had been derived from the largest tribe, the Muskogees, who were given the English name of Creeks.[2]

Fleming was interested only in the Creek language, among the many Indian dialects. In order to adapt this language to writing, he adopted the system of orthography that had been devised by John Pickering and first published in 1820.[3] This system assigned conventional sound values to the

[2] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1941), pp. 3–4.

[3] John Pickering was born February 7, 1777, in Salem, Massachusetts, and died May 5, 1846. He was a Harvard University graduate and later studied and practiced law. However, his greatest efforts were directed toward philology. He spoke five languages, was well acquainted with four more, and had studied over twelve more, including Indian languages of North America. He was considered a leading scholar of the English and Greek languages and the leading authority on the languages of the North American Indians. In 1820, his "Essay on a Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America" was published in the *Memoirs* of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Others of his works about the

letters in the Latin alphabet and applied the letters to various Indian languages. As a result, the system eliminated the necessity of creating a non-Latin letter alphabet or syllabary—such as the Sequoyah syllabary for the Cherokee language—and instead, attempted to make a uniform system of orthography available for scholars of all tribes. Thus, Fleming reduced the sounds to existing letters after he obtained a working knowledge and glossary of the language.

About the grammatical structure, he declared that:[4]

> The Muskogee language is not a difficult language to acquire. It is remarkably regular in the construction of its verbs, and having secured the root of the verb, it can be run with ease through its persons, moods, and tenses.

In his alphabet, Fleming removed the letters B, C, D, G, J, Q, R, V, X and Z which had no sounds in the Creek language. This left only sixteen letters to comprise his Creek System, but he included two forms of the letters A and U and a new letter combination of Ts. This brought the total of alphabetic symbols to nineteen. Also, he indicated that the dipthong "Iu" had no corresponding sound in English.

While Fleming's reader was the first known book to be published in present-day Oklahoma, there were two other items that were probably printed earlier. The first was a broadside of the Cherokee syllabary, and the second was possibly an eight-page children's booklet by Worcester. However, no copy of this booklet has ever been found; whereas, a copy of the broadside is owned by the New York City Public Library.[5]

Indian languages were later published. For additional information about Pickering see: William H. Prescott, "Memoir of Hon. John Pickering, LL.D.," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. X, Third Series, 1849, pp. 204–224.

[4] Pilling, *Bibliography of the Muskhogean Languages*, pp. 34–35.

[5] Carolyn Thomas Foreman in *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1936), p. 1, listed Fleming's book as the first item to be published in Indian Territory. In *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (September, 1935), pp. 251–254, Fleming's book is again cited as the first item printed in present-day Oklahoma; this article was published in observance of the centennial of printing in Oklahoma. However, Althea Bass in the article "Oklahoma's First Printer," *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), October 6, 1935, Section C, p. 16, challenged the Fleming book when she wrote that Worcester's *A Child's Book* was actually the first book printed in the state. In 1936 she again supported her statement in *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1936), p. 186. In 1951 Lester Hargrett in *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835–1890* (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1951), pp. 1–3, with strong bibliographical and documentary support, supplied evidence that places Fleming's book as the third item printed by Worcester. However, Hargrett's *Not Seen* fails of the bibliographer's ultimate proof, and it is possible that Worcester cast his booklet in proof form only, without actually printing it, because he did not have much paper but wanted to impress the Western Cherokee leaders with his press.

The establishment of a press at Union Mission came after fifteen years of missionary work in Indian Territory by various denominations and organizations. The first activities were under the direction of the United Foreign Missionary Society, which had been organized by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church and the General Synod of the Associated Reformed Church on July, 1817, in New York City.[6]

The declared purpose of the organization was "to spread the gospel among the Indians of North America, the inhabitants of Mexico and South America, and in other portions of the heathen and anti-Christian world."[7] In order to accomplish some of these objectives, on May 5, 1819, the society sent Epaphras Chapman and Job P. Vinal to explore the missionary needs west of the Mississippi River. However, the more specific desire of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was to establish a station among the Cherokees in Arkansas. Chapman and Vinal traveled westward into the Osage country where they decided to work among that Siouan people. They selected a mission site on the west bank of the Grand River, approximately twenty-five miles above the Arkansas River.[8] However, during the return trip to New York, Vinal died, leaving the task of establishing the station under the direction of Chapman.

On March 3, 1819, the United States Congress enacted legislation that authorized the president to spend $10,000 annually for the purpose of employing "persons of good moral character to instruct the Indians in agriculture, to teach their children reading, writing, and arithmetic."[9] This concept of education was an extension of the activities and writing of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi who, in 1775, opened his Orphan House at Neuhof, Switzerland, believing that every man had the power and means to provide adequate self-support and that exterior circumstances were not insuperable. Pestalozzi thought that a moral home, farm life and technical skills were of value in developing character in paupers and criminals. By 1800, his ideas were being applied in the United States, and missionaries were utilizing manual labor education and moral training theories in their Indian missions. It was the missionaries who encouraged Congress to enact this early legislation for Indian education, a task to which they were subsequently assigned.

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[6] Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," *History of American Missions to the Heathen* (Worcester: M. Spooner and H. J. Howland, 1840), p. 138.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[8] Morris L. Wardell, "Protestant Missions Among the Osages, 1820 to 1838," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 3 (September, 1924), p. 288.

[9] Grant Foreman, *Beginnings of Protestant Christian Work in Indian Territory* (Muskogee: Star Printery, 1933), p. 1.

ISTUTSI IN NAKTSOKU. 7

WA-KU.

Wa-ku hi-hli to-mis; i-pi-sin is-ti-min wa-ku-pi-i in ni-han is-ha-yit, wa-ku-pi-si tuk-lai-kiu is-ha-ho-yis. Ho-fu-ni is-ti tsa-uvl-ki wa-ku o-tsu-ki ka-tis. H m-pai-ho-tsi h,-hlau wa-ku-pi-si sul-kin is-ti-mis.

One of the pages of *Istutsi in Naktsoku* from which the missionaries hoped to teach at Union Mission

While moral education and Christian conversion were the predominant motivating factors for establishing a mission station among the Osages, the United Foreign Missionary Society wanted to provide skills that would assist in civilizing the Indians as well. This required a variety of abilities among the missionaries, who were recruited primarily from Connecticut. Thus a farmer, a physician, a steward, a carpenter, a blacksmith and women who could teach the skills of home making were the first recruits for the western venture in Indian education.

Under the direction of Reverend William F. Vaill and Reverend Epaphras Chapman, the group of seventeen adults and four children left New

York and started for Indian Territory on April 20, 1820.[10] They traveled by boat to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and thence by wagon to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where they boarded two keelboats to carry them southward on the Ohio River to the Mississippi River. On June 29, they reached the mouth of the White River and followed it to the Arkansas River; thereafter they slowly poled, sailed and cordelled their way upstream to the mouth of the Grand River. They reached their final destination on the:[11]

> Lord's Day, Febuary 18th. About 10 o'clock this morning reached the long looked for Station, after a journey of nearly ten months, attended with many delays, and disappointments.

The problems that occurred during the trip were many: they stopped to preach and to solicit donations; they were confronted by low water and flood water; they suffered sickness, including intermittent fever, for long periods of time. Two female members died after they entered Arkansas, and the boatmen were often unreliable or sick. In the end religious fervor, dedication and bravery enabled them to reach Indian Territory.

When established, Union Mission was one of the most remote white settlements in the Southwest. As such, it had to be self-sustaining. Cabins were constructed, ground was broken for crops and men were hired to assist with the settlers' labors. There were Indian traders and a few isolated white settlers living in the area.

Twenty-eight miles to the east was an Osage settlement, and the mission quickly began trading with the village. The mission, being easily accessible, was frequently visited by the Osage while on raiding parties to the Cherokee settlements.

On August 11, 1821, the missionaries agreed to build a school that would be eighteen feet by twenty feet. The Osage confidence in the missionaries was such that on August 27, 1821, four children were brought to the mission, and the first school in present-day Oklahoma was started, thus accomplishing part of the missionaries' objectives.

Adult education at the station had started earlier, however, for on May 26, 1821, the first church in Oklahoma was organized when the mission members agreed to accept the rules and regulations of a document they had drafted. During the summer they "kept up a Sabbath school" for "our hired men, some of whom have never learned to read."[12] The Sabbath or

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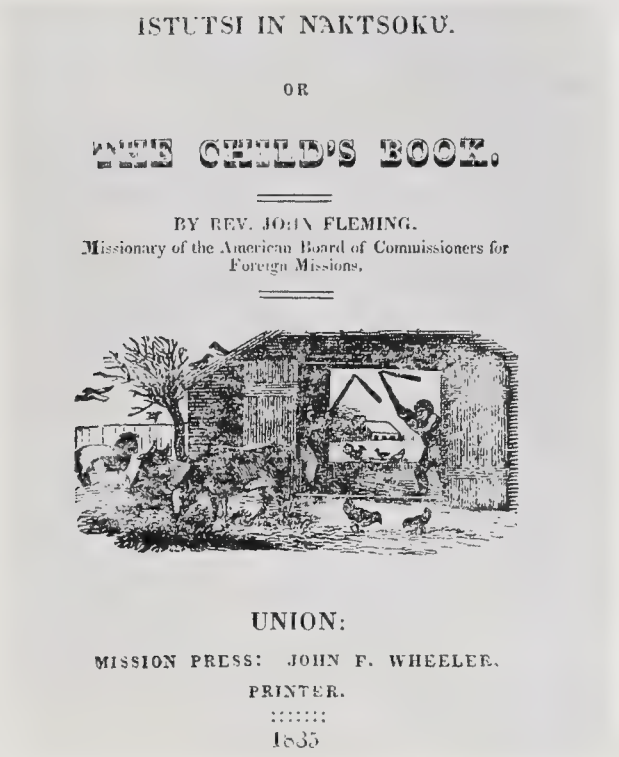
[10] William F. Vaill, "Union Mission Journal," April 20, 1820, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[11] *Ibid.*, September 2, 1821.

[12] Newton Edwards and Herman F. Richey, *The School in the American Social Order.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), pp. 234–236.


ISTUTSI IN NAKTSOKU.

OR

THE CHILD'S BOOK.

BY REV. JOHN FLEMING.
Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

UNION:
MISSION PRESS: JOHN F. WHEELER, PRINTER.
1835

The cover of *The Child's Book*

Sunday-school movement was very popular among the denominations at this time, and the chief purpose of the gatherings was to teach reading from the Bible and writing.[13]

For several years, education at Union Mission could be considered only moderately successful. The Osage parents would bring their children, but in a short time they would return and take them home. When the youngsters returned to school, it was often for the food that could be had, not for the education. If a school had been established in the nearby Osage village, the influence of white education would possibly have been greater, particularly through reading and writing.

Constantly confronted with hardships, the missionaries were plagued by fever and other frontier maladies. Nonetheless, they harvested abundant crops, discovered a nearby coal deposit and processed salt from a saline

[13] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Report* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1835), p. 97, Foreman, *Beginnings of Protestant Christian Work in Indian Territory*, Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," *History of American Missions to the Heathen.*

spring. Still, the new lifestyle reaped a heavy toll. Abraham Redfield and his wife buried seven children at Union Mission, four of whom died within a few days of one another.[14]

On August 15, 1825, the United Foreign Missionary Society proposed to its members that they be absorbed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[15] As a result, Union Mission was transferred to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[16]

The American Board had been working among the Indians west of the Mississippi River and among the Arkansas Cherokee, where Dwight Mission had been established shortly after Union Mission was started. No problems developed from the transfer; instead, the Union Mission personnel anticipated an increase in financial support.

In 1817, the Federal government allowed the Arkansas Cherokees access to the Osage lands. This new arrangement created a confrontation which resulted in enmity and warfare between the two tribes. As the Union Mission land was under joint claim, and because it was the desire of the Federal government to push the Osages further west, the future of the station was always questionable as an Osage mission. In 1825 another treaty was signed with the Cherokees that gave the land to them; this acquisition of the Osage land by the Cherokees was made final in 1828. Union Mission thereafter was inside the Cherokee Nation, West.

In 1827, the removal of the Creeks was begun from Alabama and Georgia, when members of theMcIntosh faction started their trek to Indian Territory. By the end of 1828, nearly 1,300 Creeks had arrived in the lands south of the Osages. This number grew to 3,000 by 1830, and Union Mission served as the school and missionary agency for them. That year the school had fifty-four students, seventeen of whom were Osages, thirty Creeks and seven Cherokees. The Osages were no longer interested in Union Mission, but the Creeks utilized its education facilities.[17] The mission family was encouraged by the Creek interest, but they were missionaries to the Osages. Other problems were that the mission buildings were decaying because of poor quality logs used for construction; and that the mission family was

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[15] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Report* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1826), p. 110–111; see also, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the ABCFM*, 5th ed. (Boston: by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1862), p. 350.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 39–76; Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," *History of the American Missions to the Heathen.*

[17] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Report* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1830), pp. 87–89.

in disagreement over the relative value of education and preaching the Gospel.[18]

Union Mission continued to deteriorate. The Creeks and the Cherokees could be better served at different locations, and the Osages, for whom the missionaries came, were slowly moving farther west. The American Board decided to close the mission in 1833, but to reserve the land for:[19]

> the families connected with the printing establishment which they intend to set up at that place for printing books and tracts in the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, and Osage languages.

After thirteen years of labor and privation, Vaill, his wife and the other surviving members closed the mission. From Union Mission, May 6, 1833, Vaill wrote to R. E. Selden in Connecticut that they were "closing the mission."[20] On May 15, again to Selden, he wrote that in "5 more weeks the Indians will leave."[21]

The American Board decided to provide missionary service to the Creeks in Indian Territory who were congregated in the region around the "Three Forks" area. This was the settlement at the junction of the Arkansas, Grand and Verdigris rivers. The government had purchased some buildings from A. P. Chouteau in 1828 for use as the Creek Agency.[22] The Creeks settled within a few miles around this area for military protection against the marauding Plains Indians. In 1831, Abraham Redfield moved with his family to the Creek settlement from Union Mission in order to serve as a teacher. Some Creeks had erected a log school building thirty feet long and nineteen feet wide containing two rooms. Redfield stayed through the winter and then returned to Union Mission.[23]

The American Board then assigned John Fleming, a graduate from the Princeton Theological Seminary who had been ordained on October 24, 1832.[24] Fleming and his wife arrived at Cantonment Gibson on December

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[18] Hope Holway, "Union Mission, 1826–1837," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XL, No. 4 (Winter, 1962–63), pp. 373–374.

[19] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Report* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1834), p. 26.

[20] Letters from W. F. Vaill to Colonel R. E. Selden, Union Mission Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] Grant Foreman, "The Three Forks," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 1 (March, 1924), p. 43.

[23] "Missionary Correspondence," Grant Foreman Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, p. 87.

[24] Frederick T. Persons, "John Fleming," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VI (35 Vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), p. 460; also, *Biographical Catalogue of the Princeton Theological Seminary, 1815–1932*, compiled by Edward Howell Roberts (Princeton: By the Trustees, 1933), p. 61.

24, 1832, and on the following day they started their work with the Creeks. Their station was seven miles above the junction of the Arkansas and Verdigris rivers, two miles from the Verdigris River and three miles from the Arkansas River.[25] The Baptists and Methodists also had many missionaries working in the area, and competition among them was strong.

The other two denominations had worked with the Creeks in the Southeast, whereas the American Board had not. The efforts in the Southeast had been terminated after 1828, because the opposition by the Creeks in Alabama and Georgia had become hostile in character.

Samuel A. Worcester who objected to the location of Union Mission as not "favorable for exerting an influence upon the Cherokee people"

Before October 29, 1833, Fleming obtained the services of James Perryman, a Creek mixed-blood who was a Methodist preacher. Perryman had studied at Union Mission and had worked as an interpreter for William Vaill, but because he wanted to learn to write, he agreed to serve as an interpreter for Fleming, who was to pay him $15.00 a month and tutor him. He was considered to be the best interpreter in the Creek Nation.[26] With Perryman's assistance Fleming subsequently wrote two books in the Creek language before writing *The Child's Book*. They were: *The Muskoki Imuaitsv, Muskogee (Creek) Assistant,*

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[25] "Missionary Correspondence," Foreman Papers, p. 102. Fleming was born on April 17, 1807, in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania. He graduated from Jefferson College and then attended Princeton Theological Seminary. He was ordained a Presbyterian missionary; Holway, "Union Mission, 1826–1837," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XL, page 376, mistakenly refers to "John Fleming, a Baptist." Following his ordination, he married Margart Scudder on November 1, 1832, and shortly thereafter they started their trip to Indian Territory; see: Alice Robertson Collection, Library, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

[26] "Missionary Correspondence," Foreman Papers, p. 97. Perryman came to the Creek Nation in 1828 with his father, Benjamin, five brothers and two sisters. They settled in what is now Wagoner County. James became a Baptist minister during the last thirty years of his life; he served in the Confederate Army in the Civil War; his death occurred at Coweta in approximately 1882; see John Bartlett Meserve, "The Perrymans," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (June, 1937), pp. 166–168.

published in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1834 and *A Short Sermon* also printed in Boston the following year.[27]

Fleming did not become a popular man in the nation, but he did have a small, loyal following whose members were interested in his alphabet. However, by January 30, 1835, John Davis, a Baptist, had prepared a book in Creek and had it published at Shawnee Mission in Kansas.[28] Fleming thought that competing publications would be confusing and was extremely discouraged.

However, on December 24, 1834, Dr. R. L. Dodge arrived at the Creek station to assist in the religious activities and to serve as a physician.[29] These two men were the only missionaries ever to be assigned to the Creek Indians by the American Board.

In the eastern Cherokee Nation, printing had been established in 1828 and had thrived for many years. Samuel Austin Worcester had established the *Cherokee Phoenix*, a newspaper, and a Cherokee press. He had successfully printed many items in the syllabary of George Guess. In 1834, Worcester was forced to leave Georgia, and the Board decided to continue his work in the western Cherokee Nation. The abandoned Union Mission, it was thought, was the logical place to ship the necessary equipment to begin operations until a better site could be obtained. On September 18, 1834, Abraham Redfield wrote the Board that it would be better to establish the press nearer Fort Gibson and the post office, but that it would "be best for Mr. Worcester to come and examine for himself."[30]

In 1835, the Board sent a new press and type, including fonts of the syllabary, to Union Mission, while Worcester and his family traveled by land to Dwight Mission. Worcester visited Union and wrote to the Board:[31]

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[27] "Missionary Correspondence," Foreman Papers, p. 105.

[28] *Missionary Herald* (Worcester, Massachusetts), January, 1836, p. 25.

[29] "Missionary Correspondence," Foreman Papers, p. 336.

[30] This letter, no date, was reprinted in Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, pp. 182–183. Worcester was born January 19, 1798, at Worcester, Massachusetts. His father, Leonard Worcester, was a printer who turned to the ministry. When he was young, the family moved to Peacham, Vermont, where his father served as the Congregational minister. Worcester attended the University of Vermont and, after graduating in 1819, he taught for one year. He then entered the Andover Theological Seminary, where he graduated in 1823; he was ordained as a Congregational minister on August 25, 1825. On August 31, 1825, he and his wife traveled to the Brainerd Mission for Cherokees in Tennessee, which was operated by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. They worked at Brainerd until 1828 when they went to New Echota, the Cherokee Capital, in Georgia. It was here where he established the press; he and his family worked at New Echota until he was forced by the Georgia authorities to leave in 1834. Nevada Couch, *Pages from Cherokee Indian History*, 3rd ed. rev. (Vinita, Indian Territory: Worcester Academy of Vinita, 1884).

[31] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 188.

> It is not a favorable location for preaching . . . The place cannot be said to be favorable for exerting an influence upon the Cherokee people. The buildings are not sufficient, in the present state and form, for permanent use for the object in question, and the location is very unfavorable for building at moderate expense. . . . It is certainly not a spot which would be chosen, if the buildings were not already there.

The new press, a Tufts Standing Press,[32] was damaged when the boat that carried it sank in the Arkansas River. Books, paper for printing and personal items of the Worcesters were also lost or damaged in the accident.[33] The press was recovered and taken to Union Mission where, sometime after August 1, Worcester printed the syllabary broadside. Because the western Cherokees were unacquainted with him, Worcester had to print an item to impress the leaders about the importance and possibilities of a press.[34]

Worcester had become dependent on the ability of the Cherokee, Elias Boudinot, as an interpreter and for the revision of the printed material, but Boudinot had not arrived at Union Mission. Worcester was therefore forced to delay any large amount of Cherokee printing.[35] He turned to Fleming for Creek material in order to utilize the press, and as Fleming had *The Child's Book* ready for printing, Worcester and John F. Wheeler, his printer, published 500 copies sometime between October 1 and October 31.[36]

Wheeler had previously worked with Worcester in New Echota, Georgia and had removed to Union Mission in order to continue his trade. He had married Nannie Watie, the sister of Stand Watie and Elias Boudinot, and as an intermarried member of the Cherokee Nation, he was forced to leave with them. He was the head printer for the Cherokee press when it was closed in New Echota, and when he arrived in the new Cherokee Nation, he became the first printer in Oklahoma.[37]

Worcester and Wheeler at Union Mission printed another primer for Fleming in 1836—*The Maskoke Semhayeta, or Muskogee Teacher*. Again the primer was based on the Pickering system, and Perryman was the Creek assistant.

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[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 185–188.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 183–185; Hargrett, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835–1890*, pp. 1–2.

[34] Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 185.

[35] Hargrett, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835–1890*, pp. 2–3.

[36] John Foster Wheeler or, as listed by Hargrett, *Ibid.*, p. 1, John Fisher Wheeler, was a white man who was born in Danville, Kentucky, in 1808. He went to New Echota in 1827 and by 1830 had become the head printer. He printed thousands of pages in Indian languages before moving from Indian Territory to Fort Smith, Arkansas, in 1847, where he established the *Herald*, Fort Smith, Arkansas, first newspaper. He died there on March 10, 1880. See Muriel Wright, "John F. Wheeler," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (Spring, 1957), p. 69.

[37] "Missionary Correspondence," Foreman Papers.

In 1836, hostility toward missionaries in the Creek Nation had grown unbearable for Fleming, and the denominational competition had created more problems. His most successful preaching had been among the slaves of the Creeks, which made him unpopular. As early as 1833, he had curtailed some of his work among the blacks as a result of pressures applied by the Creek leaders. His alphabet had been improved by the Methodists with his assistance, and by August 18, 1836, in discouragement, Fleming was ready to leave the Creek Nation.[38]

All of the missionaries were in constant strife with the traders in the area. In the fall of 1836 the latter persuaded Roley McIntosh to force all of the missionaries to leave the Creek Nation. On September 29, 1836, Fleming accused Chouteau, Seymour Hill, Kendal Lewis, Eli Jacobs and other traders, all of "the same stamp of character," of charging the missionaries with teaching abolition and one of seducing an Indian woman.[39] It is probable that the missionaries had opposed the sale of liquor. Most of them were from the North, while the Creeks were slave-holders from the South. Told to leave immediately, Fleming departed in such haste that he failed to take any of his books with him. Therefore, only a few copies of *The Child's Book* survived, of which the Oklahoma Historical Society owns one copy, the Library of Congress one copy and Pilling placed two copies in private collections before 1889.

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 116; Fleming to Pilling, *Bibliography of the Muskohogean Languages*, p. 34.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 35. Fleming went to Kansas and worked with the Wea Indians. In 1839 he traveled to Michigan and served among the Chippewas and Ottawas. Thereafter he worked for the Presbyterians as a home missionary in Illinois from 1849 to 1875. In 1875 he moved to Nebraska, where he served small Presbyterian pastorates until his death in 1894.

"I'M OFF TO COOLIDGE'S FOLLIES:" WILL ROGERS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS, 1924–1932

*By Carl N. Tyson**

In June, 1924, the readers of various newspapers across the United States were informed that Will Rogers was headed for Cleveland, Ohio and the Republican National Convention, or, as he called it, "Coolidge's Follies." Although Rogers had written several articles berating the conventions of 1920, he personally had not attended those meetings. In 1924, however, Rogers did visit the conventions of both parties as he would again in 1928 and 1932; at these he watched and listened—and recorded his impressions of the turnings of America's political system. He commented as only Will Rogers could. And Americans laughed. They laughed at the shortcomings of politicians, they laughed at the foolishness of delegates and they laughed with Will Rogers. The cowboy philosopher could, and often did, write devastatingly and irreverently of powerful men and sacred traditions without fear of reprisal. This was because he coated his printed missiles in soothing wit.

Because he was gifted with a sharp sense of humor as well as an incisive perception of the anamolies of American political institutions, Rogers not only was the unofficial court jester, but also was a daring critic of American politics. His criticisms could be warm and tender or cold and harsh, but they were almost always funny. Thus, Rogers could say aloud what many dared only to mutter quietly. He was the "apotheosis of the common man," as L. H. Robbins asserted.[1] Moreover, Rogers could defy the rich and powerful, just as on occasion he could support ideas which had little public favor without losing the people's ear. Yet, rarely did Rogers have a better opportunity to observe the foibles of the American political system and the men who comprised it than at the national conventions. There was political America in microcosm, and it was even less rare that Rogers failed to speak his mind.

The Republican National Convention for 1924 was held in Cleveland, and inasmuch as Calvin Coolidge had assumed the Presidency on the death of Warren Harding, and was available for another term, there was little doubt as to what the convention's decision would be. However, as usual, the Republicans maintained a facade of allowing the delegates to choose the best man. The American people were to wait and endure until the politicians

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* The author is Assistant Professor of History, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

[1] William R. Brown, Image-Maker: *Will Rogers and the American Dream.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970), p. 21.

and delegates were finished with their quadrennial celebration. But Rogers was not content to stand by idly or silently. On June 9, 1924, he wrote, "I am waiting for my train to carry me to Coolidge's Follies in Cleveland. At first I was going to say the Republican Follies, but it's not. They have nothing to do with it. The whole thing is under the personal supervision of Mr. Coolidge."[2] In a lighter vein Rogers suggested that Coolidge could have been nominated by post card and the money saved channeled into the poor in each state. There were poor, even in the heady days of the 1920s, Rogers declared, because "There must be some Demorats in every state."[3] Finally, Rogers summed up his and probably the American public's feeling toward the convention by proclaiming it "the first Vice Presidential convention ever held in the history of politics."[4]

There are few things in America which receive more discussion and less notice than presidential campaign platforms. They fall under the category of campaign promises, and therefore few Americans consider them seminal in deciding their votes. Moreover, the platform is invariably the nominees handiwork. However, delegates persist in haggling of the framing of their parties plan for the future. Rogers saw the futility of this process in 1924, and he expressed his feelings to and for the American people:[5]

> As for drafting a platform, that's a lot of apple sauce. Why, I bet you there is not a Republican or Democratic officeholder today that can tell you one plank in the last election platform looking over the minutes. These misled delegates that journey to Cleveland will have just as much chance of helping to frame that platform as a bow-legged girl would have at our stagedoor. Mr. Coolidge framed that platform. I doubt if Lodge ever has been allowed to see it.

That milling, pushing and shouting mass of humanity made up of delegates did not escape Rogers' scrutiny or comment. Regarding the Republican delegates of 1924, Rogers noted, "If these delegates vote the way they were instructed to vote back home they will be the first politicians that ever did what the people told them to do."[6] In the era of prohibition, it was impossible for Rogers to refrain from commenting on the delegates' disregard for the law. "Prohibition has certainly raised the price of democracy," Rogers asserted, noting that, "votes that you used to be able to buy at conventions with a half dozen nickle beers are now thinking nothing

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[2] Will Rogers, "Convention Articles: Republican and Democratic National Conventions, 1920–1932," Scrapbook, Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma, p. 39.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[6] *Ibid.*

A cartoon depicting Roger's relaxed manner regarding protocol

of asking a case of Scotch."[7] Finally, Rogers noted that, "I guess there are some men here who don't spend anything for delegates and it is easy to see who they are. They are the ones with no delegates."[8]

One of Rogers' favorite targets for criticism was the speeches of politicians at the conventions. He found the oratory at the Democratic Convention in

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 89.
[8] *Ibid.*

1924 particularly interesting, if not instructive. Rogers' attention was initially called to the speaker's platform when Cordell Hull, the convention's chairman, asked that Cardinal Gibbons offer the invocation, only to learn that Cardinal Hays was scheduled to pray. Even more embarrassing was the fact that Cardinal Gibbons had died several years before. From this auspicious start, the convention deteriorated. Before the keynote address, Rogers was handed a thick bound volume which he ascertained to be the life of Andrew Jackson. To his dismay, he was informed that the tome was the text of Mississippi Senator Pat Harrison's keynote address. Not only was the speech lengthy, but also instructive to Rogers. "Jealousy is a hard thing to overcome," he wrote, but I must admit that my rival monologist [Rogers was performing at the Amsterdam Theater] . . . Pat Harrison, told things on the Republicans that would have made anybody else but Republicans ashamed of themselves." The remainder of Harrison's speech followed a familiar theme, and it left Rogers in a quandary—as similar orations have no doubt left many Americans. The confused cowboy wrote:

> When he mentioned old Andy Jackson, he just knocked those democrats off their seats. Then as he saw they were recovering he hit'em with the name of Thomas Jefferson and that knocked them back. Then he mentioned Woodrow Wilson and that sent them daffy. I am not up on political etiquette but it struck me as rather strange, after paying a tribute to a wonderful man, that the delegates should raise up and start shouting and singing, Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here, What the Hell Do We Care . . . The whole thing loked like a sure stampede for Wilson. So there will be a terrible disappointment when the delegates find that he [Wilson], like Cardinal Gibbons, has passed beyond and won't be able to accept.

Rogers' final statement concerning this day of activities at the Democratic Convention was: "I suppose Hull will have Ben Franklin lead us in prayer tomorrow."[9]

Although Rogers was impressed with the oratory efforts of Harrison, Republican keynote speaker Simeon D. Fess challenged the Democrats for bad taste, meaningless phrases and name dropping in the cowboy's estimate. Of the speech Rogers declared: "I bet you didn't know the Republicans were responsible for—radio, telephones, baths, automobiles, savings accounts, enforcement, workmen living in houses and a living wage for Senators." He was even more astounded when Fess informed the gathering that the enemy, the Democrats, had "brought on war, pestilence, debts, disease, boll weevils, gold teeth, need of farm relief, suspenders, floods, [and] famines." But the best was yet to come Rogers found when Fess turned

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

his attention to Coolidge. "When he got to Coolidge, I thought sure he was referring to 'Our Savior' till they told me, 'No it was Coolidge.' The way he rated 'em was Coolidge, the Lord, and then Lincoln."[10] The next day Fess was back, and Rogers listened: "All we have done today is listen to Senator Fess explain what he forgot to say yesterday. It seems he left out [Theodore] Roosevelt's name yesterday, and it took him all day today to alibi for it."[11]

Another facet of conventioning that bothered Rogers was the plethora of non-contending contenders at the conventions. To him the favorite sons, dark horses and glory seekers were needless obstacles in the convention's road to conclusion. His opinion was codified in June, 1928, in an article concerning the Republican Convention:[12]

> Flew in here [Kansas City, Missouri] Saturday from Chicago and made a forced landing on the backs of twenty-one candidates who were lying out in the grass on their stomachs trying to figure out some way to stop Hoover. The propeller struck one in the head and gave him an original idea.

Clearly Rogers agreed with the many, many Americans who have sat with blank stares on their faces and contempt in their hearts as one state after another placed its favorite son in the race, prolonging the convention's historic action to give their man a moment's glory. Or as Rogers put it after the Oklahoma delegation nominated a former governor of their state at the Demorcatic Convention in 1924: "That seems to be the penalty of a man being governor during a presidential year. Some yap will humiliate him by naming him as their favorite son for president."[13]

Rogers had a talent for searching out political hypocrisy; never was this talent put to better use than the Democratic Convention in 1928 at Houston, Texas. In the midst of prohibition Rogers unveiled the miasmic general political irresponsibility. In a bombast directed at both parties he wrote:[14]

> Since prohibition was unearthed nine years ago there has been only one argument invented that a politician, when he is cornered, can duck behind and that is the old apple sauce, "I am for law enforcement." It don't mean anything, never meant anything and never will mean anything. It would take practically a lunatic to announce, "I am against law enforcement." Now the Republicans held their convention first and naturally they grabbed this lone tree to hide behind. Now that leaves the Democrats out in the open.

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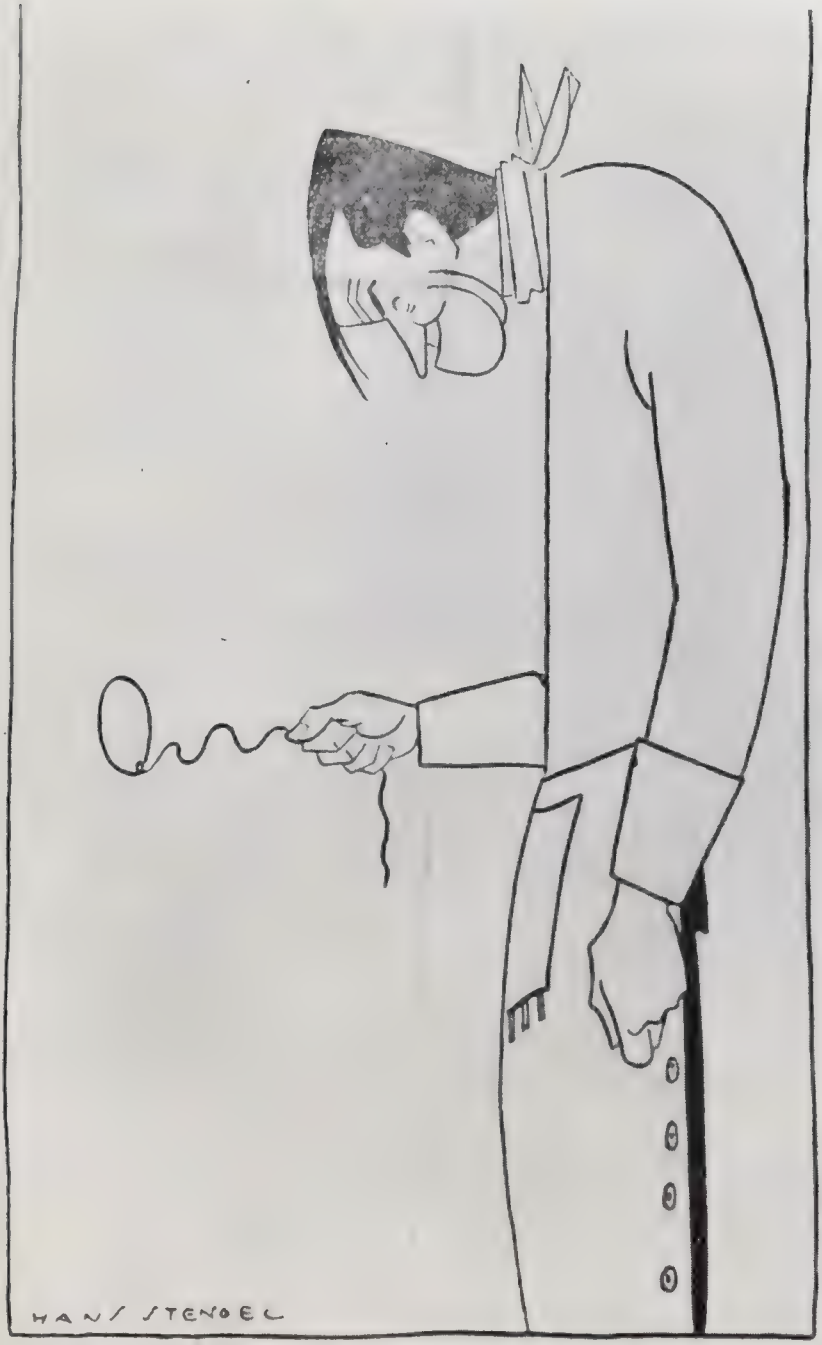
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 133.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 154.



"All I Know Is What I Read in the papers," Explains Will Rogers, the Rope Twirling Humorist of the New Ziegfeld Show. But Rogers Certainly Does Read a Lot of Papers.

A caricature of the rope-twirling humorist

> If they say anything about prohibition they got to say, "It ought to be modified," or "It shouldn't be modified." They can't duck behind the old "alibi" tree, "I am for law enforcement," for there is only room for one . . . and a republican is already hiding there.

In this same article Rogers made one of his strongest and soberest statements concerning politics and politicians:[15]

> The logical thing to do, if it [politics] was a "legitimate" business, would be to nominate with [Al] Smith another wet as vice-president and also put into the platform a plank on modification [of prohibition] and have the whole prohibition thing out, on a straightout issue, and let the voters settle it once and for all. But politics is not a "legitimate" business and they won't do it that way. Why? Because they don't know if there is more wet votes or dry votes. So they are afraid to take a chance.

Rogers was interested in every aspect of the conventions, and he wrote often about varied subjects. Such disparate topics as farmers, lady speakers and William Jennings Bryan fell prey to his dexterous pen. Although the above is a mere cross-section of his work, it is exemplary of his insights and thoughts. That he was a philosopher of classic proportions is debatable, but that he could perceive shortcomings and make cogent statements of analysis is beyond question. More critic than reformer, Will Rogers gave the common man the opportunity to berate the powerful and to laugh at the famous by proxy. For this they were grateful. To them it was a precious gift that he gave.

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[15] *Ibid.*

THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AND THE RELEASE OF THE APACHE PRISONERS OF WAR AT FORT SILL

*By John Anthony Turcheneske, Jr.**

When the Apache wars came to an end in September, 1886, Geronimo and his fellow belligerents were not the only Indians exiled to Florida. Because Major General Nelson A. Miles feared this action might result in restlessness and reprisals among residents of Arizona's Fort Apache and San Carlos Indian Reservations, Miles forcibly removed as prisoners of war over 450 innocent Chiricahua and Ojo Caliente Apaches to the same location. Those who survived this ignominious ordeal—as well as those born in captivity—would retain this unwarranted status for over twenty-six years. Almost immediately, there arose from various eastern philanthropic organizations, such as the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee and the Indian Rights Association, a howl of indignant protest over this rank injustice. By 1887, these humanitarian groups successfully pressured the government into removing the Apache prisoners to a more healthful environment at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama. Though Mount Vernon was an improvement, the region's climate continued to take its toll. Thus, the year 1890 saw renewed attempts at securing a greater degree of justice for the non-combatants with a view toward settling them at Fort Sill Military Reservation in Oklahoma. In spite of the initial demise of this plan, the Apache prisoners were finally moved there in 1894. While the philanthropic societies continued to exercise a vigilant watch against any infringement upon the rights of the Apache prisoners, pressure for their release from this onerous status slackened during the years 1894 through 1909. Because the Chiricahuas were promised permanent homes at Fort Sill—which resulted in plans for the post's decommission—there appeared no need to press the issue as allotment and, ultimately, freedom would follow in the wake of the installation's dissolution.

Matters again came to a head when, after an abortive 1910 attempt to pass legislation allotting the Apache prisoners at Fort Sill, the War Department explained that the imminent completion of the Field Artillery School of Fire at this military reserve made such an arrangement impractical. With the implications inherent in such a statement, subsequent congressional efforts to release the Apaches from their status as prisoners of war demonstrated that expediency rather than altruism governed the motives behind these endeavors; for in the game of whose interests could be furthered most, the Apache prisoners were naught but pawns. Between 1910 and 1913, con-

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Apaches encamped near Fort Sill

gressional ventures to effect a satisfactory solution to the Apache prisoner problem primarily centered around Scott Ferris who represented the Fifth Congressional District of Oklahoma. Determined to insure the economic well being of his home town of Lawton in particular—a town dependent on Fort Sill for its livelihood—and that of Oklahoma in general, Ferris successfully opposed allotment legislation which undercut the viability of Fort Sill as a military installation. Even so, Ferris did not object in principle to granting these Indians their freedom, and, in 1912, submitted legislation which would accomplish this end by authorizing their removal to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. Except for the fact that a strong minority demanded allotments and freedom at Fort Sill—a cause to which

their humanitarian friends rallied—this proposal should have presented no difficulty as a majority of the prisoners had previously expressed a desire to move to this location. Ferris remained adamant. Those Apaches who insisted on remaining at Fort Sill would have to do so under their current status. Fortunately for both Chiricahua factions, officials representing the Indian Rights Association, the Board of Indian Commissioners, the Interior Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs played the role of honest brokers—a role which gave the Apaches a more favorable settlement than they might otherwise have received—and successfully holding out for a compromise solution, suggested that those Apaches who desired to remain in Oklahoma be allotted outside the confines of Fort Sill. Accepting this proposal, Ferris skillfully steered the compromise to a successful resolution. There was, however, one obstacle which worked against both Ferris' and the Chiricahuas' interests that had to be overcome. During the latter part of 1912 and 1913, an intransigent United States Senator Albert Bacon Fall of New Mexico worked frantically behind the scenes to prevent the relocation of any of the Apache prisoners at Mescalero in order to protect his and his fellow stockmen's grazing interests at that reservation. As part of his strategy, Fall engineered legislation ostensibly designed to turn Mescalero into a national park, though Fall's actual purpose was to keep these interests intact. Ferris' vigilance effectively killed this measure. Not long thereafter, those Chiricahuas who so desired relocated to their new home at Mescalero.

Congressional efforts to release the Apache prisoners of war began in earnest on Februray 4, 1910, when United States Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma introduced legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to allot those Apaches under the supervision of the War Department. This bill provided for allotments ranging in size from sixty to eighty acres of farming land which could be made from tracts ceded to the United States by the Kiowa and Comanche tribes, or from lands within the military reserve.[1] Three days later, Minnesota's United States Senator, Moses E. Clapp, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, requested Interior Secretary Richard A. Ballinger's consideration of the Owen measure. Heartily endorsing this legislation, Ballinger explained that when these Indians came to the military reserve, the government "solemnly promised" the prisoners that not only was Fort Sill to be their "permanent home," but that they would not again be subject to relocation. Indeed, "the

[1] "A Bill providing for the allotment of land to the Apache and other Indians under the charge of the War Department, Fort Sill Military Reservation, Oklahoma, and for other purposes," United States Senate, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, 1910, pp. 1–2. Hereafter cited as "Senate Resolution 6152."

area of the original reservation appears to have been nearly doubled for the express purpose of settling them there permanently." Furthermore, Ballinger believed the War Department clearly intended to abandon Fort Sill in the future and allot the lands to the Apaches and thus furnished the prisoners with stock, houses and agricultural implements.[2]

While Clapp awaited Ballinger's response, Owen, on February 16, presented to his colleagues a letter from S. M. Brosius, of the Indian Rights Association, which urged immediate allotment of the prisoners. Brosius reminded the United States Senate that only five of the original seventeen hostile Apaches who were associated with Geronimo and removed to Fort Sill with the innocent Chiricahuas now survived. When the military removed the Apaches to Fort Sill, the Indians "were told that they would not be moved again." Besides, army officers believed that eventually Fort Sill would be phased out. Thus, "the officers in charge urged that additional lands be secured" to assure an allotment of 160 acres for each Apache. This was the reason behind the 1897 agreements with the Kiowas and Comanches, and the acts of 1902 and 1904.[3] Brosius believed that lovers of justice would be astounded to discover "that under our Constitution and flag over 250 of our native-born people have been deprived of their liberty for almost a generation without having committed, nor having been charged with committing, any offense against the United States." Serfdom best described the state in which the Apache prisoners found themselves. Brosius insisted the time had come for the government to fulfill its obligation by releasing the Apaches from bondage and allotting them at Fort Sill.[4]

Having carefully considered Ballinger's reply, as well as the pressure exerted by the Indian Rights Association, Clapp, on March 10, recommended the passage of the Owen measure. This the Senate did on March 15. Whatever elation Owen exhibited over this victory would be short lived. Indeed, initial indications that Owen's bill might never become law came

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[2] Richard A. Ballinger to Moses E. Clapp (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), February 14, 1910, Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

[3] "Apache Prisoners of War," United States Senate, 61st Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), pp. 1–2. A document which leaves no doubt that these lands were intended as a permanent home for the Apaches is a December 23, 1910 memorandum of Judge-Advocate General George B. Davis. Here Davis cites the Kiowa-Comanche agreement of March 15, 1897 which added 26,987 acres for the use of the prisoners, and the acts of August 6, 1894, February 12, 1895, Sundry Civil Act of June 28, 1902 and the Urgent Deficiency Act of February 18, 1904—all of which envisioned permanent establishment of the Apaches at Fort Sill through the appropriation of funds for buildings, stock, farming implements, seeds, household utensils and other necessaries. The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, Memorandum by Judge-Advocate General George B. Davis of December 23, 1910, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., pp. 2–3.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

immediately prior to the Senate's passage of the legislation. After Clapp's favorable recommendation, Owen, on March 11, inquired of Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickinson whether he objected to the allotment of the Apache prisoners at Fort Sill.[5] Chief of Staff J. Franklin Bell, replying for Dickinson, explained that any plan to allot the Apaches at Fort Sill would seriously hamper plans for the post's development in which United States Senator Thomas P. Gore, Ferris and the citizens of Lawton expressed an interest. Bell suggested that Owen see Gore and Ferris "who can explain to you the reason why the allotment of land on the Fort Sill reservation would not be advisable."[6] Whatever suspicions Owen entertained about Ferris' role with regard to the fate of his bill were confirmed over a month later when a group of Elgin, Oklahoma, citizens protested against Ferris' blockage of the allotment legislation.[7]

In spite of such protests, Ferris remained unmoved. By May 2, the Oklahoma Representative introduced his own unique solution to the Apache prisoner question which would empower the Interior Secretary to grant allotments of 160 acres of agricultural land or 320 acres of "nonirrigable grazing land anywhere on the public domain of the United States or the District of Alaska." Of course, the secretary would be required to "select lands suitable for such allotments, having due regard to the habits, traits, health, and general welfare of the said Indians."[8] In the event this measure failed to dissipate support for the Owen bill, Ferris unveiled contingency legislation which authorized an investigation by the Interior Secretary for the purpose of determining where a suitable reservation might be procured whereon the Apache prisoners could be allotted and required that the secretary report his findings to the House of Representatives.[9] This latest piece of legislation was merely a delaying tactic which provided Ferris' allies in the War Department time to build a case against allotment of the prisoners at Fort Sill.[10]

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[5] Robert L. Owen to Jacob M. Dickinson, March 11, 1910, Records of the Adjutant General's Office.

[6] J. Franklin Bell to Robert L. Owen, March 14, 1910, *ibid.*

[7] Petition of E. L. Howe, G. W. Temple, *et al* to Robert L. Owen, Elgin, Oklahoma, April 25, 1910, Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

[8] "A Bill providing for the allotment of land to the Apache Indians now under the charge of the War Department at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, as prisoners of war," United States House of Representatives, 61st Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 1. Hereafter cited as "House Resolution 25297."

[9] United States Congress, "House Resolution 26048," *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, May 18, 1910, p. 6494.

[10] Indeed, there is reason to doubt whether Ferris ever intended that the Interior Department report on "House Resolution 26048." On December 21, 1910, Ferris sent a copy of this proposed

Ferris' confidence was not misplaced. Judge-Advocate General George B. Davis, in a December 23, 1910 report, argued against allotment of the Apaches at Fort Sill. Such action "would be inexpedient at this time" because the "enlarged reservation is in the highest degree necessary for military purposes in the training and instruction of the troops, especially of the field artillery, and in the conduct of joint and separate camps of maneuver for practical instruction in field service." Were the Apaches allotted at Fort Sill, a new post would have to be acquired at a "very considerable expense." Davis recommended that Fort Sill continue as a military reserve, and that the issue of the removal of the prisoners to another reservation be presented to Congress at an appropriate time. Any transfer of the Indians had to be accomplished with their consent, and they were to be provided with comparable facilities.[11]

Regardless of the War Department's need to strengthen the field artillery training facilities at Fort Sill, the Board of Indian Commissioners decried such lack of concern for the Apache prisoners, and insisted that "plain justice" demanded that each of the Apaches receive not less than 80 acres at Fort Sill, and "that if not more than one-half of them choose to remain, the size of each allotment might well be considerably larger." This was the least the government could do. "That only a few Indians are involved is not chief consideration, which is, rather, whether the Government can honorably pursue a course less generous than that suggested." Fully backing the Owen bill's intent, the commissioners, acknowledging the bill's demise in the House of Representatives, urged the passage of similar legislation.[12]

Equally fervent over the need for this type of legislation, the Indian Rights Association intensified its campaign on behalf of the Apache prisoners. Ferris, describing this organization as "over-sentimental in the matter," and taking no chances that Owen's bill might be resurrected, informed Dickinson on January 18, 1911, that "while I have been before the committee once and opposed its passage I am perfectly willing to do so again." Ferris believed the Interior Department blundered by supporting this legislation as allotment of the Apaches at Fort Sill would "materially retard and

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legislation to Interior Secretary Ballinger. Acknowledging the representative, Ballinger tersely replied: "you say that you have requested the Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, to cause the bill to be referred to this Department for report. When the bill is received from the Committee on Indian Affairs it will be given careful consideration and made the subject of a full report." Richard A. Ballinger to Scott Ferris, January 7, 1911, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

[11] The Apache Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, Memorandum by Judge-Advocate General George B. Davis, December 23, 1910, Records of the Adjutant General's Office.

[12] Board of Indian Commissioners, *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior, 1910–1911* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), pp. 7–8.

Chihuahua, sub-chief of the Chiricahua Apaches under Cochise

interfere with the improvements that are being made there at this time." Were Ferris to overcome Owen's backers once and for all, the War Department would have to supply the Representative with the appropriate ammunition such as a "letter . . . which will fortify me in helping to defeat the bill."[13] Dickinson willingly complied with Ferris' request, and with a veiled reference to the proposed Field Artillery School of Fire, maintained that allotment of the Apaches at Fort Sill would indeed interfere with the plans of development which the military had for this post. Besides, the War Department already spent $1,000,000 in the initial execution of this development.[14]

While Ferris successfully checked any resurgence of congressional sentiment in favor of the Owen bill, a Lawton citizens committee expressed opposition to the allotment of the prisoners at Fort Sill. Though these individuals insisted they had no antipathy toward the Apaches, at the same time they believed Fort Sill would be useless as a military reserve were the Apaches allotted there. Lawtonians paid lip service to justice, but in reality considered the economic survival of their city as the paramount issue.[15]

Other than Ferris' renewed attempt to settle the Chiricahuas on the public domain or Alaska, the year 1911 saw no new legislation proffered on behalf of the Indians. This did not mean that there lacked any effort in this direction, for in a burst of self interested activity, the War Department worked feverishly toward this end. On November 6, 1911, Colonel Hugh L. Scott, who had previously worked with the Apache prisoners recommended to Chief of Staff Leonard Wood, who had participated in the 1886 Geronimo campaign, that "legislation be obtained this winter," at an estimated expenditure of $100,000 which would remove those Apaches who desired a home there to Mescalero. Once there, they would be released as prisoners of war.[16]

Wood and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson approved Scott's recommendations. Exerting pressure on Interior Secretary Ballinger, Stimson fully revealed why the continued presence of the Apache prisoners at Fort Sill "seriously handicapped" the War Department in the appropriate utilization of this post. Simply, the military had established the Field Artillery

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[13] Scott Ferris to Jacob M. Dickinson, Washington, D.C., January 18, 1911, Records of the Adjutant General's Office. Ferris urged Dickinson to request the Interior Department to withdraw their support of the Senate measure.

[14] Jacob M. Dickinson to Scott Ferris, Washington, D.C., January 23, 1911, House Committee on Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

[15] R. A. Snud, P. G. Fullerton, Ray F. Champlin, W. C. Stevens, and J. Elmer Thomas to Colonel Hugh L. Scott, October 19, 1911, enclosed in letter of R. A. Snud to Colonel Hugh L. Scott, October 19, 1911, Records of the Adjutant General's Office.

[16] Colonel Hugh L. Scott to Major-General Leonard Wood, November 6, 1911, *ibid.*

School of Fire on the reserve and already spent $1,250,000 on the project. Though "very desirous to so arrange the affairs of the Apache prisoners that . . . no injustice be done them," the War Department wanted a return on its investment. Stimson requested Ballinger to consider Scott's report and to "advise me . . . promptly . . . whether . . . you concur in the recommendations therein."[17]

Ferris also worked furtively behind the scenes. Preparing to launch his next major legislative offensive on the Apache prisoner issue, he anxiously inquired of Wood, on December 11, as to the whereabouts of Scott's report. Wood replied the next day with a summary of Scott's recommendations.[18] Armed to the teeth with appropriate information and the War Department's unflinching support, Ferris proceeded to bombard the Interior Department with his views, and explained the time had come for a resolution of the Apache prisoner problem. Ferris gently reminded the Interior Department that the War Department could legally release the Apaches under executive order. Even so, "it would not be appropriate to free them and just turn them loose." Ferris believed the Interior Department should work in concert with the War Department with a view toward claiming responsibility for the Indians.[19]

Shortly after the first of the year, Ferris introduced legislation which authorized the Secretary of War to grant freedom to those Apaches electing removal to Mescalero. Their property was to be liquidated, with the resulting cash—in addition to their share in the tribal monies—turned over to the Treasury of the United States which would establish a Fort Sill Apache prisoner of war fund—after which the Interior Department would acquire jurisdiction over the Apaches and their funds. They would then be moved to Mescalero by the Interior Secretary who would then reinvest their capital in property similar to that owned at Fort Sill. An appropriation of $100,000 would be made available to the Interior Department to effect the removal. Those Apaches who wished to remain at Fort Sill could do so under those regulations which the War Department might prescribe.[20]

Not long thereafter, the War Department warmly endorsed Ferris' bill.[21]

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[17] Henry L. Stimson to Richard A. Ballinger, November 8, 1911, House Committee on Indian Affairs.

[18] Leonard Wood to Scott Ferris, December 12, 1911, *ibid.*

[19] Scott Ferris to Carmi A. Thompson, December 27, 1911, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

[20] "A Bill authorizing the Secretary of War to grant freedom to certain of the Apache prisoners of war now being held at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and giving them equal status with other restricted Indians, and for other purposes," 62nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), pp. 1–3. Hereafter cited as "House Resolution 16651." United States House of Representatives.

[21] Leonard Wood to Scott Ferris, Washington, D.C., January 8, 1912, House Committee on Indian Affairs.

In spite of this victory, Ferris' elation must have been tempered with the news that Walter C. Roe, Superintendent of Missions of the Reformed Church in America, accompanied by H. C. Phillips, Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, visited Wood to ascertain whether this measure did indeed represent the War Department's views.[22] Somewhat alarmed, Ferris, on January 21, 1912, asked Wood to explain what transpired at this conference. While Phillips may have considered Roe's meeting with the Chief of Staff somewhat conciliatory, Wood's interpretation of the interview was not so sanguine. Replying to Ferris on January 23, Wood told the Representative that he "spoke pretty plainly to the Reverend Doctor and intimated that . . . they had all better attend to their own business until your bill had been enacted into law." Roe was "an upright, well meaning type of man . . . and . . . very anxious to have as many Indians settle on the reservation as possible." Proceeding to allay whatever fears Ferris forlornly entertained, Wood explained he continued "in accord" with the Oklahoman's position, and believed that "no definite action should be taken . . . until the bulk of the Indians" were transferred to Mescalero—for once this was accomplished, an excellent possibility existed that "a good many of those who elected to stay at Fort Sill will follow them," thus obviating the need for any allotments at Fort Sill. Roe, Wood explained, was "apparently afraid that too many will follow, and thinks that those who have been advanced to a certain point ought to be kept at Fort Sill." Of course, Roe was "like ourselves . . . really interested in the Indians," but if Wood had "in any way . . . confused the Doctor's mind as to your attitude and mine, or our understanding, in this matter, I shall be very glad to talk further with him and clear it up."[23]

Ferris also had good reason to maintain a close watch on the activities of the Indian Office with regard to the allotment issue as Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert G. Valentine insisted that honor dictated only one course, which was "that . . . we keep our promise and allot at Fort Sill such of those Indians as elect to stay there, notwithstanding the use to which the War Department desires to convert the land"—the commercial interests

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[22] Fort Sill Apaches: Memorandum of Secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners H. C. Phillips, January 19, 1912, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

[23] Leonard Wood to Scott Ferris, January 23, 1912, House Committee on Indian Affairs. On January 27th, Phillips telephoned Ferris with a view toward compromise. Ferris "stated that those in charge of the agitation were mislead as to the real wishes of the Indians and that in his opinion it would be possible after reasonable discussion to effect a compromise on almost any basis except that of allotment to which at Fort Sill he was unalterably opposed." H. C. Phillips' Memorandum of telephone conversation with Honorable Scott Ferris regarding Fort Sill Apaches, January 27, 1912, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Asa Daklugie, spokesman for those Apaches at Fort Sill wishing to relocate in Mescalero, New Mexico (Courtesy United States Army Field Artillery and Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.)

of certain Lawton citizens notwithstanding.[24] Yet, at this juncture, Ferris need not have been so apprehensive. On February 23, there was held in the Indian Office a conference attended by representatives of the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Indian Rights Association—all of whom desired a compromise with Ferris on the Fort Sill allotment issue. At the meeting, consideration was given to two measures proffered by the Indian Office as possible amendments to Ferris' bill; one, which the Indian Office preferred, would allow the Interior Secretary to allot the Apaches only at Mescalero or Fort Sill, while the second permitted a third option, namely those Apaches desiring to remain in Oklahoma might be allotted there outside the confines of the military reserve at the Interior Secretary's discretion. Those in attendance decided upon the second measure for the very practical reason that this amendment "represented probably all that could possibly be expected from Congress."[25]

Over a month later there occurred developments which would see a solution to the impasse. Asa Daklugie, one of the prisoners who already obtained permission to go to Mescalero, informed Ferris on April 9, 1912; that 165 Apaches voted to move there. "My people . . . want to be free," Daklugie said, and urged Ferris to "do all that you can for us," and explained that "I . . . will be glad to give you the facts."[26] Daklugie was certain that the Apache prisoners would encounter no difficulty in their agricultural or cattle raising endeavors. Ferris, on April 16, seized upon this opportunity, and, forwarding Daklugie's letter to the Interior Department explained that this went far "toward expressing the sentiment of all the Indians if they could be left free from intervention and free from the meddling of outside parties." In an unusual spirit of compromise, Ferris suggested that the Secretary of Interior recommend Kiowa and Comanche allotments for those prisoners desiring to remain in Oklahoma.[27] This done, Ferris, on May 16, introduced an amended version of his bill which contained the crucial compromise provision, though this legislation would not see final action until August—and then in conjunction with a similar Senate measure.

In the Senate, some time elapsed before that body again offered any concrete proposal for the solution of the Apache prisoner problem. Finally, on May 10, 1912, Oklahoma Senator Thomas P. Gore introduced legislation which had as its more important provisions: the creation of a commission

[24] Robert G. Valentine to Samuel Adams, February 23, 1912, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior.

[25] H. C. Phillips Memorandum of Conference at Indian Office, February 23, 1912, Regarding Fort Sill Apaches and "House Resolution 16651," Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

[26] Asa Daklugie to Scott Ferris, April 9, 1912, House Committee on Indian Affairs.

[27] Scott Ferris to Samuel Adams, April 16, 1912, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

consisting of one representative each from the War and Interior departments for the purpose of ascertaining which of the prisoners desired removal to Mescalero, and which of those who wished to remain at Fort Sill; the immediate release of those who elected Mescalero once they arrived at that reservation; the authorization of the Secretary of War to effect a sale of "individual or common property" and to pay over the proceeds to the Interior Secretary, who in turn was to reinvest these funds in "property suitable in character for the use and benefit of those whose property is sold;" those opting to stay in Oklahoma could remain at Fort Sill while the Interior Secretary purchased Kiowa and Comanche allotments "not to exceed eighty acres of farming land or one hundred and sixty acres of grazing land" for each individual Apache—who would be immediately released once settled on his allotment; and an appropriation of $100,000 to enable the Secretary of War to execute the removal of those Apaches desiring to go to Mescalero, as well as an appropriation of $250,000 to the Interior Secretary for the purchase of allotments.[28] This measure was passed on June 17.

On the same day, the House of Representatives received the Gore bill for its consideration, and on June 21, the House Committee on Indian Affairs recommended that the measure be amended and passed.[29] In spite of the committee's favorable action, Ferris was not so sanguine about the bill's ultimate passage. As early as the latter part of May, Ferris had premonitions of insidious dangers lurking about legislative halls stealthfully waiting to cashier both his and Gore's measures. Sensing this, Ferris covered his tracks by supporting the move to add the monetary provisions—as well as their intent—to the Fiscal 1913 Indian Appropriation Bill. During his May 23 conversation with H. C. Phillips, Ferris expressed his chief concern as the unwillingness he discerned among members of the House of Representatives to favor such disproportionate expenditures. Therefore, attention now had to be focused on the Indian Appropriation Bill. Ferris requested Phillips' presence "during the hearings of the conference committee on the appropriation bill," and said "the support of all parties interested would be necessary to carry through the proposed plan as there would undoubtedly

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[28] "A Bill for the relief of the Apache Indians held as prisoners of war on the Fort Sill Military Reservation, in Oklahoma, and for other purposes," United States Senate, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), pp. 1–3. Hereafter cited as "Senate Document 6776."

[29] "Relief of Apache Indians Held as Prisoners of War at Fort Sill, Okla.," United States House of Representatives Report 917, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912) p. 1. The first amendment would make it possible for the Interior Secretary to purchase other lands for the prisoners in the event no dead allotments were available, and the second reduced by $50,000 the amount which could be spent on securing these allotments. p. 1.

be many who would contend that it gave too much money to few Indians."[30]

Ferris' anxiety over the possible fate of his and Gore's legislation was not unfounded. On August 19, 1912, the legislative paths of those measures converged. Desiring to "finally dispose of this vexatious question," Ferris requested that, while his bill was scheduled for consideration at this time, the House give its "unanimous consent" to the Gore bill instead. Before his colleagues took any action on the matter, Ferris first desired to make a statement in defense of his motion. Representative James R. Mann of Illinois—ever the fearless, vigilant and intrepid watchdog over the treasury and ultimately the House nemesis of these legislative proposals—having already reserved the right to object to consideration of Ferris' bill, replied: "Does not the gentleman think we are doing pretty well by these Indians without authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to purchase homesteads for them out of the General Treasury?" In spite of this well timed barb, Ferris calmly cited the War Department's needs as well as the pitiful condition of the Apache prisoners as valid reasons for the substitution. Ferris suggested an amendment to the Gore bill "by striking out everything after the enacting clause" and inserting the language "For the relief and settlement of the Apache Indians now confined as prisoners of war at Fort Sill Military Reservation, on lands to be selected by them, the sum of $250,000 to be expended under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe"—a recommendation from no less an authority than the Treasury Department itself. After all, this only amounted to four or five lines, and besides, the remaining details could be worked out in conference.[31]

At this point, an unmoved and incredulous Mann remarked: "Two Hundred and Fifty thousand dollars." Though Ferris explained the funding could be cut by $50,000, Mann wondered whether the government would now have to buy a farm for everyone who committed a criminal offense. At this, Texas Representative John H. Stephens, Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, asked whether Mann knew that only thirty of those confined as prisoners of war at Fort Sill were among the original group brought to the post while the others were born in captivity—to which

[30] H. C. Phillips Memorandum of Call on Scott Ferris, May 23, 1912, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

[31] United States Congress, "House Resolution 16651," *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, August 19, 1912, p. 11336. Ferris did not tell the complete truth with regard to this particular matter. Actually, on May 22, 1912, Treasury Secretary Franklin MacVeagh transmitted to Senate President James S. Sherman a letter of the same date from Interior Secretary Walter L. Fisher which contained the provision referred to as drawn up by the Indian Office. "Estimate of Appropriation for Inclusion In the Indian Appropriation Bill," United States Senate, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), pp. 1–2. Hereafter cited as "Senate Document 695." This provision would later be inserted in "House Resolution 20728."

Children born to Apaches confined at Fort Sill as prisoners of war

inquiry the Illinoisan tersely replied, "Let them get out and earn their living." Stephens then asked if Mann would "punish the children for the sins of their fathers?" Mann replied that he would not, but wondered whether it was "punishment to a man to be turned out of confinement?" Ferris quickly regained the initiative and asked whether Mann desired "to take a defenseless people, born in confinement, and apply the same rule to them that he would to a criminal?" Congress had a clear duty to provide land for the Apache prisoners. Besides, "their unfortunate condition should excite pity rather than wrath." In spite of this entreaty, Mann remained obdurate and coldly suggested that the Apache prisoners be released "and earn a living or do without."[32]

Having concluded his argument, Ferris expressed the hope that Mann would permit consideration of the Gore legislation "with such amendments as may be hurriedly prepared and pass the bill." This plea was in vain; for when the House Speaker asked whether there were objections, Mann did just that. Thus, Ferris' request to consider the Gore measure in place of his

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 11337.

own bill was effectively denied. Worse yet, Ferris' bill was removed from the calendar.[33] By failing to court the overzealous self-appointed guardians of the pursestrings, Ferris made a serious strategic blunder with the result that both his and the Gore legislation became "trail statistics" at the hands of Congressional arrows.

With the defeat of these measures, attention soon shifted to the Indian Appropriation Bill for 1913, which was introduced by John H. Stephens on February 23, 1912, passed by the House of Representatives on April 9 and transmitted to the Senate where it languished in committee for nearly three months. That there were no provisions for the release of the Apache prisoners in the Appropriation Bill at this point did not mean a lack of behind the scenes action with a view toward effecting a successful conclusion of this issue. Interior Secretary Walter L. Fisher submitted to Treasury Secretary Franklin MacVeagh on May 22, an estimate received from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the amount of $250,000 for the relief and settlement of the Apache prisoners—with the request that MacVeagh forward this estimate to Congress. Fisher emphasized the importance of enacting legislation "at this session of the Congress for the relief of the Indians in question, and the estimate herewith is submitted at this time in order that the item of legislation may be included in the Indian Appropriation Bill."[34] MacVeagh complied with Fisher's request and sent the estimate to the Senate on the same day.[35] Action was finally taken when, on July 3, Minnesota Senator Moses E. Clapp proposed Amendment 114 which requested that the Interior Secretary report to Congress at the opening of the next session as "to the advisability and the probable cost of securing homes in Oklahoma and New Mexico" for the Apache prisoners, to which amendment the Senate agreed to.[36]

After a series of House and Senate conferences initiated by Stephens, agreement was reached on the content of Amendment 114's provisions. As Brosius predicted on July 5, the conferees, on August 13, 1912, had indeed stretched their authority, and, with the support of Stephens of the House

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[33] *Ibid.* Later that day, "Senate Document 6776" itself came up for consideration. Ferris said this measure involved the same question as that of "House Resolution 16651," and, as such, requested that the bill be "passed over without prejudice." This was done. p. 11340.

[34] Walter L. Fisher to Franklin MacVeagh, May 22, 1912, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

[35] "Senate Document 695," p. 1.

[36] United States Congress, "House Resolution 20728," *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, July 3, 1912, p. 8604. Hereafter cited as "Senate-House Resolution 20728." The Senate passed the bill on the same day (p. 8621), but on July 5th, Myers of Montana asked for a recall (p. 8638) and was successful. After a delay of nearly two weeks, the Bill was finally passed on July 17 and sent to the House (p. 9167).

and Clapp of the Senate, incorporated in this amendment all of the items found in the now defunct Gore bill.[37] On August 17, Clapp called his colleagues' attention to Amendment 114, and explained there was overwhelming evidence that the Fort Sill Apache prisoners should be released and placed on a reservation. Clapp said that when the Indian Appropriation Bill was first considered by the Senate, Amendment 114 as originally constructed was "inserted with the thought that that might put the matter in conference, and that upon the amendment the conferees might make provision for those prisoners." Yet, it was evident that the original Amendment 114 was not broad enough to authorize the conferees to provide for the removal of the prisoners as only the Interior Secretary was authorized to make an investigation and come up with a scheme for their removal and an estimate of the probable cost of securing homes for them in Oklahoma. While the conferees realized they were outside the strict limits imposed on them, there was evidence coming from the military and other sources that deplorable conditions did indeed exist and that provision ought to be made for the removal of the prisoners. This, then, was the reason for the substitution. Still, the conferees agreed to notify their respective houses that they exceeded their limitations while at the same time asking both houses to agree to the substitution. Clapp noted that a joint resolution could have been called, for but time was of the essence because the session was nearly over. Clapp hoped the Senate would adopt the conference report.[38]

With this, there immediately ensued a debate which waxed hotly over the merits of Amendment 114. Senator Porter J. McCumber of North Dakota insisted the conferees exceed their authority and that the measure should be returned to conference. Clapp replied that the provisions of Amendment 114 should have been placed in the Indian Appropriation Bill in the first place, and as this was not done, the original Amendment 114 "was put in very hastily in Senate, with the thought that it was broad enough to permit something of this kind to be agreed upon in conference." McCumber could not discern such an intent. Clapp explained that, while the conference committee discovered Amendment 114's shortcomings, "we had to drop the subject or exceed our authority and come to the two Houses for settlement." McCumber maintained he did not understand the "crying necessity" for such action, and later said his complaint was "not lodged so much against the fact that you have added these things as that you have added them at the expense of others." Though Clapp explained that Amendment 114 would

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[37] United States Senate, "Indian Conference Report," 62nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), pp. 11–12.

[38] "Senate-House Resolution 20728," *Congressional Record*, August 17, 1912, p. 11151.

not involve the sacrifice of other items in the Indian Appropriation Bill, McCumber remained unmoved.[39]

Debate on Amendment 114 resumed on August 19, 1912. Senator Thomas B. Catron insisted that his constituents did not desire to have the Apache prisoners sent to New Mexico. He declared that, "Those Indians have been the worst band of Indians that have ever existed upon the American continent. Continuing, he stated that, "They have been the most warlike; they have been the most desperate, the most bloodthirsty, and murdering that has ever existed." Emphasizing this point, Catron then launched into a brief and lurid discussion of late nineteenth century Apache warfare. Removal of the Chiricahuas to New Mexico would only precipitate a new conflict as Mescalero did not have enough agricultural land that was irrigable with which to keep these Apaches occupied. He asked that now that the prisoners successfully supported themselves at Fort Sill, why not keep them there?[40]

Kansas Senator Charles Curtis sought a way out of this impasse. Curtis suggested that the conferees once again revise Amendment 114 and substitute the Interior Secretary's estimate of $250,000 "for the relief and settlement of the Apache Indians . . . on lands to be selected for them by" him for the current provision. This, the Kansan believed, would be acceptable to the senators from New Mexico and Arizona. Understanding this to mean that this revision would have the effect of permanently settling the Fort Sill Apaches in Oklahoma, Arizona Senator Marcus Aurelius Smith seized upon Curtis' idea and replied that "unquestionably," this was "an answer to the question," and was what New Mexico Senator Albert B. Fall "endeavored to call to my attention." Indeed, Fall, who would later attempt to use this understanding for his own ends, explained he was "informed by the Representative from Oklahoma that they will be glad to have these Indians down there; and the only method by which we can get them there is by a reference of this report back to committee."[41] In spite of Clapp's final efforts to save Amendment 114, the Senate rejected the conference report.

On August 20, 1912, the House of Representatives considered Amendment 114. Having warmed to his task by almost singlehandedly demolishing every amendment in the Indian Appropriation Bill Conference Report, Mann of Illinois, vigorously exercising his usual vigilance over the monies in the Federal Treasury, tackled Amendment 114 with great relish. Though

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 11159.

[40] *Ibid.*, August 19, 1912, p. 11236.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 11237. In relation to Amendment 114, Albert B. Fall implied that—as they were identical to Amendment 114—had the Gore and Ferris bills been deliberated upon after the arrival of the New Mexico and Arizona delegations, these measures would never have passed.

Mann was "perfectly willing . . . to pay the expenses" of those who desired to relocate at Mescalero, he could "see no reason why we should buy farms for the Apache Indians whom we discharge from their nominal confinement." Ferris explained that the expenditure for allotting the Apache prisoners was necessary because there no longer existed public lands suitable for such a purpose. Besides, the "Government ought to feel a little duty toward starting" the Chiricahuas off as were other Indians. Mann snidely retorted that in "looking after his district, as he always ably does," Ferris supported the proposition out of personal interest.[42] Amendment 114, as well as the whole conference report, was rejected, and the House members requested a new conference.

On August 21, the Senate agreed to Clapp's request for a new conference. Clapp appeared somewhat optimistic that a resolution of the Apache prisoner problem might be reached after all; for in a letter of the same day to Stimson, the Minnesotan confided his belief that "we will be able to get the matter in such shape that you and the Secretary of the Interior can dispose of it. We purpose to take the recommendations of the Interior Department and insert the Secretary of War to act with him."[43] On August 22, the Senate considered and agreed to a newly revised Amendment 114.[44] This version contained only the Interior Secretary's recommendations.[45]

Stephens called for a consideration of the same conference report on August 23, and explained that Amendment 114 "has been a subject of much controversy between the two Houses of Congress, as well as between the Interior and the War Departments of this Government, and your committee have agreed upon the . . . amendment as a solution of this vexed question." As justification for the action of the conference committee, Stephens read to his colleagues a letter from Stimson who fully supported such a solution, and explained the legislation would provide allotments in Oklahoma for those Apaches who wanted them, and permit those Apaches who so desired to move to Mescalero. This time there were no objections; Amendment 114 and the conference report were agreed to, and on August 24, 1912, the Indian Appropriation Bill for 1913 became law.[46]

This, however, did not end the controversy over Amendment 114, for this

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[42] United States Congress, "House Resolution 20728," *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, August 20, 1912, p. 11422. Hereafter cited as "House Resolution 20728."

[43] Moses E. Clapp to Henry L. Stimson, August 21, 1912, Records of the Adjutant General's Office.

[44] "Senate-House Resolution 20728," *Congressional Record*, August 22, 1912, p. 11562.

[45] "Indian Conference Report," United States Senate, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 11. Hereafter cited as "Senate Document 938." This time, only $200,000 was appropriated for allotting the Apache prisoners.

[46] "House Resolution 20728," *Congressional Record*, August 24, 1912, p. 11853.

Fort Sill Apaches enroute to Mescalero Reservation

provision was subject to interpretation as it did not specify which lands were to be selected for the Apache prisoners by the Interior and War secretaries. On rereading Clapp's letter to Stimson, a strong case can be made that the conferees intended the flexibility inherent in the provision so that War and Interior departments could finally resolve the Apache prisoner problem as they saw fit. Also, the provision itself did not attach any conditions as to how the funds appropriated were to be spent, and only stipulated that they were to be "expended under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of War may prescribe."[47] Both the War and Interior departments took the broad view and interpreted the legislation as giving them authority to effect the removal to Mescalero those Apaches who desired to settle there. Albert B. Fall of New Mexico narrowly construed Amendment 114, and, as events will show, did all he could to prevent the implementation of such removal.

Indeed, evidence surfaced soon thereafter that Fall deliberately clouded the issue and could be expected to play an obscurantist role as his interests dictated. J. W. Prude, a Tularosa, New Mexico, merchant who conducted a trading business at Mescalero, informed appropriate officials that Fall's contention that the thirty surviving prisoners would constitute a "dangerous element" to the white descendents of their victims was absurd in the extreme —particularly so because, to Prude's knowledge, there were "none such living here" as so "graphically" described by Fall. Anyone who talked "such rot" did so "for a cold blooded selfish motive"—and Fall had such a motive. Simply stated, Fall did not want "those Indians to come to this reservation for reasons that are obvious. He owns large herds of sheep and a large body of land adjoining the Reservation." As such, Prude implied that Fall leased grazing land at Mescalero and wanted to protect the profits he was making by retaining this arrangement.[48]

Equally evident, the War and Interior departments were absolutely determined to finally dispose of the Apache prisoner problem, to loosely use the phrase of Prude, as they deemed best. With regard to Amendment 114's provisions this meant taking the broad view—particularly so with reference

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[47] "Senate Document 938," p. 11.

[48] J. W. Prude to Hugh L. Scott, Mescalero, New Mexico, September 1, 1912, Records Adjutant General's Office. Indeed, leasing at Mescalero must have been profitable. According to Prude, the "white men grazing the reservation are making money. One man has cleared $100,000 in [the] last 10 years." Prude then asked: "If white men can make money off this grazing land why can't the Indians? No reason in the world they can't." Prude did admit that his motives in adocating the removal of the Apache prisoners to Mescalero were not entirely unselfish. Yes, his trading business would benefit. Even so, Prude insisted that he always dealt fairly with the Indians, and made it a practice never to profit at their expense. J. W. Prude to Henry L. Stimson, August 26, 1912, *ibid.*

to the item "such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of War may prescribe." By September 6, Wood informed Fisher of his readiness to proceed under this provision, and explained that in a joint War-Interior conference on the matter he had "tentatively selected to represent the War Department an officer who is familiar with Indian affairs, particularly with the subject of the Apache Indians now at Fort Sill." Wood desired to know whether Fisher was ready to act.[49] Acting Secretary of War Robert Shaw Oliver did not wait for the conference between the representatives of War and Interior, for, on September 18, 1912, Shaw let it be known "that arrangements are now being made to carry out the legislation enacted at the last session of Congress with respect to the removal of the Apache prisoners . . . from Fort Sill . . . to Mescalero."[50] This policy became official on October 12.[51]

War and Interior's latitudinarian interpretation of Amendment 114 did not escape Fall's notice. A month later, Fall telegraphed Stimson, that the "Senate and conference committee included Congressman Ferris, Oklahoma, understood and agreed that none of these Indians should be returned here. Kindly withhold action until Congress meets when I can see you personally."[52] Fall launched his determined stand against the removal of the Apache prisoners to Mescalero on December 20, 1912. In a letter of that date addressed to Stimson and Fisher, Fall expressed certainty that such action on the part of War and Interior illustrated a definite lack of understanding and familiarity on their part with reference to the historical background behind the passage of this legislation. Fall maintained he "certainly did not have the remotest idea that in view of the history of this appropriation any attempt whatsoever would be made to force these Indians off upon the Mescaleros in New Mexico and settle them among the people who suffered so much at their hands." Fall said "that I can assure you that the appropriation bill would never have become law unless such an agreement as I have detailed, had been entered into."[53]

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[49] Leonard Wood to Walter L. Fisher, September 6, 1912, *ibid.*

[50] Robert Shaw Oliver to J. W. Prude, September 18, 1912, *ibid.*

[51] Robert Shaw Oliver to Walter L. Fisher, September 18, 1912, *ibid.*

[52] Albert B. Fall to Secreary of War, November 11, 1912, *ibid.*

[53] Albert B. Fall to Secretary of War and Secretary of Interior, December 20, 1912, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The agreement was with reference to the following. "Now without betryaing any confidence, but as a matter of interest and contemporaneous history, I may say to you that after the adjournment on Saturday there was a conference in my apartments at the Shoreham Hotel, between several parties from Oklahoma and myself concerning this matter and particularly, between Congressman Ferris from Oklahoma and myself. The whole proposition was thoroughly thrashed out and it was finally agreed between us that the bill must go back to conference and that Mr. Ferris, who was favoring the proposition to remove the Fort Sill Apaches would agree that a modification of the language should be reported back to the two

Then, taking a different tack, Fall utilized the argument of least irrigable and tilliable land. Because the Mescaleros supposedly had cultivated every available inch, the Apache prisoners would not be able to pursue a livelihood. Yet, this was not all. Fall's seventeen mile long ranch at Three Rivers, New Mexico, abutted the reservation, and, the Senator claimed, "eighty acres of my patented land lies within the present confines of the Mescalero Reserve, having been patented before the Reserve was created." Of course, Fall had "no personal interest whatsoever in this matter," and insisted he had neither lease nor "grazing permit of any kind or character upon the Mescalero Reserve and never have had." But Fall's "stock men" friends in Lincoln, Chavez and Otero counties did lease grazing tracts upon the Mescalero Reservation—and the Senator reminded Fisher that current arrangements permitted rents higher than those which could be obtained on the forest reserves. "In this way the Mescaleros have been able to derive approximately $8,000 in cash per annum for such grazing permits." Fall then not so subtly hinted that "we know to allow these Indians to come in and share generally in the range privileges will be cut off the income which is now of such material benefit to the Mescaleros, and of such asssitance in rendering them independent and self-sustaining."[54] Obviously, the secretaries did not desire this to occur and would therefore change their thinking with regard to moving the Apache prisoners to Mescalero. For the present the secretaries remained silent and held their counsel.

While the secretaries of Interior and War bided their time, Prude again communicated with Fisher and revealed some rather interesting developments. Vehement opposition to the removal of the Chiricahuas had its origins in Roswell, New Mexico, and, aided and abetted by Fall, was instigated solely by stockmen strongly determined to protect their leases and their profits on the Mescalero Reservation—and they had promised a "hard fight." Fall may have disclaimed interest in the whole affair, but his son-in-law was preparing to engage in the cattle busines, and in order to do so, planned to lease grazing tracts at Mescalero. Roswell stockmen, Prude explained, circulated a petition which hid their real intentions—a ruse which enabled them to procure as many signatures as they needed from unsuspecting citizens. This petition urged that not only the Apache prisoners be

houses as would provide an appropriation for the location of these Fort Sill Apaches at some other point than Mescalero, and provide for their discharge as prisoners of war. I think that I can say to you that Mr. Ferris will bear me out in this statement, that it was thoroughly understood that the money should not be used and could not be used under the proposed wording of the appropriation, to convey these Indians to Mescalero." Fall did admit that "this might not preclude beyond a technical construction, the use of the $200,000 to pay the traveling expenses of these Indians to the Mescalero." Still, there was a "distinct understanding."

[54] *Ibid.*

kept in Oklahoma, but that all the tillable land on Mescalero be divided among the Indians there, with the remaining lands to be turned in to a National Park.[55]

While the Interior and War departments pondered Prude's communication and gathered appropriate data with which to make an effective reply to Fall's letter of protest, a new development suggested a possible solution by which Fisher and Stimson might adequately counter Fall's offensive. Simply stated, an additional sum of $100,000 would have to be appropriated to fully comply with the provisions of Amendment 114, though this need would not adversely affect the transfer of the Apache prisoners to Mescalero. Secretary Fisher, fully anticipating opposition from Fall and Catron, as well as continued attempts on their part to prevent the removal, thus devised the strategy of making a general appeal to the Senate. On December 31, 1912, Herbert A. Meyer, private secretary to Fisher, informed Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs F. H. Abbott that "this communication go to Senator Fall and Senator Catron immediately because they will undoubtedly attack the appropriation and criticize the Dept. for requesting it."[56] Copies also were to be sent to senators Clapp and Curtis and "any other senator particularly interested in Indian matters." With the concurrence of Secretary Stimson, Secretary Fisher explained to the Senate that, in outlining their position, the departments acted "under instructions of the President." Justice demanded that the Indians "be consulted with reference to the place in which they wished to locate." Careful investigation revealed that 176 Apache prisoners chose Mescalero and 88 "elected to stay in Oklahoma." Fisher said the Mescaleros "had agreed to receive those who wished to come." Thus they declared:[57]

> it was therefore decided to make the removal, since it was believed that the Act of August 24, 1912, gave full authority therefor, and such possible

[55] J. W. Prude to Walter L. Fisher, December 24, 1912, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior. Fall forwarded these petitions (all identical in form and content) to Walter L. Fisher from Roswell and Hagerman, New Mexico, and Colorado City, Texas, and promised that more would be forthcoming. Albert B. Fall to Walter L. Fisher, *ibid.* Fisher was not to be intimidated: "The position of this Department is set forth very clearly . . . and it does not appear to me at this time that change should be made in the conclusions stated therein." Walter L. Fisher to Albert B. Fall, January 6, 1913, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

[56] Herbert A. Meyer to F. H. Abbott, Washington, D.C., December 31, 1912, *ibid.* The appropriation request would appear in the Indian Appropriation Bill for fiscal 1914 or "House Resolution 26874." Senator Catron did attempt to amend this item so that not only none of the newly requested monies, but also those appropriated in "House Resolution 20728," could be utilized in the transfer of the Apache prisoners to Mescalero. "House Resolution 26874" did not pass during that session. The effect this had was to delay allotting all those Apaches who desired to remain in Oklahoma.

[57] Walter L. Fisher and Henry L. Stimson to the Senate of the United States, December 31, 1912, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Chiricahua Apache prisoners of war arriving at Tularose, New Mexico enroute to Mescalero

action had been anticipated in the Executive Orders of Februray 2, 1874; October 20, 1875; May 19, 1882; and March 24, 1883, which read, in part: "and set apart for the use of said Mescalero Apaches and such other Indians as the Department may see fit to locate thereon."

On January 2, 1913, Secretary Fisher replied to Fall in a similar, though stronger, vein, and concluded: "The fears expressed by yourself and Senator Catron that those of the Fort Sill Apaches who were concerned in the raids and depredations terminated by the surrender of Geronimo and his band in 1886, would resume their former practices upon their return to New Mexico, the Department believes are without foundation."[58]

Though Secretary Fisher attempted to reason with the Senator from New Mexico, Fall remained obdurate to the end. Evidence which was "corroborative as to the influence against the Indian by what" was already known "of the senatorial delegation in New Mexico" which operated

[58] Walter L. Fisher to Albert B. Fall, January 2, 1913, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Fisher said there existed a rain belt on the Mescalero Reservation which would allow the newcomers 10 to 15 acres of tillable land per family. Other than this, everyone knew the reservation was mainly suited to stock raising, and this is primarily what the Apache prisoners would be engaged in. Almost quoting word for word an earlier letter of J. W. Prude, Fisher insisted that if leasees could make a profit, then certainly the Apaches could.

"against the success of the Apache people there," continued to manifest itself during the first two months of 1913.[59] There was, for example, the mysterious Senate bill which, pending in the House, Ferris promised to keep a tight lid on.[60] This piece of legislation, introduced by Fall on May 2, 1912, purported to be "an act to create a Mescalero national park in New Mexico," though in actuality, the bill "was presumably intended to tie up the Mescalero lands so as to prevent sending there any of the Fort Sill Indians"—and as such, as "simply one of a number of attempts looking to the same ends."[61] Then, too, the supplemental $100,000 appropriation for the continuing relief of the Apache prisoners "had failed at the last moment" because it was "talked to death" by Senator Fall.[62]

Yet, Albert B. Fall's persistent obstructionism and obscurantism were to no avail. Legislation which attempted to create a national park out of the Mescalero Reservation "at no time stood any considerable chance of passage."[63] That Ferris succeeded in bottling up Fall's bill is evident by a vociferous howl of protest from the Roswell, New Mexico Commercial Club. In a telegram to Fall, members—a number of whom leased grazing rights on the Mescalero—desired to express their "indigation [sic] . . . at the removal of [the] Ft. Sill Indians" as this effectively closed the "grandest national park in the world for all time"—with the further result that Fall's "glorious fight for New Mexico" was negated.[64] With regard to the failure of the Indian Appropriation Bill, there would be a next time; for the "temper of the Senate in not yielding on the Apache item" indicated rather "clearly" that New Mexico Senators Fall and Catron had "no great following and that their argument is not generally recognized as sound."[65] Also, in accordance with their interpretation of Amendment 114, both the War and Interior departments, by early April, 1913, were ready to effect the removal of the Apache prisoners to Mescalero. As such, those Apache prisoners who desired to leave Oklahoma departed Fort Sill on April 2, 1913.[66]

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[59] Hugh L. Scott to H. C. Phillips, March 7, 1913, *ibid.*

[60] Scott to Phillips, February 12, 1913, *ibid.* Scott was momentarily fearful that the Apache prisoners might not be moved after all. After receiving Ferris' assurances, Scott regained his confidence and later observed that "it now seems as if the whole matter will be settled to the satisfaction of everybody except a few grass leasers in New Mexico."

[61] Phillips to Scott, Washington, D.C., March 15, 1913, *ibid.*

[62] Scott to Phillips, March 7, 1913, *ibid.*

[63] Phillips to Scott, March 15, 1913, *ibid.*

[64] Roswell Commercial Club to Albert B. Fall, March 22, 1913, Albert B. Fall Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

[65] Phillips to Scott, March 15, 1913, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Phillips confirmed Scott's "report that Senator Fall talked the Indian Appropriation Bill to death, doubtless because of the Fort Sill item, although he pretended that he would object to other items as well."

[66] George W. Goode to Adjutant General of the Army, April 8, 1913, *ibid.*

Upon their arrival at Mescalero Reservation on April 4, 187 Apaches were released from their status as prisoners of war, and, having been placed under the care of the Interior Department, received their freedom.[67]

As with so much of the Federal government's mishandling of the Native American—the disastrous diaspora of the Cherokee Nation and the needless ignominious retribution inflicted upon Chief Joseph and his Nez Perces are but two examples which all too readily come to mind—the case of the Apache prisoners of war is yet another illustration of injustices perpetrated by a misguided Indian policy. What makes the Chiricahua saga particularly significant was not so much their forced removal from the San Carlos and Fort Apache Indian Reservations, for such action as it suited the government's ends had become traditional. That Nelson A. Miles, in an 1886 fit of fear, mercilessly uprooted these people from their homes as a matter of course attests to this. Rather, the tragedy of the situation in which the Chiricahaus found themselves lies in the fact that these were innocent people. Not one was engaged as a belligerent in the final Geronimo campaign of 1886, and prior to this few had taken up arms against the United States. This sorry state of affairs was made all the more deplorable by the fact that among this group there were a number of Apaches who had served the government as scouts against their own people. Worse yet, the Chiricahuas and their progeny were held as prisoners of war for over twenty-six years before justice finally accrued to the survivors—an unprecedented situation. Indeed, there might well not have been any survivors were it not for the vigilance of such philanthropic organizations as the Indian Rights Association. Yet, even these associations were not always successful, for those conflicts which arose over Indian policy within and outside the government during the Chiricahuas' twenty-six years of confinement as prisoners of war saw the Apaches on a number of occasions as naught but pawns.

When, in 1910, legislation was first introduced to allot and free the Apaches at Fort Sill, the Chiricahuas were once again placed in this position. Expediency rather than altruism best characterizes succeeding Congressional endeavors in this direction as there ensued a four year struggle over whose interests could be preserved intact. In the main, such legislative maneuverings centered around Oklahoma Representative Scott Ferris. Were one only to read the Oklahoman's remarks in the *Congressional Record*, one would have to conclude that Ferris championed the Chiricahuas cause for its own sake. A perusal of the documents emanating from the War and Interior departments and the Bureau of Indian Affairs leads to a reevaluation that is

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[67] Goode to Adjutant General, April 4, 1913, Records of the Adjutant General's Office.

somewhat less sanguine. Though Fort Sill was originally scheduled to be decommissioned as the prisoners were promised permanent homes there, the War Department later decided against the dissolution of the military reserve, and in 1910 established at this installation a Field Artillery School of Fire. As such, closure of the military reserve would mean economic disaster for Ferris' home town of Lawton. In this case, commercial interests received priority over humanitarian considerations with the result that Ferris blocked legislative attempts to allot the Chiricahuas at this post. Provided they could be removed elsewhere, Ferris was not opposed to the release of the prisoners. Learning that a majority of the Chiricahuas desired to relocate at the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico, Ferris prepared legislation designed to accomplish this end. Such a measure would certainly have been effectively countered had not Ferris acceded to a compromise proposal which granted allotments outside the confines of the post to the Chiricahua minority desiring to remain in Oklahoma. Ferris was only happy to do this because such an agreement would insure the integrity of Fort Sill as a viable military reserve which in turn would assure Lawton's survival. While Ferris, and his Congressional allies, steered this legislative proposition to a successful conclusion, there remained one obstacle—Senator Albert B. Fall of New Mexico. Interestingly enough, the desires of both the Chiricahuas and Ferris now found themselves pitted together against the designs of Fall. Fall never compromised and went to great lengths to protect the grazing interests at Mescalero of himself and his friends. Indeed, with this end in view, he prepared a bill which would make Mescalero a national park—legislation which Ferris effectively killed in 1913. Thus, in the struggle over whose interests would be preserved, Ferris emerged the victor. And, though the Apaches would not have received so favorable a settlement had not the Interior Department, Board of Indian Commissioners, Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Rights Association held out for a compromise solution and exerted pressure upon Congress on the Chiricahuas' behalf, they nonetheless had also won. For on April 4, 1913, those Apaches who so elected arrived at Mescalero, and after twenty-six years of confinement, were free at last. And while sentiments of honor and justice were certainly not overriding concerns in the congressional attempts to achieve this end, it is a historical irony—and one which has a touch of poetic justice—that, in spite of the expediency practiced by the representative from Oklahoma, and though the Apache prisoners were used as pawns, the objectives of both the Chiricahuas and Scott Ferris were ultimately the same.

INDIAN RECORDS IN THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ARCHIVES

*By Lawrence C. Kelly**

On March 27, 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed into law a bill which authorized the Oklahoma Historical Society to assume archival responsibility for a large mass of records and documents relating to the history of the Indians of Oklahoma. A few months later, however, the precedent which this act set was negated when Roosevelt signed a second bill, the National Archives Act. This second piece of legislation created the National Archives and Records Service, charging it with the custody and safekeeping of all non-current federal records.

The bare outline of the negotiations which led to this unique acquisition of federal Indian records by the Oklahoma Historical Society has been previously recorded in the minutes of the Society. Thus, a more detailed examination of those negotiations and a brief assessment of the importance of the collection which they made possible should be of interest to all western historians.

Two men, Grant Foreman and Judge Robert Lee Williams, were the driving forces behind the acquisition. Foreman, a native of Illinois, came to Muskogee, in the Creek Nation, in 1899 as a legal advisor to the Dawes Commission, which had been created to liquidate the tribal property and governments of the Five Civilized Tribes. After four years, Foreman resigned his position to embark upon the private practice of law in Muskogee. Several years later, upon witnessing the widespread looting of Indian lands which resulted from the removal of federal protection, Foreman joined the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and plunged into his lifelong examination of the history of the Five Civilized Tribes. By the early 1920s he was financially comfortable enough to abandon the active practice of law and to devote his attention to historical research and writing.[1]

Like Foreman, Robert Lee Williams was a lawyer who had emigrated to Oklahoma. In 1893, he left his native Georgia to take part in the run on the "Cherokee Strip" but, when this enterprise failed, he returned home to study for the ministry. After a brief, three year career as a Methodist minister, Williams resigned and once again headed for Oklahoma, settling first in Atoka, in the Choctaw Nation, and then in Durant. This time his career

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[1] Stanley Clark, "Grant Foreman," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1953), pp. 226–242.

The second home of the Oklahoma Historical Society was this space in the new Carnegie Library in downtown Oklahoma City in 1902

prospered: Admitted to the Territorial Bar in 1896, Williams' ambition led him into politics. As a delegate to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention in 1906–1907, he distinguished himself as one of the "big five" who were credited with shaping the final draft of that document. After statehood Williams became the first Chief Justice of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, a position which he held until 1915, when he resigned to run successfully for governor on the Democratic ticket. Upon completion of his term in 1919, he was rewarded for faithful party service by an appointment as Judge of the United States District Court of Eastern Oklahoma in Muskogee.[2]

[2] Charles Evans, "Robert Lee Williams," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), pp. 120–131.

It was during Williams' term as governor that the Oklahoma Historical Society began its transformation into a respected research organization. Founded in 1893, primarily to house Territorial newspapers, the Society led an orphan's existence for its first fifteen years. Its first home was in Norman where office space was provided by the University of Oklahoma; a small annual appropriation by the Territorial Legislature after 1895 enabled it to meet its bills. Before long, however, the university appeared to threaten the Society's independence, and in 1902, the board of directors approved a move to Oklahoma City where the newly completed Carnegie Library made space available.[3]

One of the major achievements of Governor Williams' term was the construction of the present state Capitol building. An avid builder, Williams took personal charge of the construction of the Capitol in 1915. When it was completed three years later, he was able to announce that he had saved the taxpayers $2,000,000 of the $3,500,000 which the legislature had authorized. It was also during his years as governor that Williams became a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society. With his support and encouragement, the Society once again moved its collection in 1918, this time into the new Capitol building.[4]

By the time Williams left Oklahoma City for Muskogee in 1919, he had become a director of the Historical Society and its most ardent champion. It was at his urging that *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* was initiated in 1920, although it was three years more before the journal resumed publication on a regular basis. In Muskogee he and Foreman soon became fast friends, with the result that in 1924, Foreman was named a director of the Historical Society at Williams' request. Assigned to the publications committee, Foreman quickly revived *The Chronicles* which he forged into an important vehicle for scholarly publication by the end of the decade.[5]

By the mid-1920s Foreman's interest in the history of the Five Civilized Tribes and Williams' growing desire to make the Oklahoma Historical Society a leader in its field merged into a plan to build the present Historical Society building on the grounds of the Capitol. The key to their plan was the acquisition of an important historical collection which would justify a legislative appropriation for a permanent home for the Society. In Musko-

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[3] Charles Evans, "The State Historical Society of Oklahoma and its Possessions," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946), pp. 248–264.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 249–250; Evans, "Robert Lee Williams," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 249–250.

[5] Clark, "Grant Foreman," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 228–229; William S. Key, "Dr. Grant Foreman," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1953), p. 244.

gee, the tribal records of the Five Civilized Tribes, dating back to the 1830s in some cases, and the records of the Dawes Commission lay moldering in the attic of the federal building where they not only took up valuable space, but where they were also virtually inaccessible for historical research. If the Historical Society could persuade the Federal government to transfer custody of these records to itself, thereby adding substantially to its collection and its reputation, it would have the argument it needed to appeal to the legislature for a permanent and separate home.

On February 1, 1927, Foreman submitted a resolution to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society which called for the acquisition of "this valuable addition to the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society." Unanimously adopted by the Board, the resolution made the acquisition contingent upon the construction of a "fire proof building" in which to house the collection. Copies of Foreman's resolution were then sent to all members of the Oklahoma Senate and House, and within two weeks, a resolution supporting the acquisition passed the lower house. Obtaining support for an appropriation to construct a building, however, proved more difficult. It was not until February, 1929, that a bill authorizing $500,000 for this task finally cleared the legislature and was signed into law by acting Governor William J. Holloway. In late 1930, the building was dedicated. By that time, however, negotiations for acquiring the Indian records from the Federal government had become entangled in Washington, D.C.[6]

The difficulty was that neither Foreman nor Williams had ever received more than a verbal pledge from the Indian Office that the records would be transferred once the Historical Society Building was completed. In late 1928 or early 1929, just prior to the authorization of construction funds for the Society building, they apparently talked with Indian Commissioner Charles Burke in Muskogee about the records. Burke and the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes agreed at that time that the Society "might place a person in the office of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes and have these papers sorted, filed and calendared and placed in steel cases." Shortly afterwards, Burke was forced to resign from office.

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6 "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, No. 1 (March, 1927), pp. 110–111; *ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (March 1929), pp. 3–6, 137; Grant Foreman, "A Survey of Tribal Records in the Archives of the United States Government in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (March, 1933), pp. 1–3; Foreman to Robert L. Williams, January 3, 1927, and Foreman to Charles A. Moon, February 15, 1927, Grant Foreman Papers, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. To obtain needed legislative support for the Oklahoma Historical Society Building, the final bill provided that the building should also supply offices for a variety of veterans organizations: The Union Soldiers of the Civil War, the Confederate Soldiers, the Spanish-American War veterans and "any other veteran and service organizations."

Grant Foreman and Judge Robert Lee Williams were instrumental in obtaining the federal Indian records for the archives

Whatever knowledge the Washington office had of the arrangement was quickly forgotten. Williams and Foreman, meanwhile, proceeded on the assumption that when the work of calendaring the records was completed and a fire proof building was available, federal legislation authorizing the transfer would be approved by the Indian Bureau.[7]

During the summer of 1929, Williams and Foreman succeeded in obtaining funds to employ a "copyist" to calendar the records in Muskogee. Foreman, who was placed in direct supervision of the work, turned for advice to a young woman who he had known since World War I, when he directed the local chapter of the American Red Cross, Mrs. Rella Watts —later Mrs. Rella Watts Looney. When she learned that the position would pay $125 a month, $25.00 more than she was then making, Mrs. Looney volunteered for the position herself. Originally appointed for two years beginning September 9, 1929, she was to spend five years sorting and cataloging the papers before they were fully accessioned. She then accompanied them to Oklahoma City where she became archivist in charge of the collection until her retirement in May, 1974.[8]

[7] Williams to J. Henry Scattergood, August 3, 1932 and Williams to John Collier, December 21, 1933, General Service File, National Archives and Records Center, Washington, D.C.

[8] Foreman, "A Survey of Tribal records in the Archives of the United States Government in Oklahoma, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, pp. 3–5; interview with Mrs. Rella Watts Looney, March 21, 1974; *The Oklahoma City Times* (Oklahoma City), May 28, 1974, p. 16.

While Mrs. Looney worked in Muskogee calendaring the records of the Five Civilized Tribes, Foreman journeyed to Washington in early 1930, to make copies of documents there relating to the tribes. After nearly six months in the Indian Office and the War Department archives, he returned by way of Montgomery, Alabama, where he also made copies of records on deposit at the Alabama State Department of Archives and History. After receiving Foreman's report on his activities at its July, 1930, meeting, the Board of Directors voted at the November meeting, just prior to the dedication of the new Historical Society Building, to establish a committee to "take up with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the matter of transfering the archives of the Five Civilized Tribes to the new Historical Building." The committee was composed of Judge Williams, Foreman and Thomas H. Doyle.[9]

The record is not clear on what, if anything, the committee did to facilitate the transfer until the spring of 1932. During the interval, according to a report published by Foreman in 1933, the task of calendaring the Five Civilized Tribes' records proceeded on an orderly basis. By the end of 1932, Mrs. Looney had sorted and filed much of the loose manuscript materials and had prepared a 55,000 card catalog of the documents. Foreman, meanwhile, had thumbed through the bound manuscript volumes in which each tribe had recorded the proceedings of its legislative assemblies, its courts and its business offices. In all, these bound volumes, each containing several hundred pages, totaled 949 volumes. The Cherokee and Choctaw collections were the largest, Foreman reported, the Creek and Chickasaw were both considerably smaller. The Seminole collection was "almost negligible."[10]

In January, 1932, with the work on the Five Civilized Tribes records proceeding smoothly, Williams and Foreman decided to enlarge their original goal. Martha Buntin, the daughter of a former Indian agent at the Kiowa Agency in Anadarko, Oklahoma, was employed to survey and classify the records of the other Indian agencies in Oklahoma. Unlike the records of the Five Civilized Tribes, these records had not been carefully preserved.

Miss Buntin's field work began at the Kiowa Agency in Anadarko. In the "loft of an old frame warehouse," she found an estimated 75,000 documents littering the floor "to a depth of from one to three and even four feet

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[9] "Minutes of the Board of Directors," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, (September, 1930), p. 347; *ibid.* (December, 1930), Vol. VIII, No. 4. p. 441; Foreman, "Report of Grant Foreman . . . to the Board," *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (March, 1936), pp. 3–8.

[10] Foreman, "A Survey of Tribal Records in the Archives of the United States Government in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, pp. 4–7.

in some places." These records pertained to the Indians under the jurisdiction of the old Wichita Agency, between 1864 and 1878, and to the Kiowa and Comanche Indians since 1878. From Anadarko, she travelled on to Concho, Oklahoma, where she located several large boxes of Cheyenne and Arapaho records in the agency basement, along with "more than a hundred letterbooks stored in the coal bin." Some of the agency records at Concho, she reported, had already been lost, while others had been destroyed in a fire and still others by the "elements."

By the summer of 1932, Miss Buntin had completed a preliminary catalog of the Kiowa records and had made arrangements for beginning work on the Cheyenne and Arapaho documents. She then journeyed to Shawnee, Oklahoma, where she located "nine large packing cases" of letters relating to the Indians under the supervision of the Shawnee Agency. Accompanied by a clerk of the Shawnee Agency, she also visited Stroud, Oklahoma, which had been the site of the old Sauk and Fox Agency before it was closed in 1918 and its activities transferred to Shawnee. There she found a cache of 50,000 documents relating to the Sauk and Fox, the Mexican Kickapoo, the Shawnee and other smaller tribes. These records were found in two abandoned frame buildings which Foreman reported were "now used by an Indian for storing vegetables." The roof of the building leaked, and the papers were in immediate peril from accumulated moisture.[11]

Miss Buntin's discovery of these new records coincided with Judge Williams' discovery that the Historical Society was being threatened by a rival plan emanating from the University of Oklahoma. Although the University's proposal was essentially for a federal subvention to construct an Institute of Indian Culture at Norman, and had been in the works for almost a year, newspaper accounts appearing in Oklahoma in early May, 1932, thoroughly alarmed Williams. Fearful that the Society had been too complacent in its earlier negotiations for the Indian records, Williams moved at the July 28, 1932, meeting of the Board of Directors to appoint a new committee to correspond with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the deposit of the records which Miss Buntin had uncovered. At the same meeting, he urged an acceleration of the activities of the earlier committee which had been created in 1930 to secure the records of the Five Civilized Tribes.[12]

The University of Oklahoma proposal that so alarmed Williams was the idea of President W. B. Bizzell. It was apparently born of his desire to

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[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–10; Williams to J. Henry Scattergood, August 10, 1932, General Service Files; Martha Buntin to Judge Williams, September 17, 1932, *ibid.*

[12] "Quarterly Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932), p. 440.

Professor Edward Everett Dale, Chairman of the University of Oklahoma Department of History

have the University of Oklahoma participate in the reception of federal funds which, rumor had it, were to be appropriated as part of a huge public works project to combat the worsening depression.[13] In October, 1931, Bizzell wrote Oklahoma Congressmen Jed Johnson and Fletcher B. Swank for their support of a plan to have the Federal government construct a "building devoted to Indian culture on the campus of the University of Oklahoma. At the present time," he continued, "there is not a place in the United States, so far as I know, where the traditions, culture and civilization of the Indian are studied as an educational enterprise." The idea for such an Institute, he said, came to him during a recent trip to Chicago, Illinois, where he learned that the University of Wisconsin had received a similar grant of $2,000,000 for a wood products laboratory. "Isn't it just as

[13] The papers of President Bizzell in the Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, make no mention of this particular project.

logical," he asked, "for the Federal Government to provide funds for a building of this character as it is to build a wood utilization laboratory on the campus of the University of Wisconsin?"[14]

Both Johnson and Swank reacted favorably to Bizzell's request for support; each wrote Indian Commissioner Charles J. Rhoads immediately. Commissioner Rhoads, for his part, replied in a neutral tone. While he was "very much interested" in Bizzell's proposal, he wrote, he was not quite certain "just what part the Department of the Interior might play in the plan." Meanwhile, he turned the matter over to his Director for Indian Education, W. Carson Ryan, who was scheduled to visit Oklahoma later in the fall.[15]

Sometime in late October or early November, 1932, Ryan visited the University of Oklahoma campus where he conferred with his old friend, Professor E. E. Dale, the chairman of the Department of History. In the late 1920s, Dale and Ryan had served together for eighteen months as members of a Brookings Institution research team which was conducting an investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The report of this "Meriam Commission," as the research team was popularly known, was published in 1928 and called for extensive reforms in the administration of Indian affairs, particularly Indian education. It was one of the factors which led to the resignation of Commissioner Charles Burke. Since that time, Ryan and Dale had remained close friends. Although the two of them discussed the Bizzell proposal, Ryan did not meet Bizzell who was absent from the campus.

Apparently encouraged by Dale's report of his conversation with Ryan, President Bizzell wrote Ryan on November 28, 1931. For some time now, he reported, he and Dale had been discussing "this complicated problem" of Indian education. Since the publication of the Meriam report there had been considerable talk about the need for revamping the Indian educational system, he stated, and "while I do not know exactly what is contemplated, it has occurred to me that the University of Oklahoma might become the center of education on the higher levels for the Indian population of the country." Acknowledging that "your encouragement and assistance will have much to do with the outcome of the undertaking," Bizzell concluded his letter with a plea for Ryan's support in the Indian Commissioner's Office.[16]

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[14] Bizzell to Jed Johnson, October 15, 1931; Frederick B. Swank to Charles J. Rhoads, October 20, 1931, General Service File.

[15] Rhoads to Swank, November 10, 1931 and Rhoads to Johnson, November 14, 1931, *ibid.*

[16] Bizzell to Ryan, November 28, 1931, *ibid.*; Lewis Meriam (ed.), *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1928).

Oklahoma Congressman William W. Hastings

In December, 1931, Congressman Swank introduced a bill for the construction of a building "for the higher education of native American Indians and their descendants" at the University of Oklahoma. Going beyond Bizzell's original proposal, his bill made the construction of such a building contingent upon the university creating a degree granting "college of Indian education and research." In January, United States Senator Elmer Thomas introduced an identical bill into the Senate. Neither man had checked with the Interior Department, according to a memorandum from Ryan, who nevertheless advised Commissioner Rhoads on January 14 that he believed the Indian Bureau could approve the idea of a "building for Indian culture" at federal expense, but that it should disapprove the Indian college provision and the submission of such a bill in 1933. Acting upon Ryan's advice, Rhoads drafted a report which stated that "while the proposal may have consider-

able merit, it is not essential at this time and in view of the existing financial situation, the enactment of the legislation is not recommended." In spite of the unfavorable report, the United States House of Representatives Committee on Indian Affairs on May 18, 1932, recommended that the building be funded at a cost of $100,000.[17]

Although the Indian Institute bill was lost in the last days of the Congress, it was the announcement in Oklahoma newspapers that the House Committee was considering the project that first brought the matter to Judge Williams' attention. He immediately wrote Assistant Commissioner Henry Scattergood in opposition to Bizzell's proposal. Reminding Scattergood that the Oklahoma Historical Society had for some time been planning to make its new building the chief repository of Indian records and artifacts in the state, he denounced Bizzell's plan as "merely a duplication of effort and expense." If any such plan were approved in Washington, he argued, "it should be to promote the historical society in assembling Indian research and getting into its museum Indian relics." In reply, Scattergood wrote that the bill had little chance of passage because "of the need of saving every dollar possible," but he urged Williams to work together with all like-minded groups in Oklahoma so that "all such collections" could be concentrated "into one really representative, good one."[18]

It was in response to the potential threat from the University of Oklahoma that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society formed a new committee to pursue the acquisition of the Plains Indian records and also instructed the previously created committee for the acquisition of the Five Civilized Tribes records to continue its work. By August, Judge Williams was showering Assistant Commissioner Scattergood with requests for the transfer of the records. He was not so much concerned with the records of the Five Civilized Tribes in Muskogee, whose safety was assured, Williams wrote, as he was with those of the other Indian agencies which were subject to loss or destruction because of inadequate facilities. Nor, was he seeking title to the papers, instead he stressed that "We understand that the title of this property is in the United States Government and that it could not be conveyed to the Historical Society without an act of Congress, and we are not asking for that, merely to be the custodian of same and to preserve it in our fire-proof building and in proper vaults." Williams was also firm in stating the purpose which the Society had in obtaining custody of the records and declared, "It is my ambition that our Historical Society shall become for that part of the southwest embraced in what is now Okla-

[17] For the bills introduced by Swank and Thomas and the Indian Bureau correspondence which related to them see General Service File.

[18] Williams to Scattergood, May 4, 1932 and Scattergood to Williams, May 11, 1932, *ibid.*

homa and Arkansas . . . insofar as it relates to Indian matters, a shrine for historical research and investigation to be excelled only by the Smithsonian Institute and rivaled only by the foundation at Santa Fe, New Mexico." To further the practicability of his plan, he informed Scattergood that "the most modern photostat machine" available had been installed in the Society Building during the summer. Once the records were received at the Historical Society, Williams pledged that legally acceptable photostatic copies of any Indian documents in its possession would be supplied to all agencies of the Federal government without cost.[19]

The replies of Assistant Commissioner Scattergood to these appeals have not been preserved. It is well known, however, that the fall of 1932 was not an auspicious time for Republican incumbents and, having already experienced difficulties with oral agreements in the case of one earlier Indian Commissioner, Williams and Foreman now decided to bring the matter to a head by seeking legislation directly. During the winter months, Williams conferred with Oklahoma Congressman William W. Hastings, an enrolled member of the Cherokee tribe, and at the January, 1933, meeting of the Society's Board of Directors he reported that, at Hastings' direction, he had drafted a bill to provide for the transfer of all federal Indian records in Oklahoma to the Historical Society. At this same board meeting, Foreman was instructed to prepare an article for the March issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* which would describe the work he, Mrs. Looney and Miss Buntin had been performing for the past five years, "in order that such data may be available for the members of Congress and Secretary of the Interior." The Indian agents at the Oklahoma agencies were also contacted with the request that they submit "a favorable report on this plan."[20]

In May, 1933, Hastings introduced "House Resolution 5631" which authorized the Secretary of the Interior to place with the Oklahoma Historical Society all Indian records in Oklahoma which were in the custody of the resident agents and which were not required for the conduct of their business. The bill included, in addition to the documents at Muskogee, Anadarko, Concho and Shawnee previously mentioned, all Indian records at the Miami and Pawnee agencies and the Osage records at Pawhuska. When the new Democratic administration failed to respond, Foreman boarded a train for Washington to take the case directly to Commissioner John Collier. In early June, accompanied by Hastings, Foreman explained to Commissioner Collier the five year activities of the Historical Society.

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[19] Williams to Scattergood, August 3, August 4, August 10, September 14 and September 23, 1932, *ibid.*

[20] "Minutes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (March, 1933), p. 736.

United States Senator Elmer Thomas

In spite of his presentation, Collier informed him, after he had returned to Oklahoma, that the Bureau's legal counsel had concluded that "there is no authority in the Secretary of the Interior to place the Oklahoma documents with the Historical Society." On the advice of Judge Williams, Foreman immediately responded that the Society would be willing to accept the Plains Indian papers on a "temporary" basis in order to assure that they would be protected from fire and to place them under the sole custody of George Wells, the Indian Bureau's supervisor of Indian Education in Oklahoma, who had an office in the Historical Society Building. Regardless of this offer and the subsequent ruling of the Bureau's legal counsel that he now saw "no real reason why . . . we could not permit the Historical Society

to preserve or store these records with the distinct understanding that they agreed to surrender or deliver the same to us at any time on request," no action was taken by the Indian Bureau.[21]

By December, 1933, Judge Williams' patience was wearing thin. Mrs. Looney had almost completed the task of calendaring the records of the Five Civilized Tribes, and Miss Buntin had questioned the wisdom of returning the records she had salvaged "to their original receptacle." Accordingly, he and Congressman Hastings wrote Collier to remind him that no report had ever been submitted on the bill Hastings had introduced in May. In his letter, Hastings pointedly called for a report "before the convening of Congress on January 3rd," and Williams, after recounting once again the history of the bill and again stating his goal of making the Historical Society "a place of research as to Indian ethnology, history and lore second only to the Smithsonian Institute," agreed to accept any rules and regulations which the Interior Department wished to impose and to pay the cost of transporting the records to Oklahoma City.[22] Following this exchange, events moved rapidly toward enactment of the bill.

The last remaining hurdle to the bill's passage came in January, 1933, when the Solicitor of the Interior Department, Nathan R. Margold, recommended that Hastings' original bill be amended to provide authority for placing Indian field records with any state historical society, not just the Oklahoma Historical Society. For reasons which are unclear from the correspondence, this proposal was finally abandoned in February. Interior Secretary Harold Ickes then forwarded a favorable report on the bill to the United States House of Representatives. The following month the bill was approved by both Houses of Congress and signed into law on March 27, 1934. Shortly thereafter, following some prodding by Williams, Hastings and Senator Elmer Thomas, the terms of transfer and the regulations for handling the records were agreed to, and in the fall of 1934, the first group of records were delivered to the Oklahoma Historical Society.[23]

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[21] "House Resolution 5631; "memorandum of Chief Counsel Reeves to Collier, May 31, 1933; Foreman to Collier, June 14 and June 23, 1933; and Reeves memorandum to Mr. Daiker, no date; General Service File.

[22] Hastings to Collier, December 14, 1933; Collier to Hastings, December 16, 1933 and attachments; Williams to Collier, December 21, 1933; *ibid.*

[23] "Minutes of Meeting of Board of Directors," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (September, 1943), p. 370; "Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors," *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (June, 1935), p. 239; Grant Foreman, "Report of Grant Foreman, A Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society, To the Board," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (March, 1936), pp. 3–8. President Bizzell's proposal for an Indian Institute at the University of Oklahoma continued on until 1937. In spite of Bizzell's failure to enlist Collier's support after trips to Washington, Oklahoma Congressmen introduced revised bills in 1936 and 1937, but

Over the years, the records continued to flow in from the agencies. In 1943, the University of Oklahoma transferred a large number of Cherokee documents from its Phillips Collection to the Historical Society. With the assistance of a Works Progress Administration grant garnered by Foreman and supervised by Mrs. Looney, the Plains Indians records were sorted and filed, and index cards were prepared along the lines of the records of the Five Civilized Tribes.[24] Eventually, some 2,000 cubic feet of records pertaining to the Indians of Oklahoma were accumulated.

The size and extent of the Oklahoma Historical Society collection is evident from the most recent figures released by the Society:

	Manuscript Pages	*Bound Volumes*	*Filing Drawers*
Five Civilized Tribes			
Cherokee Nation, 1867–1914	430,000	740	25
Executive Library of the Cherokee Nation		1,400	
Chickasaw Nation, 1866–1906	17,510	106	
Choctaw Nation, 1831–1907	54,083	499	
Creek Nation, 1852–1910	55,973	88	
Seminole Nation, 1897–1907	228	12	
Dawes Commission		242	19
Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, 1869–1933	566,685	886	
Kiowa Agency, 1861–1923 (includes Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Hainai, Kichai, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Tawakoni, Waco and Wichita Indians)	749,335	519	
Pawnee Agency, 1870–1932 (includes Pawnee, Ponca, Oto and Missouria, Tonkawa and Kaw Indians)	211,200	907	
Quapaw or Miami Agency, 1848–1909 (includes Miami, Cayuga, Seneca, Wyandot, Eastern Shawnee, Ottawa, Modoc. Peoria, Quapaw, Nez Perce, Black Bob's Band of Shawnee, and Confed-	26,089		

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they died in committee. Collier's stated reason for opposing the project was that it would bring additional requests from other universities for similar treatment. However, since he overlooked this argument in awarding contracts to more prestigious universities under the provisions of the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 and in his employment of anthropologists who came mainly from Harvard, Columbia, Yale and the University of Chicago, it is more likely that a bias against "provincial" universities, rather than reason, determined his stand.

[24] "Report on Works Progress Administration Project 65–65–2843, at the Oklahoma State Historical Building, to July 23, 1936," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (September, 1936), pp. 379–380.

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1932

erated Piankeshaw, Wea and Kaskaskia Indians)			
Shawnee Agency, 1840–1932 (includes Absentee Shawnee, Citizen Potawatomi, Iowa, Kickapoo, Mexican Kickapoo and Sauk and Fox of Missouri Indians)	485,362	623	
Chilocco Indian School	127,357	140	
Mekusukey Academy	64,357	30	
Cantonment Boarding School			25
	2,797,137	6,169	69

The most important records in the Oklahoma Historical Society collection are those pertaining to the Five Civilized Tribes. From the early 1870s to 1907, when these tribes ceased to exist as semi-autonomous nations, there was relatively little federal jurisdiction over them. As a consequence, much of what we can know about their history during this period must be derived from their own tribal records and those of the Union Agency which

were included in the 1930s transfer. Furthermore, the tribal documents, some of which antedate the 1870s, are all the more valuable because they constitute the only records of Indian self-government in the nation. The bound volumes of the Cherokee and Choctaw National Councils and the lesser collections of the Chickasaw and Creek legislatures, together with the other manuscripts relating to the activities of their courts, their schools and their treasuries, constitute a priceless collection which cannot be duplicated aynwhere else.

The records of the federal agents for the Five Civilized Tribes and those of the agents in charge of the Cheyenne and Arapaho, Kiowa, Pawnee, Quapaw and Shawnee agencies while important, are not so valuable nor so unique as the tribal records of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek nations. Many of them are undoubtedly duplicated in the records of the Indian Bureau deposited in the National Archives, in Washington, where the original correspondence from field agents has been preserved, as well as copies of correspondence from the Washington offices to the field agents. These Washington records are, of course, more difficult to locate and to use than those preserved in the Oklahoma Historical Society collection, and they would not be as likely to reflect local conditions and Indian attitudes and activities. However, as the Washington records were more carefully protected than the field records and because many of the field records were destroyed or lost, students who envision definitive research on any of the Oklahoma tribes will find it necessary at some stage of their work to consult the National Archives records in addition to those in the Historical Society. Fortunately, an excellent guide to the Indian records in the National Archives exists in the form of an elaborate, two volume, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs* which was compiled by Edward E. Hill and published in mimeograph form by the Archives in 1965. From these volumes, the student can determine not only what collections it will be necessary for him to view, but he can also determine in many instances the volume of documents with which he will have to contend.

Brief mention must also be made about the Oklahoma Indian records in the Fort Worth, Texas, Federal Records Center. In spite of the act of March 27, 1934, not all the records which the Oklahoma Historical Society was authorized to obtain found their way to its collection. The most important exception was the field records of the Osage Agency and its predecessor agencies, the Osage and Kaw Agency and the Neosho Agency. Until 1967, these records were the property of the Osage tribe. In that year, the Osage Tribal Council authorized the transfer of its archives to the Federal government—approximately 2,200 cubic feet of records from the

period 1858–1952. In addition to the Osage records, the Fort Worth Federal Records Center has been the recipient of all field records of the Oklahoma Indian agencies which were not given to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Its holdings are described in two mimeograph publications: National Archives and Records Service, *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Region 7* (1968) and National Archives and Records Service, *Guide to Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Archives Branches of the Federal Records Centers* (1972).

THE "OKLAHOMA VORWÄRTS": THE VOICE OF GERMAN-AMERICANS IN OKLAHOMA DURING WORLD WAR I

*By Edda Bilger**

In recent years, considerable interest has been focused on the European immigrants and on their role in settling and building Oklahoma. Between the turn of the nineteenth century and the First World War, the tide of immigration to the United States reached its peak. In 1907 alone, more than one and one-third million people entered this country from abroad. Compared to many other states, of course, Oklahoma had relatively few foreign born. At the time of statehood, only 40,000 Oklahomans, about 2.4 percent of the total population, were not native-born Americans.[1] Indeed, a recent study of public opinion during World War I regarded this number to be too small to be taken into consideration in the evaluation.[2] And yet, the European immigrants were a substantial element in America's population. They came from many countries; brought their own languages, religious customs and habits; and founded their own communities, churches and schools.

The German-speaking immigrants to Oklahoma, who with 16,000 members, comprised by far the largest group to settle in the state. They came from Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary and Russia, which alone sent almost 6,000 German-speaking settlers to Oklahoma. These German-Americans lived predominantly in the north-central part of the state, and the overwhelming majority of them were engaged in farming. They were not a conspicuous minority, and the Mennonites among them especially tended to keep to themselves and to form close ties with their church and their German neighbors.[3]

The German-language press played an important role in the life of the new settlers. To those who did not read English, it was the only source of news, weather reports, local events, church announcements and reports from the old country. The German newspapers also carried advertisements for German-speaking physicians, dentists and attorneys. They translated the proceedings of the county commissions and explained to new immigrants

* A Master of Arts candidate at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, the author prepared this manuscript under the direction of Dr. Douglas Hale. The article is the fourth in a series examining European immigration to Oklahoma.

[1] Douglas Hale, "European Immigrants in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1975), p. 179.

[2] Martin H. Lutter, "Oklahoma and the World War 1914–1917," Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1961, pp. ff.

[3] Hale, "European Immigrants in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII, p. 188.

how they should go about "taking out their papers." Between 1883 and 1936 fifteen German language weeklies were published at various times and for a short time, Oklahoma even had a daily German newspaper, the *Tägliches Oklahoman Volksblatt*, published in El Reno in 1911. The circulation figures for eight of these papers are known: all of them had between 900 and 1,650 subscribers. By the beginning of World War I, seven German weeklies were in print; however, only two of them survived after 1918.[4]

World War I had a dramatic effect on the German immigrants in Oklahoma. The entry of the United States into the conflict in 1917 brought them into the political limelight and changed their life profoundly. No longer considered to be a well assimilated group of immigrants, they came to be regarded as a potentially dangerous minority. Their loyalty to the United States was questioned; their adherence to the German language was no longer tolerated as a quaint custom; and their heritage seemed to indicate that they had not yet become Americans.

The attitude of German-Americans in Oklahoma toward the war and their reactions to the entry of the United States into the conflicts was mirrored in one of the most important German newspapers, the *Oklahoma Vorwärts*. However, because of its pro-German stance, the effects of wartime propaganda, extra-legal pressures exercised by the state and county Councils of Defense and vigilante action forced the paper to cease publication in 1918.

The *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, with its sub-title: *Organ des Deutschthums im Westlichen Oklahoma*—"The Voice of German Culture in Western Oklahoma"—was published in Washita County from 1900 till 1918 by the same editor, Julius Hüssy, a Swiss-American. Born on May 23, 1860, in Switzerland, Hüssy came to the United States when he was about twenty-nine years old, and for a time he worked as an editor in St. Louis, Missouri. In July, 1900, he began to publish the *Vorwärts* in Weatherford, but moved to Cordell in 1904. Also from 1915 until October 11, 1918, he published his paper in Bessie, Oklahoma.[5] The *Vorwärts* was a weekly, consisting of four pages with six columns each. Page one was devoted to news, political editorials, correspondences and sundry news from all over the state; page two featured short stories, anecdotes and "educational" essays—the same material was often used time and again. The third page offered famous quotations of poets and philosophers, quips and amusing gossip, and on

[4] K. J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732–1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer Verlag, 1965), p. 31.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

Oklahoma Vorwärts.

Jahrgang 5. Cordell, Okla., Freitag, den 15 Januar 1915. Nummer 33

Vom Völkerkrieg.

Der 42. Compagnie.

Von Texas-Amerikaner des Namens ob.

Aus der Staatspolitik.

Correspondenzen

The *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, one of the most successful German language newspapers in Oklahoma

the fourth page the reader found church announcements, society news, obituaries, reports of illnesses, etc. This page was the most interesting, as Hüssy printed many of his own comments in regard to mob-violence, Anglo-American attitudes towards Germany and the political situation in general on this page.

People in Bessie and Cordell who knew Hüssy described him as "aristocratic gentleman," well-dressed, with refined manners, who was diplomatic and tactful in choosing his words.[6] In his business affairs he seems to have been a bit too indulgent, and he encountered great difficulty in persuading his readers to keep their subscriptions current. Until July, 1918, the paper cost but $1.00 per year; for $1.50, Hüssy would sent it to relatives or friends in Germany. However, because the price of paper and the postage rates rose sharply during the war, he was forced to increase the subscription price to $1.25. To supplement their income, Hüssy's wife maintained a small

[6] Interview, Edward Bose, Bessie, Oklahoma, January 3, 1975; Interview, Mrs. Otto Nickel, Bessie, Oklahoma, February 25, 1975.

restaurant in the front part of the newspaper office—the building presently houses the Bessie Post Office.[7]

The *Vorwärts* catered to the interests of the rural population of Western Oklahoma. In 1910, Washita County had about 550 German-speaking inhabitants who had been born abroad. Most of them were living in the area around Bessie and Korn, but Hüssy's correspondence shows that he had readers as far away as Canada, as well as in Minnesota, California, Arkansas and Texas.[8] These readers were usually former Oklahomans who kept in touch with friends and with Oklahoma news through the *Vorwärts*. Before the war, the paper reflected the peaceful life of the country, placidly concerned with weather, harvest and local events. The only theme that aroused any passion was the question of prohibition, which filled many columns.

All this changed radically when the First World War began. Now Germany, with its Austrian ally, was arrayed against the combined might of France, Russia and Britain, and the carnage began. For a few weeks, the Oklahoma Germans watched the war, fascinated by the unfolding "battle of the Titans," as the *Vorwärts* put it, but soon concern set in. Even though the United States had declared its neutrality, its population became divided between the pro-Allies and those who favored the Germans, the latter a distinct minority. The war became a nightmare of ruthless destruction. The German plan to capture Paris, France swiftly and then to crush Russia failed. Britain dominated the seas and began to blockade the delivery of food and raw materials to Germany. The government retaliated by inaugurating the submarine war, and its sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915 aroused the American public against Germany. It became clear that the government's sympathies were on the Allied side when English transgressions of international law were less harshly condemned than those committed by Germany.[9]

The *Vorwärts* was outspokenly pro-German, and a large part of its commentaries in 1915 and 1916 were devoted to the defense of Germany's actions. Throughout the war, Hüssy was very outspoken in his opinions and refused to be intimidated. This may stem in part at least from his Swiss background. Unlike the Germans who had won the right of universal manhood suffrage only as late as 1871, the Swiss had a long and proud tradition of civil liberties. Also, because the United States and Switzerland remained friendly during the war, Hüssy probably felt safe from anti-

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[7] Interview, Rudolf Schmidt, Bessie, Oklahoma, January 3, 1975.

[8] Vester Montgomery, "History of Washita County," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1929, p. 66.

[9] J. Henry Landeman and Herbert Wender, *World Since 1914* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1961), pp. 11–31.

German agitation. Up to the last issue of his newspaper, he insisted on his right to publish it in German, and also on the duty of the authorities to safegurad this right.

His paper pictured England as the arch-enemy, and he sharply condemned that country's breaking of international law. The editor characterized the German submarine campaign as a justified measure of self-defense and argued that the weapons and ammunition carried on the *Lusitania* would have destroyed far more lives than were lost by her sinking.[10]

During this period of the war, the greatest concern of the German-Americans was that the United States remain firmly committed to its policy of neutrality. The *Vorwärts* shared this concern and published the resolution of the *Deutsche Bund*, or German League, of Oklahoma of September 13, 1914:

> As American citizens, we demand that our government adhere to strictest neutrality, that it take a firm stand against the reign of terror of England and that Congress pass a bill to prohibit exports of weapons and ammunition.

The paper emphatically condemned both the munitions trade and the floating of Allied loans on the American market. American money, food and weapons supplied the Allies in ever-increasing proportions, and German-Amercians feared not without justification that the United States might invest so much in the war that in the end it could not afford to permit the Allies to lose it.

It is important to note that neither the *Vorwärts* nor the German clubs in Oklahoma ever suggested that the United States should join the Central Powers. German-American sympathies were with the German cause, but the war was seen strictly as a European conflict, one that did not and should not involve America. The Oklahoman Germans believed that any participation of the United States would be a tragedy and a political mistake. A peace movement developed in 1915 among these German-Americans. Mass meetings were organized in the big cities, and the sale of peace buttons was recommended. The buttons depicted the flags of the United States and Germany covered by a shield with the inscription: "We want peace."[11]

Hand in hand with their endeavor to keep America out of the war went a continued effort to affirm the loyalty of the German immigrants toward their adopted country. This was partly caused by the growing hostility of the American public toward Germany and the German-speaking immigrants. On February 2, 1915, Hüssy wrote that

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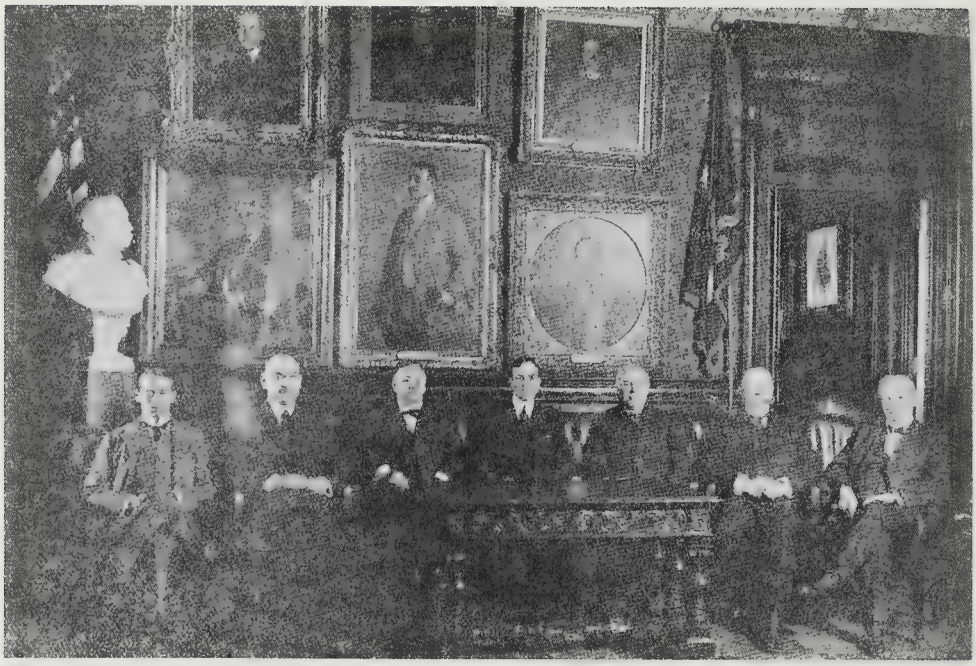
[10] *Oklahoma Vorwärts* (Bessie), May 21, 1915, p. 2.
[11] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1915, p. 1.



The Council of National Defense—from left to right: Grosvenor B. Clarkson, David F. Jouston, Josephus Daniels, Newton D. Baker, Franklin K. Lane, William C. Redfield and William B. Wilson

> In the future, also, the German-American citizens will prove through their actions that they have not only earned the American citizenship, but that they know, appreciate and fulfill their civic duties in spite of nativist suspicions.

He pleaded for fairness and moderation and complained bitterly that Anglophile newspapers kindled hatred against everything German. By 1916, German-Americans were convinced that President Woodrow Wilson had not kept his promise of strict neutrality and turned against him in the campaigns preceding the election. Wilson used their hostility very skillfully in his speeches and accused the "Hyphenated Americans" of disloyalty against the United States.[12] Hüssy's answer in the *Vorwärts* was a bitter recounting of American-German patriotism during the Civil War and of German contributions in the settling of the country. He insisted that the American citizenship not only imposed duties but also guaranteed the right to express opinions freely and to criticize the government.[13]

[12] James Henry Fowler, II, "Extralegal Suppression of Civil Liberties in Oklahoma during the First World War and its Causes," Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1974, p. 5.

[13] *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, March 9, 1917, p. 1.

The year 1917 was a tragic one for German-Americans in Oklahoma. After Russia collapsed in revolution, Germany reopened the unconditional submarine campaign in an effort to finally overwhelm England. The United States stood as the last hope of the Allies. When America declared war on Germany in April, 1917, the deepest fears of German-Americans in Oklahoma were realized: their adopted country was at war with the old fatherland. In the hearts of many, troubling questions arose: How could they support a war that seemed unjustified and unfair to them? How could they in good conscience fight against brothers and relatives in the old country? Up to now their sympathies for the German cause had been unpopular but perfectly legal. From now on it would be considered treason if they spoke out for Germany. Many believed that it was still possible to be a good American citizen and at the same time to be able to defend Germany against untrue accusations. But it soon became clear that the war had swept away many civil liberties.

Already in August, 1916, as the war clouds gathered nearer to America, an act of the United States Congress had created the Council of National Defense. The purpose of this council was to mobilize and coordinate the resources and energies of the nation in the event of a national crisis. It was composed of the members of the Cabinet and an advisory commission of seven other well-known American business, political and labor leaders. In addition, the governors of the separate states had then established state and county councils of defense.[14] Upon the entry of the United States into the war, these councils were to gain immense power. Established by Governor Robert L. Williams, the Oklahoma State Council of Defense went into action in 1917. In the years 1917 and 1918 the Council not only fulfilled the duties assigned it in the orginal charter but also took it upon itself to indoctrinate Oklahomans concerning the reasons for America's participation and aims in the war, to strengthen their patriotism and to force them to cooperate if necessary. The Council had no formal judiciary powers; it simply assumed extra-legal authority. As *Sooners in the War*, the official report of the State Council of Defense, boasted, the rulings of the State Council and the dictates of the county councils of defense became the supreme law of the land in the state of Oklahoma during the conflict.[15] One of its ideas was to distribute loyalty-pledge cards. The pledge ran as follows:[16]

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[14] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, "Official Report of the Oklahoma State Council of Defense from May, 1917 to January, 1919," *Sooners in the War*, Vol. I, No. IXX (March 1, 1919), p. ff.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[16] O. A. Hilton, "The Oklahoma Council of Defense and the First World War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (March, 1942), p. 34.

> I recognize the danger that arises from the slacker who opposes the country. I realize that every breeder of sedition is as great a menace to our homes and our freedom as are our armed enemies across the sea. Therefore I pledge myself to report to the chairman of my school district council of defense or to my country defense chairman any disloyal act or utterance that I may at any time know of. I will stamp out the enemies at home whose every act or word means more American graves in France.

The Council did not shrink from intimidation or threats to insure that the citizens signed the cards. As *Sooners in the War* asserted, "in many districts it would have been almost as much as a man's life was worth, to refuse to sign one of those loyalty-pledge cards."[17] The Council organized Liberty Loan Drives, War Saving Stamps Campaigns and cooperated with the Red Cross, but it often employed coercion and force in attaining its goals. Some counties were strict in adhering to legal procedures; other tolerated or even encouraged terrorism. In its official report, the State Council admitted to having often ignored the legal status or precedents involved in the questions with which it was concerned.[18] Even those who were sympathetic to the aims of the councils admitted their penchant for assuming extra-legal authority and power which would not have been tolerated by the populace in peacetime. *Harlow's Weekly*, for example, warned in December, 1918, that in their indifference to due process, the councils had posed a danger to the basic principles of American democracy:[19]

> Armed with the great authority of public opinion, the Councils rapidly assumed judiciary and almost legislative rights. In some instances the same men acted as accuser, prosecutor, judge and jury. In at least two instances attorneys who essayed to defend those charged with offenses, were personally attacked. No autocratic government in the past century ever suspended the great fundamental principle, that a person charged with an offense against the law must have the right of trial, to face his accusers or to have the counsel of one versed in the law.

Preferred targets for attack by the councils of defense were German-Americans and German-speaking communities. Secret Service agents were sent to such towns to investigate and uncover any evidence of dissent or disloyalty. The State Council inspired harsh sedition laws in many cities and towns which made "seditious remarks" a criminal offense.[20] The county

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[17] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, "Official Report of the Oklahoma State Council of Defense from May, 1917 to January, 1919," *Sooners in the War*, Vol. I, p. 14.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[19] *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City), December 11, 1918, p. 4.

[20] Hilton, "The Oklahoma Council of Defense and the First World War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, p. 34, f.n. 38.

councils were no less active. The chairman of the Washita County Council of Defense became known as the "War-horse of the Washita" and came to be "very much feared by all who were inclined to be disloyal."[21] Hüssy charged that the cynical slogan "What's the Constitution among friends!" was often uttered by high officials and politicians when the Constitution hindered unjustified violations of freedom of speech and the right of free assembly.[22]

Many of the German-Americans in Oklahoma lived in fear during this time, and not without reason. A member of the Bessie Lutheran Church, John Bolinger, was incapacitated for many weeks after he had been beaten and tarred.[23] Bolinger had protested against the action of the Council of Defense in refusing to allow John A. Simpson, a Weatherford farmer who headed the Farmers' Cooperative Movement in Oklahoma, to make speeches in the county.[24] The Council of Defense relied on fear to achieve its purposes and made no effort to disguise this strategy: "A few men convicted in Federal courts, a few fined, a few held up to the ridicule of their neighbors, and perhaps a few shot, would mean the absolute stamping out of pro-Germanism in Oklahoma."[25]

Such actions of the councils of defense are vividly mirrored in the pages of the *Vorwärts*. Hüssy repeatedly warned his readers not to enter into discussions about the war, to be on guard against informers and to be careful in their tavern-talk.[26] On February 22, 1918, the *Vorwärts* sarcastically observed that

> Once all "hostile foreigners" are registered, it will be good to think about the "hostile natives." We mean those miserable creatures who disseminate lies under the cloak of patriotism and who attack by the hundreds certain citizens and tar, feather and whip them; who fan the spirit of hatred and intolerance, and by that show themselves to be real enemies of the country.

When one of his old Bessie friends, Nikolaus von Essen, was brought before the judge because of an alleged "lèse-majesté"—high treason—Hüssy expressed his concern that freedom of speech, press and conscience were in danger of vanishing from the United States unless the people learned how

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[21] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, "Official Report of the Oklahoma State Council of Defense from May, 1917 to January, 1919," *Sooners in the War*, Vol. I, p. 64.

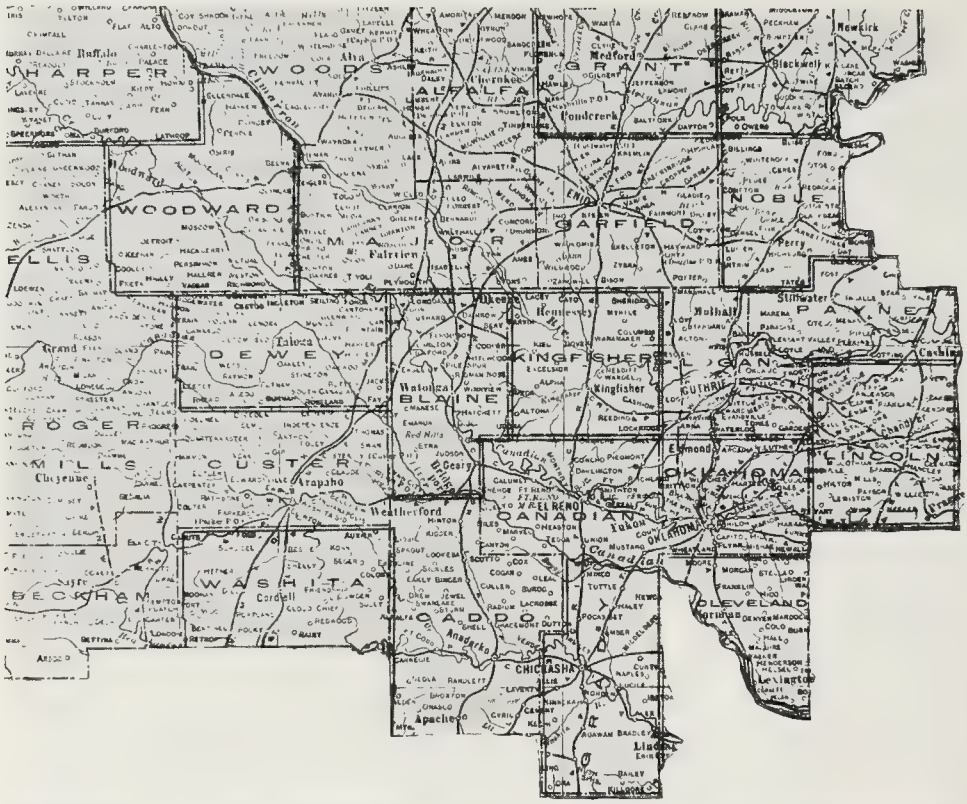
[22] *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, September 21, 1917, p. 1.

[23] Interview, Edward Bose.

[24] *Harlow's Weekly*, June 5, 1918, p. 7.

[25] Oklahoma State Council of Defense, "Proceedings of the Oklahoma State Council of Defense Minutes, December 29, 1917," *Sooners in the War*, Vol. I, No. IXX (March 1, 1919), p. 6.

[26] *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, April 27, 1917, p. 1.



Pre-World War I map of western Oklahoma showing some of the predominately German settlements

to guard these rights.[27] According to the editor, von Essen raised such an outcry before the judge that the latter was glad when he could dismiss the accused again.

In the patriotic frenzy, not only Germans, but the German language itself became suspect. It was disallowed in public assemblies and discouraged even in private homes. On September 13, 1918, the City Commission of Cordell, in Washita County, declared unlawful the use of the German language within the city limits and stipulated that a fine of up to $100 be imposed upon those who defied the ordinance. One farmer who was overheard speaking German to a friend on the street was beaten over the head by a town deputy.[28] This provision posed a particular hardship on the older people who had never learned to speak English.[29]

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[27] *Ibid.*, August 3, 1917, p. 4.
[28] *Ibid.*, September 13, 1918, p. 4.
[29] Interview, Mrs. Otto Nickel.

Other counties and towns adopted similar measures. Ivan Williams, editor of the *Fairview Leader* and secretary of the Major County Council of Defense, ordered that signs be posted on the doors of German churches proclaiming that "God Almighty understands the American language. Address Him only in that tongue."[30] The Garfield County Council of Defense discussed a proposal to disallow German completely, even in phone conversations, and to prohibit the publication of the German newspaper, the *Enid Staatszeitung*. Hüssy found this procedure absurdly ironic, noting that "Ernst Denner, editor of the above newspaper, has two sons fighting in Europe for American democracy. Hopefully this true democracy has nothing in common with what Garfield County wants to adopt."[31] In the fall of 1918, three Oklahoma towns changed their names because of their German origin Kiel, in Kingfisher County became Loyal, Bismark [sic] in McCurtain County was renamed Wright in honor of the first soldier of that county to die in the war, and the spelling of Korn, in Washita County, was changed to Corn.[32]

Inevitably, the use of the German language declined. While 231 students had studied German at the University of Oklahoma during the academic year 1916–1917, this number dropped to 76 the following year.[33] The United States Commissioner of Education, Philander P. Claxton, deplored in an open letter the decline of German language studies and predicted a great need for the language after the war. Even though he urged school officials to take a "far-seeing" point of view, it was to no avail.[34] On the contrary, in 1919, long after the war was over, the Oklahoma legislature declared it unlawful to teach or instruct in any other language except English in the first eight grades of school. This law remained on the books until 1949.[35]

By the time American had been at war for a year, incidents of mob-violence against "German sympathizers" occurred with alarming frequency. Hüssy wrote that tarring parties had become spectacles for the amusement of the populace, much like the persecution of Christians in ancient Rome.

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[30] *Harlow's Weekly*, April 17, 1918, p. 7.

[31] *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, August 2, 1918, p. 1.

[32] Bismark changed its name to Wright on September 13, 1918, in honor of W. W. Wright, the first soldier from McCurtain County to be killed in the War. On May 18, 1920, the name was changed again to Wright City. Korn, in Washita County, became Corn on September 26, 1918. Kiel, Kingfisher County, changed its name to Loyal on October 1, 1918. Already in May, 1918, Bismark township, Logan County, was renamed Le Bron township. See, George H. Shirk, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974).

[33] *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, March 15, 1918, p. 1.

[34] *Ibid.*, March 1, 1918, p. 1.

[35] State of Oklahoma, *Session Laws of 1919* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1919), p. 201; State of Oklahoma *Official Session Laws* (Guthrie: Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1949), p. 560.

The destruction of a building owned by German immigrants in Muskogee during the anti-German violence after the entry of America into World War I

He blamed the civil authorities for indirectly contributing to mob violence by their refusal to intercede and charged that the English-language papers had fanned the flames of bigotry by their hate propaganda.[36] But even the English-language press began to sense danger. In April, 1918, *Harlow's Weekly* demanded government action in the interest of public safety.[37] The *Daily Oklahoman* and *Tulsa Daily World*, while condoning mob action in 1917, began to speak out against acts of terrorism in the following year.[38]

Many German-Americans were so intimidated by the wave of wartime hysteria that they became "superpatriots," even to the extent of changing their names and denouncing their heritage. Indeed, the German Club—*Germania Verein*—of Oklahoma City prohibited the use of the German

[36] *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, August 16, 1918, p. 4.

[37] *Harlow's Weekly*, April 24, 1918, p. 12. *Harlow's Weekly* reported eight cases of mob violence in Oklahoma in April, 1918, and 4 cases in May, 1918.

[38] *Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa), November 10, 1917, p. 1.

language in its meetings. Hüssy was disgusted with this attitude and remarked that "the downgrading of the mother language in our very own club must be regarded in a most unfavorable way, even in these critical times."[39]

It became ever more difficult for the *Vorwärts* to offer guidance and support to those Germans who looked to their newspaper for help. With the entry of the United States into the war, the two wireless stations which had supplied news from Germany, even after her rupture of diplomatic relations with America, ceased to operate. After April 6, 1917, all news came from English sources. In September, 1917, it became mandatory for German editors to print a "truthful and complete translation" into the English language alongside any commentary in German which discussed:[40]

> the government of the United States or about any one of the nations, which is in a state of war with Germany, about their politics, the international relations, the war situation, or the conducting of the war or any affair which relates to it.

Hüssy applied for an exemption from this requirement, but his request was never answered. The *Vorwärts* suspended its regular news column, entitled "*Vom Völkerkrieg*"—On the World War—on October 5, 1917.

Nonetheless, in spite of this and other handicaps, Hüssy tried to encourage his readers. To the end, he told them to hold their heads high and do their duty as American citizens, but also to maintain and respect their German heritage. That he did this at a time when the German-Americans were attacked everywhere and when no one dared to speak up for them reveals him as a man of integrity and courage. That his readers appreciated him can be seen in the fact that the number of visitors to his "*Sanktum*," as he called his office, increased; he welcomed new subscribers even in 1918. Hüssy never lost confidence in a better future. On May 3, 1918, he wrote:[41]

> When the war is over—and one day it will be over—then all citizens of all nationalities will again live together in peace and harmony as they did before. Therefore, chin up, don't lose courage and endure in patience.

But by the following fall Hüssy was beginning to have serious problems with his newspaper. Merchants no longer dared to put their advertisements in the *Vorwärts* for fear of being considered disloyal. The number of local advertisers dropped from about twenty-six in 1915 to fifteen on October 11, 1918. Moreover, many readers began to complain that the *Vorwärts* was no longer delivered to them, and Hüssy suspected that the papers were

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[39] *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, April 12, 1918, p. 1.
[40] *Ibid.*, September 21, 1917, p. 1.
[41] *Ibid.*, May 3, 1918, p. 1.

deliberately withheld or destroyed. Other readers asked him to stop sending the paper out of fear that they would be persecuted for disloyalty.[42] In addition to that, new postal regulations required that by October 1, 1918, only prepaid newspapers could be sent through the mail. Hüssy pleaded with his readers to pay their subscription fees.[43]

In September, 1918, the *Vorwärts* became the target of a vigilante group which had become notorious for their lynch justice throughout the state, having whipped, tarred and feathered seventeen members of the International Workers of the World in Tulsa, Oklahoma on November 9, 1917.[44] Known as the "Knights of Liberty," the group, on September 20, 1918, placed pamphlets under Hüssy's door which ordered him to cease publishing his paper no later than October 4.[45] The threats were repeated, and Hüssy received indirect and even direct warnings that he would become a victim of mob justice if he did not comply. The editor appealed to the authorities and gave them clues as to the identity of the terrorists, and the citizens of Bessie hired a night watchman to protect themselves as well as Hüssy.

Clearly, Hüssy did not intend to bow to the decree of the "Knights of Liberty." In the last issue of the *Vorwärts* he admonished his readers to pay for their subscriptions in advance in order that he could qualify under the law to use the mails.[46] But with the issue of October 11, 1918, the *Oklahoma Vorwärts* abruptly ceased publication.

What had happened?

For years, Julius Hüssy had sent his newspaper to his colleague Ernst Denner, the editor of the *Oklahoma Staats-Zeitung* in Enid. On November 1, Denner printed a letter by Hüssy, addressed to the subscribers and readers of the *Vorwärts*, in which he described the fate of his paper: On the evening of October 17, a mob of about fifty unmasked men had confronted him and demanded under threat of force that he at once cease publication of the *Vorwärts* in German. If he did not give in, they threatened to destroy his printing equipment. Against his will, but bending to this coercion, Hüssy complied. He described the mob as consisting of men from Cordell and the surrounding area and added that

> well-known men were among them, men whom we never would have expected to be party to mob-justice, men who have been or still are active in

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[42] *Ibid.*, August 9, 1918, p. 1.
[43] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1918, p. 1.
[44] *Tulsa Daily World*, November 10, 1917, p. 1.
[45] O. A. Hilton, Stillwater, Oklahoma, private manuscript collection.
[46] *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, October 11, 1918, p. 1.

positions of public service. The mob acted obviously without legal authority and could not present proof of any on our demand.

Thus, after serving German-speaking Oklahomans for eighteen years, the *Vorwärts* folded in the last days of World War I.

Hüssy himself later retired to Tulsa, where two of his three daughters resided. His dream of a day when "all citizens of all nationalities will again live together in peace and harmony" was cruelly frustrated. In 1943, when the old editor was found in his apartment dead of a heart attack at age eighty-two, still another war raged between the United States and Germany.[47]

Much has been written about the extra-legal suppression of civil liberties during war-time.[48] The *Vorwärts* presents a particular example of this from the point of view of some of the victims during World War I in Oklahoma.[49] Before the war, the German-Americans had enjoyed a tranquil existence of complete individualism. They loved their new country, and there is much pride in their words when they write about the farms and their success in America. At the same time, they kept the German language, their traditions and habits and lived much the way they had lived in the old country. Their friends and neighbors and fellow church members were German. When the war came, they often did not comprehend why they were attacked by native Americans for being disloyal. Their individ-

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[47] *Tulsa Tribune* (Tulsa), January 19, 1943, p. 13. Also, *Tulsa Daily World*, January 20, 1943, p. 14.

[48] See, Fowler, "Extralegal Suppression of Civil Liberties in Oklahoma during the First World War and its Causes;" J. A. Robinson, "Loyalty Investigation and Legislation in Oklahoma," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1955; and Elihu D. Ryden, "Civil Liberty in War-Time, the Civil War, and the World War," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1936.

[49] It is strange that Hüssy, who considered his paper to be the "Voice of German culture in Western Oklahoma," not even once mentioned the sufferings of one group of Germans in Oklahoma: The Mennonites. In 1916, over 800 Mennonites lived in Washita County alone. By faith and tradition they were opposed to military service. In 1917, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, assured them that their beliefs would be respected. But once the young men had registered for the draft and had been brought to training camps, efforts were made to change their minds. A Board of Inquiry was created which had to determine the sincerity of those who would not be converted. The test was simple: If they had joined the Church before April 6, 1917, the day of the United States' entry into the War, they were sincere. If not, the Board assumed they had joined the church to escape military service and were therefore insincere. See, Arlyn John Parish, *Kansas Mennonites during World War I* (Fort Hays Studies-New Series), History Series, No. 4, May, 1968, pp. 21, 41. *Harlow's Weekly* reported on June 19, 1918, that the forty-five conscientious objectors, who refused to wear the army uniform at Camp Travis and were sentenced to twenty-five years each in the penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, were Mennonites, mostly from Oklahoma. Hüssy must have known about them; why he ignored their tribulations is an enigma.

ualism was coupled with a strong sense for law and order and obedience to the authorities. They were willing to obey the laws, but they also wanted to be left alone. Many of them had come from a divided Germany or from autonomous villages in Russia. To them government meant something quite different than to a native American citizen. They did not identify with the government but rather regarded it like the police. They saw it as an authority that had to be obeyed, that could draft your son, raise taxes and fight wars. It was best not to become involved with it.

These Germans never presented a danger to the security of the United States. Their so-called "disloyal statements" usually were only the expression of a naive attitude. To them, America symbolized the "Land of Liberty." They believed that it was truly the land of free speech and of freedom of belief, even in wartime. They learned in a harsh way that in a democracy too, liberty is limited and often in danger, unless, as Hüssy once wrote, "the people know how to guard it."[50]

[50] *Oklahoma Vorwärts*, August 3, 1917, p. 4.

BEATIES PRAIRIE, A POST OFFICE

*By George H. Shirk**

The exact location of the United States post office known as Beaties Prairie has been the subject of doubt and some misunderstanding. Beaties Prairie, from which the name of the office was adopted, is a distinctive land feature in northeastern Oklahoma which measures approximately ten miles east and west and, at the maximum, five miles north and south. The extensive prairie extends into Arkansas from extreme eastern Delaware County, Oklahoma. Maysville, Arkansas, is the principal community in the flat, well-defined region, and Old Fort Wayne was located at its western extremity. It was named for the first settler in the region, Adam Beatie, who came to the vicinity in 1828.

On December 21, 1840, the Postmaster General established a post office named Beaties Prairie with John A. P. Carr as Postmaster. Post Office Department records show that it was located in Benton County, Arkansas. Later, on July 5, 1844, William Cawood was appointed Postmaster, and on March 5, 1850, the name of the office was changed to Maysville.

It has been said that the first location of the post office was in the immediate vicinity of Old Fort Wayne, and that the site was moved across the line into Arkansas at the time the name of the office was changed to Maysville in 1850.

Careful research and investigation has determined this not to have been the case. There exists no evidence that the post office, before its name was changed to Maysville, was at any time located in the Cherokee Nation.

Many contemporary maps show the name used to designate the land feature with all or part of the words in the Cherokee Nation. Therefore, it would not be difficult for a casual observer to assume that the words designated the post office location, when in fact, the name was shown for another purpose.

The daily order sheet of the Postmaster General was reviewed on a recent visit to Washington, D.C., and there is no indication of a site change at any time. I am not unmindful that the Postmaster General often located Cherokee Nation post offices in a county of Arkansas, and I recognize that

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consistently listing the office in Benton County, not only on the date of its establishment but on the later dates when a new Postmaster was appointed and when the name was changed to Maysville, would not in itself be conclusive. However, it has been the consistent policy of the Postal Department to use a slightly different terminology when a new location is involved. A phrase such as "location changed to Benton County, Arkansas and name changed to Maysville" would have been used if there had been a site or location change, especially as for the first time the office would have then been located in Arkansas.

At the time of statehood, the main street of Maysville was located exactly on the western Arkansas line and ran in a north-westerly direction consistent with the state boundary. There were no buildings of note on the west side of Main Street, for such was located in the Cherokee Nation. The major improvements of the town were on the east side of the street with the buildings fronting on Main Street, thus facing to the west.

At the time of Oklahoma statehood, in 1907, it was recognized locally that the boundary between Arkansas and its new sister state to the west ran immediately in front of the row of Main Street buildings on the east side of the street facing west, and that as a matter of fact, some of the front porches, steps and other appurtenances were located in Oklahoma.

In due time, the buildings were gradually remodeled and faced to the east, so that the former front exposures were now the rear of the row of buildings. As a result, the back of the buildings were located almost exactly on the state line.

So it was with the structure housing the post office. At the time of statehood, it faced west and its front porch reached across the Arkansas line into the Cherokee Nation. Later, the building was remodeled so as to face east. The porch protruding across the state line was removed, and to that extent it could be said that the post office of Maysville was "located," in part at least, in Indian Territory. Indeed, this could be the only basis of an assertion that the post office was not in Arkansas.

In the absence of any evidence whatsoever tending to indicate that the post office of Beaties Prairie was not located at the same site that it was before the name was changed to Maysville, I believe it is established that even though the major area of Beaties Prairie is in Oklahoma, the post office of that name was not located at any time physically in the Cherokee Nation.

THE RED RIVER WAR OF 1874—AN ENLISTED MAN'S CONTRIBUTION

*By J'Nell Pate**

Ingredients of successful Indian campaigns—from the white man's viewpoint—include unity of command, overall good strategy, enough supplies at the proper time and place and dedicated officers and men to carry out the task. Not all of these valuable elements worked properly in the 1874 Red River War; although, enough existed to assure success. Could it have been the men themselves who became the deciding factor? Seasoned, disciplined, plains Indian campaigners, the enlisted men knew how to fight Indians, and were not afraid to do so; furthermore, their officers, after previous trial-and-error training in the field, finally executed successfully a strategy that defeated the Indian on his familiar terrain.[1] The competency of all the nearly 3,000 men involved in the campaign was vital; but, this paper will single out one enlisted man and follow some of his activities of the Red River War, which began during the fall of 1874 and concluded the next spring. John Bontwell Charlton is a name known to students of the Texas frontier of the 1870s, for his *Old Sergeant's Story*, edited by Fourth Cavalry Captain Robert G. Carter, has provided many writers with source material on Fourth Cavalry activities during those years. Yet, few have paid much direct attention to Sergeant Charlton.

Soldiering interested Charlton early in life. When his brothers joined the Union army during the Civil War and he left home to join them, officials sent him back because he was underage. Wild and rebellious, at age seventeen he ran away again an joined, on April 14, 1865, in the First United States Artillery.[2] When his five-year enlistment expired in 1870, he traveled to New York City, reenlisted and requested a cavalry unit. Described as having grey eyes, brown hair, a light complexion, and a height of five feet, eight and one-half inches, he was twenty-two years old when he left for duty in the West.[3]

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* The author is currently an Instructor of History at Tarrant County Junior College, Fort Worth, Texas. This article is adopted from a paper presented at the Southwest Social Science Association Annual Meeting held at San Antonio, Texas, March 27–29, 1975.

[1] John K. Herr and Edward S. Wallace, *The Story of the U.S. Cavalry* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953), p. 144.

[2] John B. Charlton, *The Old Sergeant's Story Winning the West from the Indians and Bad Men in 1870 to 1876*, ed. Robert G. Carter (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1926), p. 53.

[3] United States Government, *Records of the Adjutant General's Office*, Enlistment Papers, 1798–1894, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Sergeant John B. Charleton in 1867 when serving with Light Battery "K" of the First United States Artilley (Courtesy of Fort Sill Museum Library)

Charlton's service prior to 1874 with the Fourth Cavalry offered plenty of excitement. In June, 1871, he and other soldiers were escorting three Kiowa chiefs—Satanta, Satank and Big Tree—near Fort Sill, in Indian Territory. About a mile from the post, Satank slipped his hands from the iron cuffs, stabbed a soldier with a knife he had managed to conceal, grabbed the soldier's rifle and fired. As the old Indian tried to work the gun to put another cartridge into place, the quick-thinking Charlton, who rode alongside, shot and killed him.

Then in the Battle of McClellan's Creek. September 29, 1872, the commander of the Fourth Cavalry, Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie, led his men in a fight with Mow-wi's Kwahadi Comanches, defeated them and took 124 captives. Charlton, as junior sergeant of Troop F, led a charge through the heavily armed camp in broad daylight. Of five men in the forefront, only Charlton escaped unscathed. Charlton's captain recommended all of the noncommissioned officers for Medals of Honor, but Colonel Mackenzie reduced the list to the senior sergeants.[4]

During much of 1873 and the spring of 1874, Mackenzie and his men, including Charlton, patrolled the Rio Grande border of Texas from Fort Clark near Bracketville, Texas, preventing marauding Indians from raiding across the border. Even from their distant post, they heard rumors of trouble brewing in Indian Territory that might erupt into a full-scale war. To find out the latest facts, Mackenzie detailed Sergeant Charlton in August, 1874, to ride from Fort Clark to Fort Sill with dispatches for the commander. Charlton, under orders, rode only at night, changed horses at the five military posts he encountered and made the trip of 580 miles in 6 nights.

By late summer, 1874, Lieutenant General Philip Sheridan began planning the strategy of the campaign to round up the Kiowas, Comanches and Southern Cheyennes who had abandoned their reservations in Indian Territory for former hideouts in the Texas Panhandle.[5] Simply, the plan provided: Surround the Indians by five converging columns of troops coming from north, east, southeast, south and west; slowly, but persistently, close in, destroy supplies, break up camps and keep them on the move. The strategy also intended to keep the Indians from joining the northern plains tribes.[6] Two military divisions of the western army became involved: the Department of the Missouri at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, under

[4] Charlton, *The Old Sergeant's Story, Winning the West from the Indians and Bad Men in 1870 to 1876*, p. 188.

[5] Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars, The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1890* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973), p. 237.

[6] Joe F. Taylor, ed., "The Indian Campaign on the Staked Plains, 1874–1875 Military Correspondence from War Department Adjutant General's Office, File 2815–1874," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, Vol. XXIV (1963), p. 40.

Mow-wi, chief of the Kwahadi Comanches (Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Bureau of American Ethnology Collection)

Satank, a Kiowa chief killed while trying to escape transportation with two other chiefs to Fort Richardson near Jacksboro, Texas for trial

Brigadier General John Pope, and the Department of Texas at San Antonio, under Brigadier General C. C. Augur.[7] Both generals ordered three commands into the field, although one remained stationary, leaving only five to surround the Indians. Colonel Nelson A. Miles, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. "Beau" Neill and Major William R. Price were under Pope's command, while Augur controlled Colonel Mackenzie, Lieutenant Colonel J. W. "Black Jack" Davidson and Lieutenant Colonel George T. Buell.[8]

Miles marched south from Fort Dodge, Kansas, with 750 men of the Sixth Cavalry and Fifth Infantry.[9] Price moved eastward from Fort Union, New Mexico, with four troops of the Eighth Cavalry.[10] Lieutenant Colonel Neill struck at hostiles near the Darlington Agency. Mackenzie led eight troops of his Fourth Cavalry, four companies of the Tenth Infantry, one

[7] R. C. Crane, "Some Early History of the Panhandle Plains Region of Texas," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, Vol. VIII (1935), p. 90.

[8] William H. Leckie, *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 83–84.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Utley, *Frontier Regulars, The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1890*, p. 226.

of the Eleventh Infantry and thirty Indian scouts northwestward from Fort Concho, Texas.[11] Davidson led his Tenth Cavalry, Eleventh Infantry and forty-four scouts westward from Fort Sill. Buell, coming from Fort Richardson, Texas, meanwhile ranged in an area between Mackenzie and Davidson with eight companies of troops made up of the Ninth and Tenth cavalry and the Eleventh Infantry.[12] The six commands totalled nearly 3,000 officers, men and Indian scouts.[13] "Never before in southern plains history had so comprehensive a military movement been undertaken."[14] And as Mackenzie's column reached the last post before entering the unsettled plains, several newspapermen awaited with requests to accompany the expedition.[15] Mackenzie refused, while his main counterpart, Nelson Miles in the north, readily welcomed such correspondents.[16]

Mackenzie placed Charlton in a recently-created scouting party of six whites, thirteen Seminoles, twelve Tonkawas and several Lipan Apaches—First Lieutenant William A. Thompson became chief of scouts.[17]

The twenty-six year old Charlton saw significant service in the major action of Mackenzie's column—the Battle of Palo Duro Canyon on September 28, 1874. In fact, the engagement became the major action of the entire campaign. Charlton as scout helped locate the Indians, and with the scouts opened the battle.

As the party of thirty-one scouts rode in advance of the column about noon on September 26, they encountered hostiles. The scouts fell back, step by step, fighting all the while, until they reached the trail of the command. The hostiles then withdrew realizing that a huge body of troops had recently traveled in the vicinity.[18]

Back at camp, Charlton tried to rest, but Mackenzie ordered him to have the scouts saddle their horses and be ready to meet an incoming wagon train

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[11] Leckie, *Military Conquest of the Southern Plains*, pp. 83–84.

[12] United States Government, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1874* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 40.

[13] Ernest Wallace, *Ranald S. Mackenzie on the Texas Frontier* (Lubbock: West Texas Museum Association, 1964), p. 125.

[14] Carl Coke Rister, *Border Comand* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), p. 193.

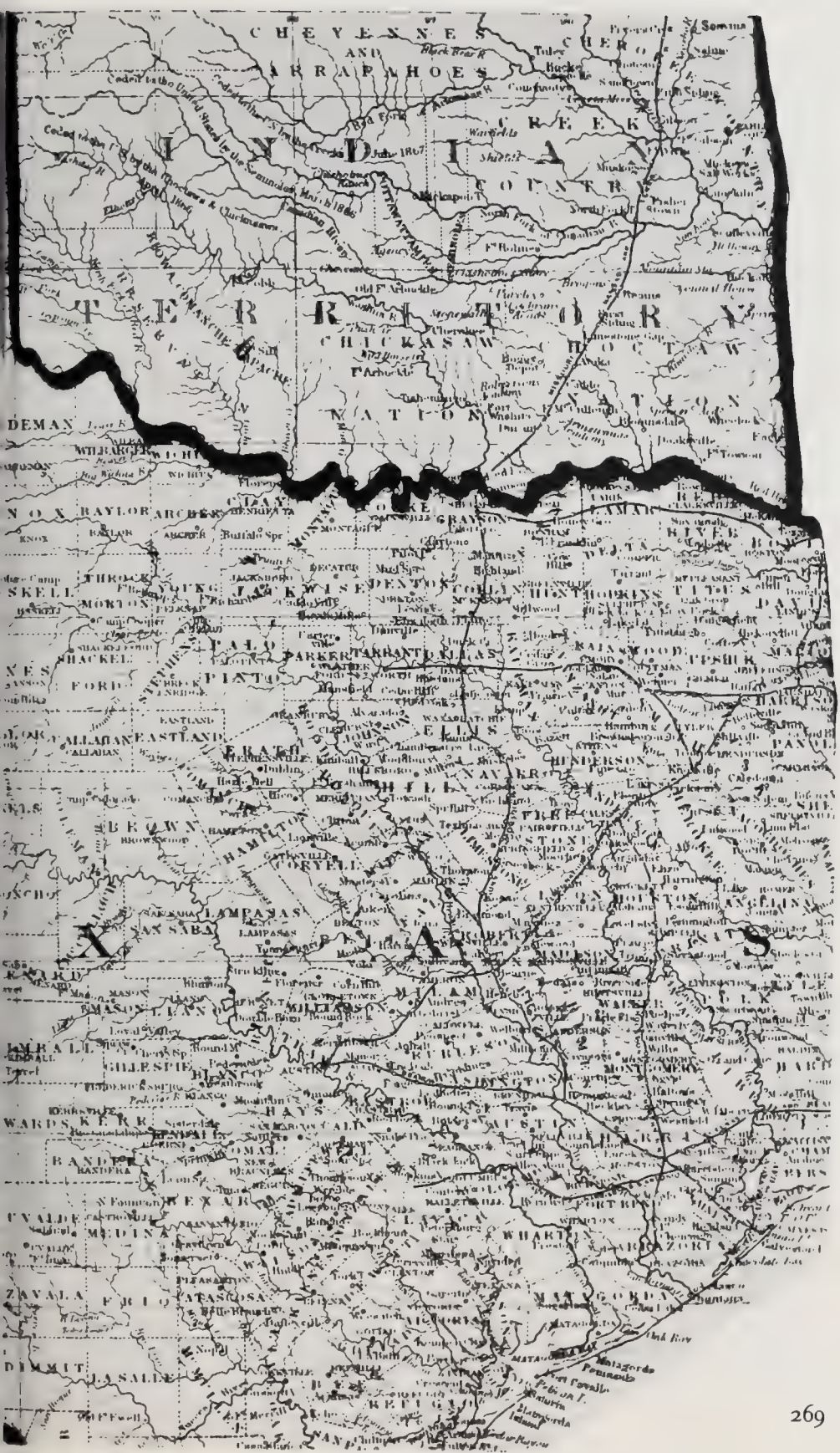
[15] Henry Strong, *My Frontier Days and Indian Fights on the Plains of Texas* (No Publisher's Information Given), p. 48.

[16] Little is known of Mackenzie's activities on this expedition, while much contemporary material tells later generations of Miles's activities because of the newspaper correspondence. Also, Miles wrote long, glowing reports of his own activities, while Mackenzie reported briefly and sporadically. Charlton later blamed Mackenzie for the Fourth Cavalry not getting all that was due them because Mackenzie did not say enough about them himself. Charlton, *Old Sergeant's Story*, p. 110.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 103; Strong, *My Frontier Days and Indian Fights on the Plains of Texas*, pp. 50–51.

[18] Charlton, *The Old Sergeant's Story, Winning the West from the Indians and Bad Men in 1870 to 1876*, pp. 104–105.

Longitude West
SAGRARIO
Sapello
Las Vegas
Trujillo
Bernal
Chaperito
Antonio
Pedernal
Plaza Galiana
Las Conchitas
Tierra Blanca
Las Pertules
Las Salinas
El Oyuelo
Espia
Placita
Laguna
Tularosa
Presidio
Rio Penasco
Salt Springs
Blue Rock
Waterholes
Monument Spring
Willow Spr
Mountain Park
Dos Panchos
Davis
Stockton
Kinds Spr
Vanderbeck's Spr
Cedar Park
San Estaban
Pelayos
Martine
Sulphur Spr
Mustang Waterholes
Cantalia
Cuadalupe
Rio Grande
Rio Pecos
Rio Felix
Rio Hondo
Rio Alamosa
Rio Nutria
Rio Feliz
Rio Bonito
Rio Tecolote
Rio Gallinas
Rio Colorado
Rio Puerco
Rio Salado


CHEYENNES
AND
ARRAPAHOES
INDIAN
COUNTRY
CREEK
NATION
CHICKASAW
NATION
CHOCTAW
NATION
TEXAS
DENTON
COLLIN
HOPKINS
TITUS
TARRANT
ELLIS
NAVARRO
HENDERSON
FREESTONE
LIMESTONE
ANDERSON
CHEROKEE
SMITH
RUSK
PANOLA
HARRISON
SHELBY
EASTLAND
BROWN
COMANCHE
HAMILTON
CORYELL
MILAM
WILLIAMSON
BELL
LAMPASAS
SAN SABA
BURNET
MILLS
HAMILTON
COLEMAN
RUNNELS
CONCHO
TOM GREEN
IRION
REAGAN
UPTON
CROCKETT
SUTTON
EDWARDS
KINNEY
VAL VERDE
MAVERICK
ZAVALA
DIMMIT
LA SALLE
MEDINA
UVALDE
BANDERA
KERR
GILLESPIE
KENDALL
BLANCO
HAYS
CALDWELL
GUADALUPE
BEXAR
WILSON
KARNES
GOLIAD
REFUGIO
VICTORIA
CALHOUN
JACKSON
MATAGORDA
WHARTON
FORT BEND
BRAZORIA
GALVESTON
HARRIS
MONTGOMERY
WALKER
POLK
LIBERTY
CHAMBERS
JEFFERSON
ORANGE
HARDIN
TYLER
JASPER
NEWTON
SABINE
SAN AUGUSTINE
SHELBY
NACOGDOCHES
RUSK
CHEROKEE
ANDERSON
HOUSTON
ANGELINA
TRINITY
MADISON
GRIMES
WASHINGTON
BURLESON
LEON
ROBERTSON
BRAZOS
FALLS
MILLS
HAMILTON
COMANCHE
ERATH
EASTLAND
CALLAHAN
TAYLOR
JONES
SHACKELFORD
THROCKMORTON
YOUNG
ARCHER
BAYLOR
KNOX
FOARD
HARDEMAN
WILBARGER
CLAY
MONTAGUE
COOKE
GRAYSON
FANNIN
LAMAR
RED RIVER
DELTA
HUNT
KAUFMAN
ELLIS
NAVARRO
HENDERSON
VAN ZANDT
WOOD
UPSHUR
MARION
HARRISON
PANOLA
GREGG
SMITH
CHEROKEE
RUSK
NACOGDOCHES
SHELBY
SAN AUGUSTINE
JASPER
NEWTON
ORANGE
JEFFERSON
CHAMBERS
LIBERTY
HARDIN
TYLER
POLK
SAN JACINTO
MONTGOMERY
WALKER
GRIMES
WASHINGTON
BURLESON
LEE
AUSTIN
COLORADO
WHARTON
FORT BEND
BRAZORIA
GALVESTON
HARRIS
MATAGORDA
JACKSON
VICTORIA
CALHOUN
REFUGIO
GOLIAD
BEE
LIVE OAK
MCMULLEN
ATASCOSA
FRIO
ZAVALA
DIMMIT
LA SALLE
MAVERICK
KINNEY
VAL VERDE
EDWARDS
SUTTON
CROCKETT
IRION
REAGAN
UPTON
MIDLAND
ECTOR
GLASSCOCK
HOWARD
MITCHELL
NOLAN
TAYLOR
CALLAHAN
JONES
SHACKELFORD
THROCKMORTON
STEPHENS

of supplies. Weariness made Charlton come close to insubordination, he later admitted.[19]

The renegade Comanches, Kiowas and Cheyennes attacked the large command that night as it camped near Tule Canyon, so neither the scouts, nor anyone else, got much sleep. The Indians attacked again at daybreak, on November 27, but were driven off. After breakfast that same morning, Mackenzie sent for Charlton and told him to take two scouts and follow the trail. Choosing two Tonkawas, named Johnson and Job, he followed the trail easily and rapidly for several miles before noticing several other fresh trails coming together. The terrain remained level with grass as far as they could see. Suddenly, they came upon a wide canyon. Dismounting, Charlton left Job in charge of the horses and, with Johnson, crept "on hands and knees to the edge of the precipice."[20] The canyon at that point dropped about 1,500 feet and stretched one-half mile wide, according to Charlton's estimate. He saw hundreds of horses grazing near a stream on the canyon floor, but from that distance they looked "no larger than chickens."[21]

Charlton and the scout backed off cautiously and made a run for their horses. They reported quickly to Mackenzie, who immediately marched his men all night, before reaching the edge of Palo Duro Canyon about daybreak. With the scouts, a sleepless Charlton rode slightly in advance of the main column. Upon reaching the canyon, Mackenzie rode over to the scouts as they approached the canyon and ordered Thompson to take his men down and open the fight.[22]

A rocky buffalo trail was the only way to enter the canyon, so the men began descending in single file. When the scouts reached a point about two-thirds of the way down, an Indian sentinel to their left noticed them, bolted to his feet from behind a rock and uttered a war-whoop that echoed all through the canyon. The scouts silenced his yells with a bullet that awakened the entire camp. Charlton admitted to a lump in his throat as he descended into the canyon of startled Indians. On reaching the canyon floor, the troopers formed companies and commenced to fight when enough men completed their single file trip down the precipitous trail.[23]

At the urging of his best friend, a scout named Jack Comfort, Charlton and Comfort began firing at an exposed point. Charlton thought he heard Mackenzie yell for somebody to come back, but his own name was not specifically mentioned, so he followed his friend.

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 107; Strong, *My Frontier Days and Indian Fights on the Plains of Texas*, p. 59.
[23] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), p. 222.

The warriors held their ground for a time to cover the exit of their women and pack animals from the canyon. As they began falling back slowly under the persistent fire of the troops, a herd of frightened Indian ponies ran loose in the canyon. The troopers followed the retreating Indians, and suffered their greatest casualties, because of the numerous snipers hidden in the timber on both sides.[24]

Mackenzie ordered all the lodges and supplies of the Indians burned. Then his men gathered the horses and drove them out of the canyon. Later, Mackenzie ordered over 1,000 horses shot to prevent the Indians from recovering them.

By the time the soldiers left the canyon, darkness approached. For Charlton and the other scouts, over forty-eight hours had elapsed since they enjoyed a good night's sleep. Charlton dozed in his saddle on the ride back to camp. Mackenzie periodically tapped him on the shoulder and told him to wake up his men to see after the horses.[25]

In camp, Mackenzie ordered Charlton to report to Thompson, and had him arrested for failing to follow orders in the canyon and turn back when Mackenzie had called him and Comfort. Though Thompson released him within two hours, Charlton later called Mackenzie "an unappreciative, hard man" and said he often felt that it was no use trying to please him.[26] Thompson, easier to please, informed Charlton the day after the battle that he was certain Charlton would get a Medal of Honor for his work that day.[27]

The battle proved decisive.[28] Starving Kiowas, Comanches and Cheyennes, without homes, horses or supplies for the winter, began straggling into Fort Sill to surrender. Nonetheless, most Army commands remained in the field until late December, to complete the mopping up activities.

At one point in the fall of 1874, Mackenzie sent five scouts, including Charlton, to try to find Miles's command. Henry Strong, who apparently was no friend of Charlton, claimed that Charlton quarreled with another scout named Corporal Shields, and they came close to a shooting scrape during the journey. When a snowstorm caught the scouts on the plains, they took turns riding and then running alongside their horses so that both men and animals could make it back to camp. Strong claimed that only he

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[24] Charlton, *The Old Sergeant's Story, Winning the West from the Indians and Bad men in 1870 to 1876*, p. 108; Ernest Wallace, ed., "Mackenzie's Journal of Campaign: Part I, The First Expedition, September 20–29, 1874," *Ranald S. Mackenzie's Official Correspondence Relating to Texas, 1873–1879* (Lubbock: West Texas Museum Association, 1968), pp. 121–124.

[25] Charlton, *The Old Sergeant's Story, Winning the West from the Indians and Bad men in 1870 to 1876*, p. 108

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[28] Richard N. Ellis, *General Pope and U.S. Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), p. 191.

Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie under whom Sergeant Charleton detailed numerous missions with the Fourth Cavalry (Courtesy of United States Signal Corps, Brady Collection, National Archives)

and Comfort stayed in front to urge the men to keep moving toward the column of troops. The others lagged behind because they wanted to make a fire of their saddles and stop until the storm ended. In spite of the hardships, the scouts finally reached Mackenzie's camp.[29]

Charlton's five-year enlistment ended April 14, 1875, at Fort Sill. Ready for civilian life, he left the military and traveled to Leavenworth, Kansas. After purchasing a suit of clothes, much too large for him, he self-consciously thought everyone stared at him as he walked along the streets. Returning to his hotel room, he looked at himself in the mirror, took off the civilian suit and put on his uniform. Then he caught a train and returned to Fort Sill, reenlisting April 23, 1875.[30]

Immediately, Mackenzie asked him if he would undertake quite a dangerous mission. According to Charlton, Mackenzie wanted him to go with a half-blood interpreter named J. J. Sturm and two Comanches to the camp of Mow-wi, a renegade Comanche who had not yet surrendered with his Kwahadi band. Sturm filed a report after the mission and did not mention Charlton as a part of it. Thus, a discrepancy exists in their accounts as to whether the two men went together on this particular mission. Charlton later wrote that he, Sturm and two Comanches traveled west from Fort Sill, and on the third day, found Mow-wi's camp. The Comanches placed them in a guarded lodge while Mow-wi called his tribe in for a conference. For three days, Charlton and his friends, although well fed, worried about what would happen to them if the Indians decided not to go to the reservation. Finally, after much yelling and shouting, Mow-wi came to their tepee and told them that they would accept Mackenzie's terms. They made the trip to Fort Sill with Mow-wi and his tribe in four days.[31] This mission

[29] Strong, *My Frontier Days and Indian Fights on the Plains of Texas*, pp. 75–76.

[30] Charlton, *The Old Sergeant's Story, Winning the West from the Indians and Bad Men in 1870 to 1876*, p. 142.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 113–114. Henry Strong apparently did not like Charlton, for he said, "The statement about being captured by Old Moway is false," and added that Charlton had a "yellow streak" up his back. Strong, *My Frontier Days and Indian Fights on the Plains of Texas*, p. 51. The Special Orders issued at Fort Sill by Mackenzie for the trip detail Dr. J. J. Sturm and three Comanches to go on April 23. Then on April 26, Charlton and nine enlisted men are ordered to leave at 2:00 p.m. with six days rations on detached service "under special instructions from the commanding officer." But the very next day, April 27, Charlton is detailed for special duty and is to report to the post commander for orders. The explanation might be that Mackenzie had already issued orders to Sturm to go, but when Charlton arrived and reenlisted, Mackenzie sent him along too after changing his mind about sending him out with nine enlisted men. This is the only way to make Charlton's account of it fit with the dates of the Special Orders. It is entirely possible that Charlton went on a similar mission as Sturm and forgot with whom he traveled. Forty-six years had elapsed between the trip and Charlton's telling of it. Special Orders issued by Mackenzie are not specific enough either to confirm or deny just which mission Charlton accomplished in April, 1875. He did have an individual assignment in late April, which, if not to Mow-wi's camp, no doubt further the same general purpose of rounding up the straggling

represented one of the last events of the Red River War, and with the surrender of Mow-wi's band, the campaign had ended.

By June, 1875, all renegade bands of Indians had straggled into Fort Sill.[32] Sheridan called the war the "most successful of any Indian campaign in this country since its settlement by the whites" and gave "much credit to the officers and men engaged in it."[33]

The Red River War could be contrasted with an earlier army campaign a decade before in the Powder River area of the Dakota Territory where, although the army employed a similar strategy of converging columns, the campaign failed. Pope, also a part of the earlier campaign, faced supply troubles as well, but the men constituted the main difference in the two expeditions. Pope used "Galvanized Yankees," who were Confederate enlisted men recruited during the winter at the prisoner-of-war camp at Rock Island, Illinois. Forming them into infantry regiments under federal officers, the men had neither their heart in their fighting nor knew anything of plains warfare.[34] Even the Northern soldiers in the Powder River campaign of 1864–1865 behaved rebelliously after April, 1865, because, although the Civil War had ended, they had not been released. As a result, they deserted by the hundreds.[35]

Thus, it was the caliber of men engaged in the Red River War that made the difference between success and failure. The excellent strategy of a pincer movement could only succeed if implemented by determined officers and enlisted men, of whom Charlton is as good an example as any. The Red River War employed well-disciplined and experienced army regulars. Of the four factors necessary for success against the Indians—strategy, supplies, unity of command and the men—two factors represented pluses, and two constitued minuses in this campaign. No unity of command existed in the field once the campaign began, for each commander kept wondering where the others operated.[36] Pope gave detailed instructions to his three subordinate columns, but Augur did not. In addition, all columns faced severe supply problems.[37] An excellent pincer strategy had failed once before in the

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Indian bands that had not yet submitted to reservation life. Then on May 13 Mackenzie ordered Charlton and his scouting friend John Comfort to take three days rations and go in search of horse thieves who could have been either Indian or white.

[32] Leckie, *Military Conquest of the Southern Plains*, p. 74.

[33] United States Government, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1875* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 58.

[34] Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue, The United States Army and the Indian, 1848–1865* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), p. 308.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 310.

[36] Taylor, "The Indian Campaign on the Staked Plains," p. 63. *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 63.

[37] United States Government, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for 1874*, p. 41.

Powder River area, so the strategy itself did not guarantee success. Thus, the men were the difference.

What of Charlton after the Red River War ended? He served under Mackenzie at Fort Sill until the spring of 1876 when he again decided that he wanted out of the service, even though over four years remained of his five-year enlistment. Charlton said that his father had just died and his mother needed him at home. He did not stay with his mother long, for he traveled throughout the West and then went on to Alaska, Australia and Mexico. In 1883, an old army friend reported him in Lordsburg, New Mexico, with a contract to grade some roads.[38] He came back to Texas in 1884 and settled at Uvalde, as a rancher.[39] In 1892, when he was forty-four, he married a girl of seventeen. Their marriage lasted nearly thirty years until his death in 1922 at age seventy-three.[40]

Sergeant Charlton won no Medal of Honor—although he thought he should have. Nonetheless, he represented the collective experience of the enlisted men, which during the campaign contributed greatly to its success. Because he was one of the few enlisted men in Mackenzie's column of the larger campaign who told a part of his story, he provided a lasting contribution to posterity for his brief part in it.

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[38] Strong, *My Frontier Days and Indians Fights on the Plains of Texas*, p. 53.

[39] Charlton, *The Old Sergeant's Story, Winning the West from the Indians and Bad Men in 1870 to 1876*, p. 11.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

AN ACT MAKING THE KILLING A PERSON FOR A WITCH A CAPITAL OFFENCE

Sec. 3—Be it enacted by the General Council of the Choctaw Nation assembled, that any person or persons who shall kill another for a witch or wizard, shall suffer death.

And any person who shall publicly state that he himself or she herself is a witch or wizard, or shall say that such a person or persons are witches or wizards, and he or she knows it to be so, shall receive sixty lashes on the bare back.

Approved November 6, 1834 *Laws of the Choctaw Nation*

ALBUQUERQUE, SITE OF EIGHTH NIEA CONVENTION

The Eighth Annual National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Convention will be held during September 27–30, 1976 at the Albuquerque Convention Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The NIEA Board of Directors made the announcement on January 24, 1976 after a month of deliberations with representatives from Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Denver and Albuquerque.

Albuquerque was the site of the Third NIEA Conference in 1971. It is a city rich in the heritage of the Southwest American Indian, located amidst the splendor of Pueblo, Apache and Navajo life. The American Indians of New Mexico have characterized the essence of Indian education today by nurturing educational programs and innovations that are unequaled anywhere in the nation.

Delegates to the Eighth Annual NIEA Convention are urged to begin planning early, prior to the close of school for the summer, since this year's meeting will fall in September.

For further information, please contact:
Executive Director
National Indian Education Association
1115 Second Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55603
(612) 333-5341

NEW MEMBER ELECTED TO BOARD

Jack T. Conn

A native of Ada, Oklahoma, Jack T. Conn was a graduate of the University of Oklahoma and a long-time associate in the legal firm headed by the late Senator Robert Kerr. Now residing in Oklahoma City where he is Chairman of the Board of the Fidelity Bank, he is active in historic and preservation affairs, a prime interest of his. He is presently serving as Chairman of the Oklahoma City Bicentennial Commission and is engaged in many Bicentennial efforts in the central Oklahoma area.

AUTOMATIC TORNADO DESTROYER INVENTED

Derived from the Latin word *tornare,* which means to turn or twist, this most violent of atmospheric phenomena seems to be almost a North American specialty. Tornadoes occur more often in the United States than anywhere else in the world; however, they are the special scourge of the Plains States, particularly of central Oklahoma—more tornado-prone than any other area of comparable size in the world. Longtime residents of tornado country quickly recognize "tornado weather" when the air seems oppressive, sultry, uncomfortably warm and humid.

The earliest account of a tornado in America was given by a colonist who described a whirlwind striking a meetinghouse in Massachusetts in 1643, killing an Indian. At that time the wind was looked upon as more a curiosity than a significant event, but later, when the early pioneers journeyed into the Central Plains and saw the violent behavior of these tornadoes, they began to regard the storms with awe.

Today, the National Severe Storms Laboratory located in Norman, Oklahoma seeks to learn what makes tornadoes tick and the National Severe Storms Forecast Center in Kansas City, Missouri maintains a ceaseless vigil, constantly analyzing atmospheric conditions across the country and coordinating the reports of hundreds of local Skywarn networks. But at the turn of the century, when the only forecast was a "sticky" or "threatening" feeling and the vigil was from one's kitchen door, citizens must have read with considerable interest the following article which appeared in *The El Reno News* on May 24, 1900:

> An Oklahoman has invented an automatic destroyer of funnel shaped clouds. His theory is that an explosion near a tornado will dissipate it. He would place explosive torpedoes on poles surrounding houses, the explosion of the torpedoes to be done by the tornado.

COLONEL ZACK MILLER ONCE SOLD MEXICAN WAGONS BY THE ACRE

Ponca City, Oklahoma (AP)—Wagons are still sold in Oklahoma, but not at $500 an acre, as Colonel Zack Miller sold them after he bought the equipment of an entire Mexican army back in 1916, when the Miller brothers did things in a big way.

That was in the days when Colonel George Miller was handling the financial reins of the ranch, and buying on a large scale and making his sales even larger. Colonel Zack likes to tell of his buying the entire Mexican federal army, though, he says, it was really just the wagons, harness, livestock, saddles, rifles, side arms, ammunition, uniforms, and a few other items of equipment, for 5,000 men.

The Colonel, then a traveling representative of the ranch in Texas markets, was buying mules from Mexican traders who "sneaked" them, as it was called, across the international boundary, and sold them to American ranchers.

Colonel Zack was visiting the general in command of the United States army detachment which was at the scene of military operations on the American side of the river, and was sitting with him during the afternoon, watching the battle from the shade of ordnance pieces drawn up in readiness should either army retreat across the river, when the rebels launched a flank attack and cut off the wagon train of the federal army, running it into the river and to the American side.

United States soldiers surrounded the troops as they landed on the American side, capturing the horses, dogs, chickens and women and children who were with the wagon train and placing them under guard. The Mexican

consul was consulted, and was on his way to the camp when his car overturned, killing him and leaving the affairs in the hands of a very youthful secretary.

Noticing the youth's perplexity, Colonel Zack offered $40,000 in gold for the entire outfit, knowing it to be worth more than that intrinsically, and wanting the equipment for the 101 Ranch Show, then at the height of its fame. A wire to Mexico City arranged the sale, and confirmation was obtained from Colonel George at the home ranch.

With the completion of the purchases, the Colonel was the owner of the complete equipment, except the uniforms which the soldiers wore as they marched off to San Antonio for future release. The nondescript collection ranged from frying pans to machine guns, and from ox carts to Conestoga wagons of pre-Oregon trail days.

But with an eye for quick sale and small profits easily realized, Miller was quick to take an offer of another ranchman to buy the entire caravan of rolling stock, which filled a small valley near the river. Being offered so much for each wagon, Miller objected, naming as his price for the lot, $500 an acre, for approximately five acres. This novel offer appealed to the other, and he accepted.

The more valuable part of the purchase, the livestock, were delivered to Miller in San Antonio by the military force, but were delayed while the Texas Ranchers' association cut out stock stolen from them by raiders from Mexico.

The rest of the cargo was dispatched by freight, including arms and ammunition, and other equipment, and a crew of hard-riding Oklahoma cowboys arrived from the home ranch to handle the mules and horses.

McAlester News-Capital, Wednesday, October 26, 1932.

SHOOTING MATCHES

Shooting matches were frequently held in the Tahlequah district in Indian Territory times. The marksmen who made the best scores were rewarded with portions of beef.

A man who owned a fat steer or cow, or a well-grown yearling or two year old, desiring to obtain the worth of the animal in money, made announcement that a shooting match would be held on a given date. A good-sized crowd of men usually assembled at the designated place. Each man who desired to enter the contest paid a specified sum for each shot he wished to fire at a mark. When the sum desired by the owner of the animal had been subscribed the competitors made ready for the match.

Each man furnished his own target, which was usually a clapboard made of oak or yellow pine. These boards were slightly charred in fire, so as to become uniformly black. A cross mark was then made upon a small piece of white paper which was placed in the center of the board. The board was then attached to the trunk of a tree at whatever distance had been agreed upon, and soon the match was under way.

After each shot the boards were carefully and closely examined by men who acted as judges, and who noted how near the bullet came to the center of the cross-mark. In some matches there were skilled marksmen who sent their bullets exactly to the center, but in other instances the center was not reached. Several hours were usually devoted to firing at the marks, and upon conclusion the judges carefully compared the bullet holes in the various boards and announced the winners.

In some contests one man alone outshot all competitors and won the entire animal. In such instances the winner did not slay the steer or cow but drove it to his home. Such successful marksmen were said to be "driving home the beef." But rather often there were several winners in a shooting match, and after the animal was slain portions were awarded to various persons. One man had won a hindquarter, another a shoulder, yet another a portion of the ribs. Another had not won a choice portion of beef but had succeeded in winning the hide and tallow. Everyone could not expect to win and consequently there were some who received nothing in return for the money expended in buying chances to fire winning bullets.

A favorite season for holding shooting matches was in the mid-autumn time, when the days were clear, bright and cool. Not only did young men participate in shooting matches, but middle-aged and elderly men entered the contests in some instances.

Turkey shooting matches were also indulged in the favorite season for the event was just before Thanksgiving or Christmas. The procedure was the same as in the shooting matches for animals with the exception that the sum agreed upon for firing bullets was much smaller and the winner received the whole fowl.

Muzzel-loading rifles were the favorite firearms used in the matches of many years ago. The majority of the marksmen declared that the old-style weapons were more accurate than were the more modern rifles which were beginning to be used by some people.

Indian Pioneer History
Grant Foreman Collection
Oklahoma Historical Society

MARCH TO MASSACRE. By William H. Guthman. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975. Pp. xii, 275. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. $19.95.)

William H. Guthman is a history buff. His book, *March to Massacre*, has all the strengths and weaknesses of buff history. Mr. Guthman has been interested in early American military history since 1951. Since 1966, he has devoted his full time to writing, researching and collecting in this field. His efforts, combined with those of his publisher, McGraw-Hill, have produced a coffee table book which transcends that genre.

Coffee table books are usually expensive, profusely illustrated, attractively bound books whose function is to sit on the coffee table in mute testimony to the intellectual bent of the host or hostess. While Martinis are being mixed or hors d'oeuvres are being prepared, the guests are expected to occupy themselves leafing through the coffee table book admiring the pictures and reading dips and dabs of information that are scattered throughout the text. *March to Massacre* is ideally suited to this function. In fact, reading this book must be like wandering through Mr. Guthman's home with him as as a guide and asking questions about the numerous items of military memorabilia which he has collected and used to illustrate his book. It reallys seems to make little difference where one begins or ends. If one looks long enough *March to Massacre* will eventually yield up all it has to offer, and that is considerable.

An index, footnotes and a bibliography are included to aid the reader. One should not be misled by these outward signs of academic origins. Mr. Guthman is an amateur and brings to this study an enthusiasm for details and trivia, along with a sort of eccentricity peculiar to many such labors of love that give the book its merit. The book is not a scholarly analysis of the first seven years of the United States Army as the title might indicate. That is something that will have to be left to the professionals. But I suspect that when that book is written it may be more informative, it may be better organized, but it will not be half as much fun to read.

Robert T. Smith
Eastern Montana College

FRANCOIS X. AUBRY: TRADER, TRAILMAKER AND VOYAGEUR IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1846–1854, Vol. XVI of the *Western Frontiersmen* Series, by Donald Chaput (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1975. Foreword. Illustrations. Footnotes. Appendices. Bibliography. Index. Pp. 249. $8.95.)

As the United States surged initially into the Southwest in the first half of the nineteenth century, men like Kit Carson and John C. Fremont emerged as dominant personalities, and even after death, the historian perpetuated both the men and their deeds. But a contemporary of these, F. X. Aubry, had to wait for Donald Chaput's volume in the Arthur H. Clark *Western Frontiersmen Series* to resurrect him from obscurity.

Although Chaput, as the senior curator in the Natural History Museum at Los Angeles and a publishing western historian, is well qualified, the task required a Herculean effort in research and writing. He found that no major collection of Aubry material survived, probably a result of his untimely death; useful material, however, was available but scattered in various archives from California to Quebec, Aubry's birthplace. Also of use were Aubry's journals, as well as contemporary accounts such as newspaper collections in New Mexico and Missouri. Clearly through his tenacious searching just to collect the material, Chaput enhances his reputation as a researcher.

Even the most valuable information collected by the most comprehensive research methodology is wasted if the scholar cannot transmit the result in a cohesive manner. Chaput's efforts produced not only a highly readable and interesting story, but an indepth view of Aubry the man. As one of the many French-Candian frontiersmen who roamed the west, Aubry defied the stereotypes applied to others of his nationality. He was well educated, fluent in several languages, moderate in all his actions and a good provider for his mother and younger brothers. Driven by a desire to succeed and to gain public acclaim, he maintained an active interest in exploration, business and trading activities, national affairs and rapid travel. As a rising entrepreneur, he first gained his reputation and wealth as a merchant on the St. Louis—Santa Fe—Chihuahua—California trading routes. His mercantile activities provided a springboard for other facets of Aubry to emerge. His journals and accounts of various trading ventures when printed in newspapers were valuable sources of information on the trade of the period then and now. Moreover, he constantly sought new trails and cut-offs to spread his trade; one such route explored by Aubry along the Thirty-fifth Parallel was later followed by the Santa Fe Railroad. His quest for speed gained for him a reputation as a fast traveler, and his record five day horseback trip from

Santa Fe to Independence still stands. In fact, it is argued that his ride and the technique of relay mounts furnished the genesis for the Pony Express. Chaput shows Aubry to have been a frontiersman *par excellance* who, if he had not died so young, would have continued as a part of the American frontiers regardless of their location.

Beside the main text, several valuable additions enhance the value of the book. A concluding chapter provides short biographical sketches of personalities with whom Aubry associated, among them Simon Buckner and Alexander Majors. Two appendices provide a chronology of Aubry's life and appraisals of his exploits by his contemporaries, while a third gives some of the shorter, earlier Aubry journals. A solid bibliography and acceptable index round out an excellent book. The book exhibits the typical superior quality of earlier Clark publications.

H. Glenn Jordan
Western History Collections
University of Oklahoma

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS OF MORMON GROUP LIFE. By E. E. Ericksen. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1975. Pp. xxii, 101. Illustration. Index. $6.50.)

In providing a short, but excellent, history of the Mormons, his religious ancestors, E. E. Erickson maintained that environment rather than revelation shaped the Morman experience. In this publication of his 1922 doctoral dissertation, he explained how an evangelical atmosphere influenced the prophet and spiritual leader Joseph Smith, thus excusing the peculiar nature of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Saints. Apparently familiar with the Turner Thesis, he showed how the frontier affected the Saints in Clay, Jackson and Caldwell counties, Missouri; Nauvoo, Illinois; and the Great Salt Lake Valley. Both internal and external conflicts, according to Ericksen, molded their attitudes and institutions. Thus polygamy, socialism and theocracy were, as far as Brigham Young was concerned, logical responses to the challenges of their environment. But divisions developed within the church by the early twentieth century when urbanization along with prosperity made their solutions to typical problems of pioneers no longer necessary. Yet, many Mormons retained a devotion to or a psychological dependence on their unique, if anachronistic, institutions.

More importantly, however, this work was an unusual insight into the social philosophy and systematic theology of the author who was a rare

intellectual phenomenon—a Mormon liberal. In fact, it served as a statement against conservatism and dogmatism in the hierarchy of his church. He was, according to Sterling M. McMurrin, professor of philosophy at the University of Utah and author of the introduction, highly unorthodox when compared to the elders, for he was both a naturalist and a humanist. Clearly, his ethical judgments came from the needs of society and not from the authority of religion. And as he received his Doctor of Philosophy in philosophy from the University of Chicago soon after John Dewey departed, he accepted the tenets of pragmatism. In the course of his career as professor of philosophy at the University of Utah, he considered many of the Mormon intellectuals as "scholastics," defending their faith blindly, without creative or critical activity. And although this work reflected the typical pragmatist faith in science and progress, even though suffering from a didactic approach common to some doctoral dissertations, Ericksen has still offered a brief survey of Mormon history and a clear presentation of the philosophy of enlightened Mormon thought.

Richard Bailey
Texas Christian University

CRIMSON DESERT: INDIAN WARS OF THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST. By Odie B. Faulk. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. Pp. xi, 237. Illustrations. Maps. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $8.95.)

A hot August day of 1862 found Mangas Coloradas, the famed Apache chief, being lured into the camp of bluecoat soldiers under a flag of truce. Once into camp, the trusting warrior was seized treacherously and securely held captive. General Joseph R. West was elated over the capture of this fierce warrior, and his soldiers savagely savored the opportunity to torture the Indian by heating their bayonets in the glowing fire and placing the fiery steel on the chief's feet. The general told his troops "Men, that old murderer has got away from every soldier command and has left a trail of blood for five hundred miles on the old stage line. I want him dead or alive tomorrow, do you understand. *I want him dead*." And, indeed the next morning Mangas was dead! This is but one of the many fascinating accounts dealt with in this exceptional study so appropriately titled, *The Crimson Desert*. Blood flowed from the veins of soldiers and Indians alike as they clashed in heated battle, thus making the desert run red with the life sustaining liquid.

Odie Faulk, professor of history at Oklahoma State University and author of over twenty books on the American Southwest, has captured in this illuminating volume some of the most exciting, yet tragic sagas in Western American history. Faulk provides a summary and synthesis of the three tribes that posed the greatest resistance to white domination in the Southwest—the Apaches, the Comanches and the Navajos. Faulk believes that the Anglo-American migration into the Southwest was not a new pattern in the history of the region, for this area had witnessed successive migration of many peoples for over 20,000 years. The great difference, however, was that the migrations of the nineteenth century were made not by Mongolian peoples who had come to the New World via the Bering Strait, but rather from Caucasoid peoples who had migrated westward from the Atlantic Seaboard. Indians had fought and killed other Indians long before the white man discovered the New World, but in the mid-nineteenth century the Indians of the Southwest were confronted with a new enemy that they had never dealt with before—the Anglo-Americans. When these two diverse cultures—one red, one white—met, conflict arose and would continue until one of the two was conquered.

"The wars" Faulk maintains, "were marked by the anguished screams of children seeking parents no longer able to hear; by the moans of teenagers enslaved, even mutilated, by an alien race; and by the cries of soldiers and warriors whose life blood was draining away to crimson the land." Moreover, the author argues that "Each race had its heroes and its villians—and no monopoly on truth and right. Both performed deeds of daring and dishonor, of valor and cowardice, of magnanimity as well as meanness of spirit. And, as always in war, one side won and one side lost." The author has produced an even-handed, descriptive, objective account of the Indian wars of the Southwest. The book is well documented with chapter notes and a sound bibliography; in addition, the work is spiced with several photographs. Odie Faulk as well as his publisher, Oxford University Press, should be congratulated on the production of this handsome volume. The tome is a welcomed addition to Western Americana.

Cliff Trafzer
Arizona Historical Society

THE LIFE OF A COWBOY. By George Phippen. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973. Pp. 104. Illustrations. $15.00.)

This fine book of paintings, drawings and sculpture, the life work of George Phippen, is a fitting tribute to a splendid artist who in the short space of his creativeness left a notable contribution in Western art.

Phippen's work speaks with authority for he has been there. And the feeling that he captures is the aroma of grass blowing in the wind, of sage brush and cactus and a longing to ride on with him into the distant hills and to cross his mountains.

George Phippen's world is sweated horses, stained and lathered saddles and problems of the working cowboy. He takes up where Charlie Russell left off and continues into today's cow outfit of "bob wire" and horse trailer. While he glances occasionally into the past, his most enjoyable statement and the one with which he deals very truthfully and effectively is today's cowboy scene—at least up to the time of his death which wasn't very long ago.

Here is a capable western artist who believed that to truly present the "feel," one must experience it. Phippen has tasted it, smelled it and done it—and he is certainly qualified to record it in his work. No armchair artist is Phippen—not from photographs or post cards in a big city studio but first hand encounter did he faithfully put down his impressions, sharing his experiences and passing them on to an appreciative audience not yet born.

Some will bemoan that George Phippen's life was snuffed out just when he was beginning, but that time that he did take was put to good use and will serve as a useful part of the West's colorful past.

The book is a bargain for $15.00, adding to any collector of Western Art a quality that would win the approval of Charlie Russell himself for George Phippen was Charlie's kind of man.

Yet, it is a shame that a biography of George Phippen did not accompany his paintings, drawings and sculpture. Many young artists as well as collectors would like to know about his early life, art training and family.

Frederic Olds
Oklahoma Territory Museum

NOT FOREVER ON EARTH. By Shirley Gorenstein. Photographs by Lee Bolton. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975. Pp. xvi, 155. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Tables. Glossary. Index. $7.95.)

Professor Gorenstein, an associate professor of anthropology at Columbia University, has provided here a brief account of the prehistory of Mexico and the history and methodology of archaeology in that country It is a pleasant, readable work suitable for the beginning student or the layman.

One of the best parts of the book is the brief introduction to the field of archaeology—its methods, work and approach. The survey of archaeological works in Mexico is interesting and useful as a point of departure for those

interested in more serious work and the casual reader will find the story worthwhile.

Professor Gorenstein may have set herself too ambitious a task in so short a book when she set out to write "about the unique culture history of pre-Hispanic Mexico and the development of its complex society." While she has stressed the lack of uniform cultural development, she has done little more than hit the predictable high spots.

The story of man in Mexico before 1500 B.C. is predictably scanty and highly conjectural due to the broad area involved and the relative scarcity of archaeological materials. The emergence of the Olmec culture provides a real beginning for discussion of civilization in Mexico. Unfortunately, this book sheds little light on who the Olmecs were or why they were responsible for the cultural leap they represented. The emergence of Teotihuacan and Monte Albán are only touched upon and again much of the mystery surrounding their development remains undisclosed.

The better known development of the Mayas is covered from their appearance in the lowlands to their decline by 900 A.D. The rise of the Toltecs and the work done at Tula is surveyed. The famous sites at Mitla and Cholula are simply mentioned as evidence that Toltec influence was not exclusive. The study concludes with the introduction of the Aztecs, the growth of their capital at Tenochtitlán and the spread of their influence.

This book, as a survey of archaeological work, does not compare favorably with the many other, more detailed and more important, books on the subject. It also falls short as history; even the short chapter in Robert E. Quirk's *Mexico* tells more about the Indians of Mexico and their contributions than does Professor Gorenstein.

The bibliography is limited at best.

The photographs by Lee Bolton are very good, though often of predictable subjects. A few, however, are novel and not found in even larger collections.

Ed Cadenhead
University of Tulsa

THE PAPERS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS: JUNE 1841–JULY 1846, VOLUME II, Edited by James T. McIntosh. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974. Pp. xxxix, 806. Illustrations. Maps. Appenices. Sources. Index. $20.00.)

In 1971 the initial work of this series appeared as a revision of Dunbar Rowland's monumental ten volume production, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist.* In 1974 the second book of a projected twenty volume compilation

appeared, and this newest collection of Davis' papers lives up to the hopes raised by the first book.

Volume two carries forward Davis' life from June, 1841, until July, 1846, when he left Congress to serve in the Mexican-American War. By June, 1841, Davis' education, both formal and that imparted by his eldest brother Joseph Emory Davis, had been completed, and Jefferson Davis was beginning to enter into politics. This work does an admirable job in well chronicling the first faltering steps of a man unknowledgable as to political ways who sought to stand upright and move forward in accordance with his brother's wishes.

Emerging from these documents is a man who, his education completed, seeks only to live up to what is expected of him. The few times that any real life comes into this collection is when Davis writes to his love, Varina Banks Howell, who was to become his second wife. It is here that Davis lets some of his inner self come through and shows that he is less of a shell than his other letters imply. Even his love letters to Sarah Knox Taylor, his first wife, as contained in the first volume of this work, do not show the same fire that is seen here. Above all else these papers depict a formal and reserved man willing to do his duty as it has been explained to him, but taking no real joy in accomplishing it. However, after his marriage to Varina Banks Howell, even the tone of his other papers changes slightly to one that is a bit less formal and more relaxed.

The period of Davis' life covered in this second volume is one of a coming together and maturing of the forces that had been introuced into his personality from his earlier education. A new political life was launched, and Davis adjusted quickly to this. Just how much of this change can be attributed to his second marriage can not be said, but one suspects it was sizeable.

Nothing but praise can do justice to this work. In an attempt to correct any errors that have appeared in the printed record, the editor has gone back to the original source as much as possible. And when this was not available, that fact is clearly noted. Rowland's work has long been the standard source for any treatise on Davis, but this new compilation will overshadow it when it is completed. Just the first two volumes as already published have added much to our knowledge of the formative period of Davis' mind. The remaining chapters of this fascinating story are eagerly awaited by one and all.

James F. Morgan
Newport Beach, California

THE DEAN, THE LIFE OF JULIEN C. MONNET, By Dave R. McKown. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973, Pp. xiii, 294. Illustrations. $7.95.)

Having been one of Dean Monnet's "boys," as he affectionately considered his students, it is a matter of special pleasure to me to realize that an adequate chronicle of the life and times of our beloved "Dean" is now at hand. Of much broader interest than just to those who are graduates of the University of Oklahoma School of Law, this volume satisfies an otherwise empty gap in the shelf of biographies of eminent Oklahomans.

Julien Claude Monnet came to Oklahoma University from George Washington University in 1909. He had been invited by the Board of Regents to complete the organization and head the newly created School of Law. The choice was indeed a fortunate one for Oklahoma. The style, character and mold of the entire profession of jurisprudence in Oklahoma was destined to reflect his image and character.

He had more to do than organize just the School of Law with the selection of faculty and the enrolling of students. He also had to build a building to house the newly created department. In use yet today, and proudly bearing the name of Monnet Hall, the building itself reflects his character and craftsmanship.

For thirty-two years he guided the destinies of the institution. They were all crucial and formative years, as he saw the law in Oklahoma evolve from that of a rugged frontier society to one of sophistication and urbanity. He kept astride in every particular.

When I first learned of the projected volume and its preparation by Dave McKown, the Dean's son-in-law, I viewed the project with some indifference, as there is always a natural suspicion attached to any biography written by a member of the immediate family. Such here is certainly not the case, and I especialy commend Dave McKown for a factual, scholarly, objective and fascinating product. I started reading with apathy, but before chapter four had been reached it was realized that here was a book that would be hard to lay aside before the final page was reached. It was enjoyed immensely, and I am sure that this feeling is shared by all colleagues of the law throughout the land. I am grateful that the Dean had a part in the making of the heritage of Oklahoma and feel honored to know that I was one of his boys.

George H. Shirk
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE PASSENGER PIGEON: ITS NATURAL HISTORY AND EXTINCTION. By A. W. Schorger. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973. Pp. ix, 424. Illustrations. Tables. Bibliography. Index. $9.95.)

In an age of environmental awareness it is appropriate that Schorger's pioneer work on the passenger pigeon be reprinted. When it first appeared in 1955, the word ecology was not in the vocabulary of most Americans and most scholarly treatises on extinct or endangered species were confined to scientific journals and buried doctoral disserations. Because of current interest in the preservation of wildlife, the reading public has re-discovered natural as evidenced by the recent popularity of Tom McHugh's *The Time of the Buffalo.*

Schorger will probably tell most readers more than they want to know about the passenger pigeon. For example, only ornithologists will be interested in the anatomy and physiology of the passenger pigeons or the chemical composition of the pigeon's milk. Not everyone will be interested in wading through an entire chapter devoted to the food habits of the bird.

Most of the book, however, deals with such matters as early explorer and traveler descriptions of the bird, man's uses of the pigeon and causes for the extinction of the species. Those interested in agricultural history may gain new insights into land settlement patterns. The pigeon roosts which stretched through thousands of acres of dead forests were highly prized for their rich soil by farmers. The reading public will do well to ponder the fact that the extinction of the passenger pigeon was caused not by hunters, but by farmers who prized the roosts and by a market economy which demanded squabs for the table.

The weakness in Schorger's book is that it lacks a firm historical framework. For example, in accounts of early explorers' observations, he simply quotes at length from each. But this fault is that of a biologist untrained in history and should not detract from the massive research which went into this work. It does indicate, however, the kind of interdisciplinary training necessary for putting an ecoolgical subject within a historical perspective. In view of the need for understanding the biotic relationships of man to his environment today we must first know someting of our historical ecological roots.

Donald E. Green
Central State University

FIRE AND THE SPIRITS, CHEROKEE LAW FROM CLAN TO COURT. By Rennard Strickland. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1975, Pp. xi, Illustrations. Maps. Photographs. Endnotes. Appendices. Bibliography. Index. $9.95.)

Rennard Strickland's background as a professor of law coupled with his own Cherokee ancestry and extensive research has resulted in a unique book. The author relies on the official records and papers of the Cherokee Nation in tracing the emergence of the Cherokee legal system.

The prehistoric origin of the Cherokee people is unknown, shrouded in mystery. Deep belief in supernatural forces, spirit beings and magic was the norm. To the Cherokee, law was the earthly representation of a divine spirit order. There was no question of man being able to create laws because to the Cherokee the code of behavior was a sovereign command from the Spirit World. The clan was without doubt the major institution exercising legal power. The Spirit World was often called upon to atone for deviations affecting the community, the clan and the individual. In this book you will find examples of Cherokee Clan deviations and punishments.

The Cherokee legal system, emerging from clan to court went through many stages. A number of significant influences were responsible. Among those were a changing economic base, intermarriage with the whites, missionary pressure and government policy. The Cherokee people adapted their culture to meet the demands of an ever merging white civilization. Even the conservative full bloods came to believe in the necessity of convincing white society of tribal progress in adopting laws as the means to prevent removal from tribal lands.

Further enchancement of the Cherokee legal system resulted from Sequoyah's invention of the Cherokee Syllabary, a means whereby the written language could easily be learned. However, as soon as the Cherokees adapted their culture so that they could survive as a people, whites stepped in and through force of arms or legislation destroyed what the Cherokees had accomplished.

The triumph of the Cherokees is that they have been able to survive, coming back fiercely determined that they will not only survive but prosper. Their culture, like the sacred fire in which they believe, at times appears to die down, but again bursts forth even brighter.

The Cherokee people seem to have an eternal spirit, and the Cherokee experience demonstrates that law cannot be separated from the environment in which it matures.

This author is commended for his book which carefully details the culmination of the traditional tribal rituals with a statutory white-based legal system.

Robert O. Swimmer
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE PIONEERS. Text by Huston Horn. (New York: Time-Life Books, 1974. Pp. 240. Photographs. Index. Sketches. Maps. $9.95.)

Another in the continuing series on "The Old West" by the editors of Time-Life Books, *The Pioneers* examines the huge wave of migration that swept over the Great Plains in the mid-nineteenth century. At the peak of the movement in 1850 approximately 55,000 men, women and children were journeying across the American West on either the Oregon, Santa Fe, Morman, Gila, California or Spanish trails. However, the migration was not without cost for at least 20,000 emigrants—about one in every seventeen—were buried by the wayside. So many succumbed to disease, were killed in accidents or mortally wounded by Indians that it was estimated that there was one grave every eighty yards along the Oregon Trail between the Missouri River and the Wilamette Valley.

At first the wave of humanity bypassed the Great American Desert—the inhospitable region between the One-hundredth Meridan and the Rocky Mountains—and swept on to the rich and fertile farmlands of Oregon and California. However, as the more coveted regions became populated the tide of migration began to ebb and the late comers were forced upon the Great Plains. Treeless, arid and flat the hinderland of the United States offered nothing but hardship and suffering to the early pioneers. Nonetheless, the migration continued and eventually technology overcame the adversity of the region and the Great Plains became the "breadbasket" of America.

The editors of Time-Life Books have produced another excellent volume of "The Old West Series." *The Pioneers* vividly portrays the dangers, hardships and sufferings endured by the early settlers of the American frontier. By itself the book should be of interest to all who are fascinated by western America; however, by placing it within the complete series the entire spectrum of the American West may be viewed.

Jayne W. Franks
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE INDIANS. Text by Benjamin Capps. (New York: Time-Life Books, 1973. Pp. 240. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index.)

Time-Life Books has added to their "Old West" collection, this amply illustrated book entitled *The Indians*. The text as written by Benjamin Capps does not purport to tell or describe every facet of Indian life or to over-generalize tribal customs or atttiudes. Rather Capps remains quite objective and supports his text with often detailed descriptions of events and paraphernalia important to everyday survival and to the traditions by which the Indians lived. In this day of ethnic awareness it is refreshing to see a book that is not steeped in sociological analysis, that presents the reader with apparently factual representations of Indian culture without referring to it in a condescending manner nor rebuking anti-Indian cultures for their part in history.

The text is interwoven with sketches, paintings, black and white and color photographs and is enjoyable for readers of any age. The book is predominantly centered on the Plains Indians but reveals characteristics which might be found among many American-Indian tribes. Capps concentrates in some areas on these similarities and differences between tribes. Some fascinating accounts of Indian-White conflicts are related.

A minor yet irritating flaw in the structure of the book is encountered when the reader finds the continuity of the text interrupted by pages of interjected pictures and side-stories. Some readers of course might prefer this style. Regardless of reading preferences, this book along with the other volumes incorporated in the Time-Life "Old West Series" would make excellent background material for interested young scholars in the family and hours of entertaining and informative reading for adults.

Geary L. Walke
Oklahoma City University

THE EXPRESSMEN. Text by David Nevin. (New York: Time-Life Books, 1974. Bibliography. Illustrations. Index. Maps. $9.95.)

Close on the heels of the end of the Mexican War in 1848 came the rush of the "Forty-niners" to the gold fields of California. Thousands of Americans abandoned their comfortable homes in the East to trudge westward to California. In addition, an active American migration to Oregon and the Southwest had been occurring since the 1830s. As Americans filled the vast expanse of the American West there was some concern raised over whether the United States could effectively rule such a great area. Some argued that

the Rocky Mountains were the natural boundary of the United States and at one time there was a major move to create a separate nation.

The majority of these arguments were based on the huge expanse that would have to be covered to physically join the east and west coasts. So serious was the problem that for several decades the Federal government spent millions of dollars in attempts to determine the best possible route to join the two sections. However, it was not the Federal government which eventually solved the problem, but private business which saw the potential for profit. Into the void between the East and the West stepped the expressmen. "Their freight and stagecoach services moved Eastern goods westward, Western ores eastward, and shuttled people, money and mail both ways." Through their efforts the East and the West were united as one.

This is an often overlooked portion of the settlement of the American West, for though it had its moments of excitement and fame—the pony express—for the most part it was plain hard work, dust and sweat. The editors of Time-Life have recreated this portion of Americana in this volume of the series on "The Old West." The collection of old photographs, maps, paintings and sketches vividly portray the West as it actually was with all its violence, excitement and glory as well as boredom, drudgery and obscurity.

Though *The Expressmen* could stand by itself, when placed alongside the other volumes of "The Old West Series," its importance is only enhanced.

Janet Campbell
Oklahoma Historical Society

THE WESTERN HORSE: ADVICE AND TRAINING. By Dave Jones. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. Pp. viii, 175. Illustrations. Index. $6.95.)

"Horsemanship is common sense and the built in ability to get along with horses. . . . It's patience. It's knowledge and experience." A lot of people dream of training their own horse, and this is one piece of practical advice that the author presents—train your own. An experienced trainer with his own stables in Tallahassee, Florida, Jones has studied with equestrian experts in both North and South America and is a recognized authority on Thoroughbreds, South American Pasoes, Quarter Horses and Arabians. He has produced an interesting mixture of advice, training procedures and anecdotes based on his personal experiences.

One of the most interesting insights into the author's advice on the training of horses, was the discussion of the intelligence of the animal or maybe I should say the intellegence of the trainer. This is especially true in Jones's

theory of the use of reward as opposed to punishment. A horse learns from habit and reward and perhaps the best advice in the book is that a trainer should develop an understanding of why a horse does not perform correctly rather than using a whip.

It is important to note that a horse's usefulness depends to a large extent on its training as a colt. On this theory the author provides some sound advice on handling the pre-riding age colt, the initial training period and advance training for reining, roping and cutting. Intermingled throughout these discussions are pieces of advice on gear and equipment as well as arenas, pastures and stables. The book ends with a discussion of how to handle a horse on the ground—snubbing posts, correls, roping horses to catch, trimming hoofs, hobbles, breeding, feeding and loading.

Full of useful knowledge, the book would be of benefit to anyone interested in horses. Perhaps the only drawback to the work is a lack of glossary, which would enable the novice to follow the narrative without resorting to a dictionary.

Jayne E. White
Union City, Oklahoma

THE FORTY-NINERS. Text by William Weber Johnson. (New York: Time-Life Books, 1974. Pp. 240. Bibliography. Illustrations. Index. Maps. $9.95.)

Then blow, ye breezes, blow
We're off to Californi-o
There's plenty of gold,
So I've been told,
On the banks of the Sacramento.

With songs such as this thousands of Americans rushed to the gold fields of California during the latter 1840s. Discovered by James W. Marshall, who had been hired by John Augustus Sutter to build a mill race on the American River about fifty miles northeast of present-day Sacramento, this gold was to be the main motivation behind the initial American settlement in California. Though Marshall made his find in January, 1848, there was an attempt to keep it secret; however, word spread quickly and thousands simply quit their jobs and left their homes in the quest of fortunes.

In the spring of 1848 there were only a few hundred prospectors in the gold fields, but as word spread the tide swelled and by the end of the year approximately 10,000 people were along the banks of the American

River. However, this was only the beginning. For as thousands of Americans rushed westward so did hundreds of Englishmen, Spaniards and Frenchmen. At the same time many Chinese were hurrying eastward and South Americans rushed northward. This was the first great international gold rush of the nineteenth century that was to produce more gold than the world had ever seen. In addition, the newly found wealth was to initiate that Golden Era in World History known as the gold standard.

From throughout the American West the editors of Time-Life Books have compiled a fantastic collection of sketches, paintings and photographs which vividly portray the excitement of the gold fields. Not only is the daily life of the miners illustrated, but also the hardships of getting to California either by the long journey around South America or overland across the United States, or the dangerous alternative of the fever ridden jungle of Panama where precious weeks could be saved at the risk of ones life. Portraying this vast panorama of Americana, *The Forty-Niners* is a welcome addition to the Time-Life Series on "The Old West."

Kenny A. Franks
Oklahoma Historical Society

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
January 29, 1976

President George H. Shirk opened the January 29, 1976, quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at 10:00 a.m. In keeping with the open meeting policy of the Board he welcomed Ed Montgomery, reporter from *The Daily Oklahoman*, Mrs. Mark R. Everett and Mrs. Dorothy Wilkinson. Mr. Shirk then introduced Mr. Jack T. Conn, attending his first meeting since his election to the Board. Dr. Howard L. Meredith, Director of Preservation Programs, was also present.

Mr. Jack Wettengel, Executive Director, called the roll. Present were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydstun; O. B. Campbell; Jack T. Conn; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; E. Moses Frye; Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. A. M. Gibson; W. E. McIntosh; Dr. James Morrison; Fisher Muldrow; Mrs. Charles Nesbitt; H. Milt Phillips; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; George H. Shirk; and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Joe W. Curtis; W. D. Finney; Nolen J. Fuqua; and John E. Kirkpatrick. Mr. Muldrow moved and Miss Seger seconded to excuse the absent members, and the motion passed.

In the Executive Director's report, Mr. Wettengel said that though no life membership applications were received during the quarter, sixty-one annual applications were received. Mr. Frye moved and Mrs. Bowman seconded to elect the applications to membership in the Society. Motion carried. Mrs. Mary Lee Ervin has transferred from the Library to the Archives and has assisted in gathering material to be microfilmed for the Hargrett Indian documents publication and in work for the Federal Records Center and Archives, Fort Worth, Texas. Plans to accept the A. A. Hopkins Collection were proceeding, as well as preliminary work on the possible microfilming of the Washbourne Collection. Mrs. Elaine Willoughby is the new administrative assistant in the Education Department, helping coordinate the Society's volunteer program, weekly Opening Doors Program of the Oklahoma City public schools and the student intern program. Education Director Bruce Joseph represented the Society at Oklahoma City Arts Council meetings, made final preparations for Hank Wade's *Ship of State on a Sea of Oil*, and the "Town Concert '76" series being held during the winter season in the Society's auditorium. The workload of the Historic

Sites Department has been divided with the addition of Dr. Howard L. Meredith to the staff as Director of Preservation Programs. He and his secretary, Miss Melvena Thurman, will coordinate the National Park Service preservation program with the Society's program. Mrs. Linda Fanselau, secretary, and Mrs. Vickie Sullivan, librarian, have filled vacancies in the Library.

Treasurer Mrs. Bowman reveiwed the balance of the Endowment Trust Fund from June 30, 1975 to December 31, 1975, and also read the total cash receipts and disbursements of the Society's Revolving Fund 200 for each of the three months of the quarter. Mrs. Nesbitt moved that the Treasurer's report be accepted; Dr. Fischer seconded and the motion carried.

Mr. Phillips reported that the Microfilm Department is filming approximately 1,000,000 pages of the state's newspapers each year—600,000 pages of new pages and 400,000 pages backlog.

According to Mr. McIntosh, the Muskogee County Historical Society has requested formal permission to move and restore a log house, located approximately two miles east and two miles south of Fort Gibson near Manard Bayou, to Lot Ten in Block Fifty-four in the Town of Fort Gibson, owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. McIntosh stated that $4,500 had been appropriated by the Legislature to the Society for this purpose. He moved to approve the request, with the provision that operations and maintenance shall be the responsibility of the Muskogee County Historical Society. Mr. Frye seconded the motion to approve the request and the motion was approved.

Mr. McIntosh announced that the Historic Sites Committee has recommended that the Oklahoma Historical Society purchase the M. O. Parris Mound for the State of Oklahoma. This unexplored burial mound, located near Short in Sequoyah County, is estimated to be 800 years old. Dr. Robert E. Bell, head of the Department of Anthropology, the University of Oklahoma, and Dr. Don G. Wyckoff, State Archaeologist, believe that the mound will reveal even more of the Caddoan culture of the area than the famed Spiro Mound. Funds were appropriated by the 1975 Legislature for the purchase of this property. Mr. Muldrow moved to proceed with the acquisition of the Parris Mound from Mr. E. Parris, owner; Mr. Pierce seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. Shirk, chairman of the Publications Committee, announced that the long awaited *Mark of Heritage* has been released and advance orders totalling $2,800 have been filled. This work is available in softback cover for $5.95 and hardback, $10.50, in a limited number. Mr. Shirk said the *Territorial Governors* reprint and the *State Records, Manuscripts and Newspapers at the Oklahoma State Archives and the Oklahoma Historical Society*

are nearly sold out, more than paying for the printing costs. The Department's next project will be the publication of a cumulative index of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 1960–1974.

Dr. Morrison called attention to the fact that a number of historic markers throughout southeastern Oklahoma are missing. Mr. Shirk said that the increasing value of aluminum has led to the vandalism and theft of aluminum markers and that markers of the future would have to be made of granite or some material other than aluminum. Mr. Pierce reported that the grave of Colonel John Drew, a leader in the Battle of Locust Grove, had definitely been established and suggested that the Muskogee County Historical Society of the Oklahoma Historical Society mark the grave.

Only one nomination for the Muriel H. Wright Award for excellence in writing an article appearing in *The Chronicles* in 1975 has been received to date by President Shirk. A check for $200 from the Oklahoma City Community Foundation was handed to Mr. Wettengel by Mr. Shirk, who said that Mr. Foresman had offered to contribute $100 to make the $300 to be awarded to the 1976 recipient of the award.

The Museum Committee had met at 8:45 a.m. prior to the Board meeting, according to Dr. Fischer. He spoke of the new exhibits being planned for an April opening in the Lower Level Hallway and the East Gallery, and of the inventory work of Junior League volunteers under the direction of Mr. Joe Todd. They have contributed a conservation laboratory and their volunteer assistance has nearly doubled the productiveness of the museum staff. He asked for a vote of thanks for their continuing support.

The museum has served as consultant for new museums over the state, has entered into a contract for a new security system for the building, and Dr. Fischer announced that the Mountain Plains Regional Unit of the American Museums Association will hold its annual meeting at the Oklahoma Historical Society Building in October of 1978.

A request had been received from the family of Frank Colbert Baker to return to the family a portrait of Mr. Baker. The Museum Committee believes that Baker's Indian tradition is of historical importance and has determined that the portrait should be retained, but that every effort should be made to give the family an opportunity to have the portrait copied. The new exhibit plans include a small area for a rotating portrait display, and the Society's portrait collection must be kept intact. Mr. Muldrow moved not to return the portrait to the Baker family and Mrs. Nesbitt seconded with the provision that the museum would cooperate with the family in copying the portrait. The motion carried and Mr. Shirk was asked to write a letter to the family advising them of the Board's decision.

Mr. Boydstun referred to an earlier decision of the Board to acquire by

right of eminent domain a nine acre tract of land in Section Eleven, Township Twelve North, Range Seventeen East, in the vicinity of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park. Mr. Wettengel said that the attorney general had recommended that another effort be made to negotiate a purchase of the land. Mr. Boydstun reported such effort was made, with part of the owners in favor and part refusing to sell under any circumstances, and requested Mr. Wettengel to inform the attorney general that condemnation proceedings should be started.

The activities of the Education Department were summarized by Mr. Foresman, who spoke of the need for closer work with state schools in developing the interest shown in many of the schools for a heritage program.

Dr. Gibson gave the report of the Library Committee meeting for Mr. Curtis, who was ill. Mrs. Dorothy Wilkinson and Mrs. Mark R. Everett met with the Committee, all of whom took notes of the discussion on library problems and security. Each member is to submit the notes to Chairman Curtis. Dr. Gibson outlined the categories of material received by the Society's library: materials purchased by library funds, new books and books from various collections, special collections, materials on a loan basis, some on an outright gift basis, some on a share-the-management basis. Mr. Phillips asked what the Society's responsibility was for books not actually belonging to the Society. Dr. Gibson asked Mrs. Wilkinson to explain this responsibility to the Board.

Mrs. Wilkinson stated that a written contract was made with the Oklahoma Historical Society by the Daughters of the American Revolution a number of years ago whereby the Daughters of the American Revolution library would be housed in the Historical Society building in cabinets and shelving supplied by the Daughters of the American Revolution. She recalled that the Oklahoma Genealogical Society collection had lost its identity when it was brought to the Historical Society.

After discussion, Mrs. Nesbitt moved that the Library Committee investigate the status of the library, its contents, collections, problems, its contracts with outside organizations and report back to the Board at the meeting in April, 1976. Mr. Boydstun seconded the motion, which carried.

Portrait Committee Chairman Shirk advised that the Committee recommended that the portrait of J. D. Suggs, Ardmore rancher, offered by members of the Suggs family, be accepted for display at the Chisholm Trail Museum in Waurika. The Committee also recommended the acceptance of a portrait of Judge George Samuel Ramsey, Tulsa attorney, which would be added to the portrait gallery collection. Mrs. Nesbitt moved to accept the portraits with the reservations specified by the Committee; Mr. Muldrow seconded and the motion passed.

Mr. Shirk announced that the final third of a gift of mineral interests in Val Verde County, Texas, from Mrs. Carolyn Skelly Burford had been delivered to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mr. Charles Nesbitt. The deed has been recorded in the office of the County Clerk of Val Verde County, Texas, in volume 292 on pages 49–52, December 15, 1975. The proceeds of the gift will be used for the preservation and care of homes under the control of the Historical Society such as the Frank Phillips home, the Overholser home and the Murray home. Mr. Shirk conveyed the gratitude of the Board members to Mr. Nesbitt through Mrs. Nesbitt for his efforts on the Society's behalf. Mr. McIntosh moved and Mrs. Bowman seconded to accept unanimously this most generous gift. Motion carried.

Mr. Robert G. Elliott, son of Thomas N. Elliott, transitman for the Dawes Commission, has found his father's appointment to the Indian Territory and a letter from the United States Indian Inspector for Indian Territory stating the specified limits of error in connection with the preparation of townsite plats. Mr. Elliott has given these papers to the Society, along with his father's transit and chains. Mrs. Nesbitt moved to accept these documents and artifacts and the motion was seconded by Mr. Frye. The motion carried. Mr. Wettengel was instructed to write a letter of thanks to Mr. Elliott.

Mr. Wettengel requested that the Board approve his certification as the person authorized to sign papers in the acquisition of Federal surplus property for the Oklahoma Historical Society Library. Senator Garrison moved that the Executive Director be named the agent to accept federal surplus property when in his judgment such property would serve a useful purpose in the operations of the Society. Dr. Gibson seconded the motion, which passed. The resolution was signed by President Shirk. Mr. Wettengel said a further requirement was a statement of compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that no person is denied any service of the Oklahoma Historical Society on the ground of race, color or national origin. Mrs. Nesbitt moved and Senator Garrison seconded that the President be authorized to sign this statement.

Mr. Muldrow called the Board members' attention to "House Resolution 10575" before Congress to charter a federal corporation with the authority to acquire the assets of the Jim Thorpe Memorial Oklahoma Athletic Hall of Fame Commission. Mr. Muldrow has contacted members of the Thorpe family who are opposed to the bill and who wish to leave all artifacts in the possession of the state. Oklahoma Congressmen English and James Jones are listed among the sponsors of the bill. Mr. Pierce suggested that a resolution be adopted expressing the Board's opposition to the bill. He also suggested that President Shirk be authorized to discuss the matter with the two Congressmen, explaining the sense and feeling of the Board. Mr. Reaves

asked that a resolution be passed authorizing Mr. Shirk to do whatever he deems is necessary to convey the sense and feeling of the Board that this legislation do not pass. Mr. Conn suggested that the Board contemplate notifying the Congressmen of the Board's objection and also all members of the Oklahoma delegation. Mr. Pierce and Mr. Muldrow moved, seconded by Mrs. Nesbitt, that President Shirk be given authority to contact all members of the Oklahoma delegation and advise them of the feeling of the Board regarding "House Resolution 10575." The motion was carried.

Mr. Shirk laid before the Board an opinion of the attorney general citing the separation of powers clause of the state constitution which states that a member of the legislative branch of state government cannot occupy a position of trust as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, a part of the executive branch of the government. Several members of the Board in the past have been active members of the legislature while serving on the Board. Mr. Shirk said that Senator Herschal B. Crow, elected to the Board in July, 1975, had written him a warm and sincere letter of resignation, and asked the Board to accept Senator Crow's resignation. Mr. Phillips moved that the Board accept with regret Senator Crow's resignation, with a resolution of appreciation for his service to the Oklahoma Historical Society as a member, as a director during his tenure and as a legislator; Senator Garrison seconded, and the motion passed.

Dr. Meredith was invited to display to the Board members the certificates which had been prepared for various sites throughout the state which have been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Dr. Meredith urged each member to take the certificates for his locality, if convenient. Mr. Phillips recalled that the certificates were endorsed by Governor David Boren, who wished that each community having a national site be recognized in some personal way by the state. The type of presentation to the community was left to the individual members.

Mr. Shirk reminded the Board members that, under the constitution, the official tally committee is the President, a Vice President and Treasurer with the Executive Director, who shall count ballots received from members of the Society in an election of five members to the Board of Directors. Over 1,200 ballots were returned and counted on Tuesday, January 27, 1976. The results of the election placed George H. Shirk, H. Milt Phillips, Mrs. Mark R. Everett, Dr. A. M. Gibson and H. Merle Woods on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in terms expiring in January, 1981. Dr. Fischer moved that the report of the tally committee be accepted and the five be declared elected. Mr. Muldrow seconded and the motion was passed. Mr. Shirk introduced Mrs. Everett and invited her to take her seat at the Board.

The officers of the Board of Directors are elected at the January meeting of each even numbered year. Mr. Phillips had been appointed chairman of a committee to nominate officers consisting of Phillips, Mr. Campbell and Mrs. Nesbitt. Mr. Shirk and Mr. Conn were asked to leave the Board Room during the report of the Nominating Committee. Mr. Phillips stated that although Mr. Shirk had submitted a letter of retirement from the office of President, Mr. Shirk recognized that the Oklahoma Historical Society was entering a period of important decision making and accepted the request of the committee to serve as President. The committe also recommended Mr. Finney as First Vice President; Mr. Conn, Second Vice President; and Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer. Senator Garrison moved that the proposed officers be elected by acclamation; Mr. Muldrow seconded and the decision was unanimous.

Dr. Fischer asked that a motion be passed that a resolution be drawn which would recognize Mr. Phillips' long service to the Board. The motion was seconded by Mr. Pierce and adopted unanimously.

Mr. Reeves, so that Mr. Shirk could have the freedom to readjust his cabinet as he chose, submitted to Mr. Shirk his resignation from the Executive Committee. Mr. Shirk accepted the resignation and immediately reappointed Mr. Reaves to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Shirk referred to the constitution's provision that the Board of Directors shall elect members to fill interim vacancies on the Board, while the Society membership shall elect the Board members to the expiring positions.

Mr. Boydstun reminded the Board that he had nominated Mr. Britton Tabor to the Board on a number of occasions to fill the vacancy created by Henry B. Bass. He asked to defer that nomination once again to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Senator Crow and in lieu thereof nominate Miss Genevieve Seger to that vacancy. Senator Garrison moved that Miss Seger be elected by acclamation. Mr. Pierce seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Miss Seger was appointed to the Education and Museum committees by Mr. Shirk, who then appointed Mrs. Everett to the vacancy on the Library Committee left by Miss Seger's transfer to the Museum Committee.

Mrs. Bowman gave a brief report of the Board's flower fund and reported on the cost of a recent election, approximately $500. Mr. Pierce moved to accept the report, seconded by Dr. Fischer, which passed.

Meeting adjourned.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A RESOLUTION EXPRESSING APPRECIATION TO SENATOR HERSCHAL B. CROW FOR HIS SERVICE TO THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

WHEREAS, Senator Herschal B. Crow, Altus, Oklahoma, has served the Oklahoma Historical Society as a faithful member; and

WHEREAS, Senator Crow has served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society during his tenure with distinction and integrity; and

WHEREAS, Senator Crow has supported the Oklahoma Historical Society as a citizen as well as a legislator; and

WHEREAS, Senator Crow has submitted his resignation from the Board of Directors to the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society in compliance with the opinion of the Attorney General citing the separation of powers clause of the state constitution which provides that a member of the legislative branch of state government cannot occupy a position of trust as a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, a part of the executive branch of government.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY THAT THE RESIGNATION BE ACCEPTED WITH REGRET AND TO EXPRESS APPRECIATION TO SENATOR HERSCHAL B. CROW FOR HIS ACHIEVEMENTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA.

Adopted by the Board of Directors the 29th day of January, 1976.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, SECRETARY

A RESOLUTION EXPRESSING RECOGNITION TO H. MILT PHILLIPS FOR HIS LONG SERVICE TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

WHEREAS, H. Milt Phillips, publisher, Seminole, Oklahoma, has been a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society since 1946, a life member of the Society since 1953; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Phillips has served as a member of the Board of Directors since 1950; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Phillips has served as Chairman of the Newspaper and Microfilm Committee, Chairman of the Tour Committee, and a member of the Publications Committee; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Phillips has served as Vice-President of the Board of Directors since April 24, 1958.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TO EXPRESS ITS APPRECIATION TO H. MILT PHILLIPS FOR HIS LONG SERVICE TO THE BOARD, TO THE SOCIETY, AND TO THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA AND ITS PEOPLE.

Adopted by the Board of Directors the 29th day of January, 1976.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, PRESIDENT

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The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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Article VI, Section 5—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma* shall publish the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Society; and shall pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history, including necrologies, reviews, reprints of journals and reports and other activities of the Society. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature.

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Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

VOLUME LIV NUMBER 3 FALL 1976

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Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, fall, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

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VOLUME LIV *Fall, 1976* NUMBER 3

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THE COVER Oklahoma's Bicentennial Commemorative Stamp. Issued by the United States Postal Service at special ceremonies conducted at the National Capitol and the fifty state capitols on February 23, 1976, Oklahoma's stamp is but one of fifty representatives of all the states in the Union. The presentation sheet cancelled at the Oklahoma State Capital has been deposited in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society. (Photograph by Roger M. Myers Studio, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma)

OKLAHOMA'S STATE FLAG AS A COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

*By George H. Shirk**

Oklahoma continues to be among the forefront of its sister states in recognition and special honors from the United States Postal Service.[1] Two recent stamps especially related to Oklahoma were the Butterfield Overland Mail Centennial Stamp issued October 10, 1958 and the special issue commemorating the opening of the Cherokee Strip on September 16, 1893 which was released for sale on October 15, 1968 at Ponca City, Oklahoma.

As part of the Bicentennial observance, proposals had been received for some time by the Postal Service for a special sheet of fifty different stamps, all in full color, depicting the flags of each state. Commemorative stamps are normally in sheets of fifty, and the fortunate circumstance that the Union is now composed of fifty states gave the proposal wide acceptance. The Postal Service desired to delay the project until the first class mail rate was determined, as such uncertainty necessitated the 1975 Christmas stamps appearing without a denomination value.

Such a sheet of 13¢ stamps bearing the flags of each of the individual states was issued by the Postal Service on February 23, 1976 at Washington, D.C. The stamps are arranged in the order of the admission of the states into the Union.

The first day of issue coincided with the plenary session of the mid-winter meeting of the National Governor's Conference. First sales were made at 11:00 in the forenoon, Washington time. The stamps were later placed on sale that same day in the state capitals of all fifty of the states.

Only stamps postmarked on the first day of issue at Washington bear the special cancellation, "First Day of Issue." The first day cancellation applied at the state capitals bears the special legend "50 States—One Nation" with the phrase "USA Bicentennial" appearing as a second line of the cancellation.

For the first time in history, the philatelic sales division of the Postal Service provided sheets of stamps for special cancellation on the first day of issue as an entire sheet. The full panes were affixed to large white envelopes, with each sheet bearing fourteen "bull's eye" cancellations, so that all stamps

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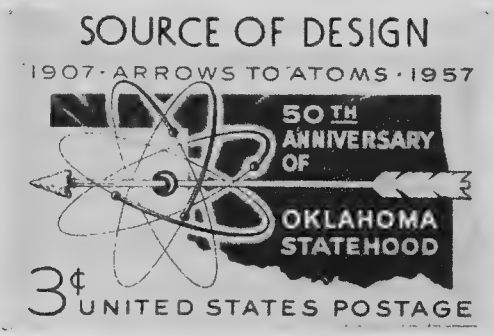
* The author is currently President of the Oklahoma Historical Society and has previously written several articles on Oklahoma's philatelic history.



Several other postal stamps which have commemorated events related to Oklahoma. (top to bottom: first day of issue cover for Oklahoma's Semi-Centennial Stamp of 1957; Oklahoma's Commemorative Semi-Centennial Stamp; Indian Centennial Stamp of 1948; and Will Rogers Commemorative Stamp of 1948)

would in fact be cancelled, and, in addition, one first day of issue cancellation. Stamps for the unique first day full sheet cancel were sold by the Postal Service at face value, being $6.50 for the sheet, and no special handling charge or other expense was included.

Locally in Oklahoma City, special ceremonies were held at the state capital shortly before noon on February 23, 1976 with presentation sheets going to Governor David L. Boren and other state officials. At noon sheets of the special stamps were available at the main Oklahoma City Post Office for sale to the general public. A long line of customers were waiting to purchase entire sheets in order that one important stamp, the one with the Oklahoma flag, could be removed and affixed to a self-addressed envelope and thus receive the first day Oklahoma City cancellation.

The stamps were designed by Walt Reed and Peter Cocci was the layout modeler. Both are on the staff of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The special gravure presses were used.

In order to insure that the full spectrum of color be available, six separate plates each for its own color were required. They printed yellow, magenta, cyan, black, red and blue respectively. Each separate color plate bore its own plate number and thus in the selvage six separate plate numbers may be found. The gravure press prints 200 impressions at one time; and the printed stock is then cut into post office panes of 50 stamps each. By reason of this plate layout arrangement, four separate sets of six plate numbers each are available, one each in the upper and lower right and left corners respectively of the large printing plate. Collectors desiring a full assortment of plate numbers thus searched for four separate sheets, one each bearing the plate numbers at the four respective corners. As each stamp in the sheet is separate and distinct, any one plate number for each of the six separate colors may be found adjoining one of four separate state flags, depending on which post office pane provided the example.

For first day sales, postal clerks could not honor customer requests for the purchase of one or more stamps bearing a specific state flag. Those patrons desiring a particular stamp were required to purchase full sheets.

In addition to the six plate numbers appearing in the selvage, the legends "mail early in the day," "use zip code" and the symbol of "Mr. Zip" are included. The initial printing order sent to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing from the Postal Service was for 250,000,000 stamps.

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[1] Shirk, George H. "Oklahoma's Two Commemorative Stamps," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1949), p. 89 and "Oklahoma's Philatelic Year," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, No. I (Spring, 1958), p. 48.

FORT COFFEE AND FRONTIER AFFAIRS, 1834–1838

*By Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Lonnie E. Underhill**

Fort Coffee was established under orders issued on May 10, 1834, by Brigadier General Roger Jones, the Adjutant General of the United States. He directed Captain John Stuart, commander of a company of the Seventh Infantry at Fort Smith, Arkansas, to remove his command about nine miles up the Arkansas River to a point called Swallow Rock near Harrold's Bluff and there establish a post to be "called Fort Coffee, in honor of [Paymaster] General Andrew J. Coffee, the distinguished citizen lately deceased."[1] Stuart and his command arrived at their post at Swallow Rock on June 17, 1834, and remained there until October 19, 1838, when Fort Coffee was abandoned. During the four years of its existence, Stuart's command averaged only forty-eight men.[2] However, the significance of the post was greater than the garrison's size indicates. It was established as a post from which the troops could patrol the river and overland routes in search of whiskey smugglers in Indian Territory; however, it soon acquired the role of a defense post on the southwestern frontier. It became an ordnance depot for the Arkansas militia and at one time was considered as the site of a permanent post to be built as part of an elaborate system of forts to defend the western frontier. Thus, its role, whether great or small, was significant in frontier affairs during the years of its existence.

It was Stuart himself who asked that a fort be established at Swallow Rock. His principal duty at Fort Smith had been to suppress the whiskey trade in the Indian country. In 1833, he had succeeded in stopping the illegal traffic on the river but could not stop it along the numerous trails and roads that crossed the western boundary of Arkansas. Neither was he able suc-

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* Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. is currently an Associate Professor of History at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, Arkansas and Lonnie E. Underhill is currently completing the Doctor of Philosophy degree in history at the University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

[1] Jones to Stuart, May 10, 1834, Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Stuart had enlisted as a private in the Thirty-ninth Infantry on July 20, 1814. He became a sergeant in 1815, a second lieutenant in 1822 and a captain in 1828. See Grant Foreman, "Captain John Stuart's Sketch of the Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (March, 1933), p. 667. John Coffee, who led the Tennessee volunteers during the First Seminole War, died on July 7, 1833. Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), p. 31.

[2] "Fort Coffee," National Archives Microfilm Publications, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Returns for Fort Coffee, 1834–1838, *ibid.*

cessfully to prosecute those who sold liquor to his troops in violation of the territorial laws.[3] Although he diligently performed his duty, it soon became apparent to him that he could do a better job if his troops were elsewhere. They were once one of the most orderly companies at Fort Gibson, but when they had easier access to whiskey at Fort Smith, they had become the worst. They were in a constant state of disorder, and Stuart had no hope of reforming them as long as they remained at Fort Smith. He had heard of Swallow Rock, which was reported to be not only a healthy site but also one which would permit control of the river because of its location. As a result, Stuart asked the Secretary of War to consider Swallow Rock as the site of a permanent post, should one be established in the region.[4]

In September, 1833, Stuart appealed to the Adjutant General to have the post moved up river. The river bottoms near Fort Smith made it an unhealthy site in the summer, while the site at Swallow Rock—although Stuart had never visited it—was high and healthy. But most important, the soldiers would be out of the reach of the whiskey traders. At the same time Stuart made this appeal, citizens of Arkansas drafted petitions to have the troop strength within the territory increased to four companies. Stuart charged that the petitions were presented under the guise of fear of Indian hostilities, while in reality they were motivated by the belief that the money paid to the soldiers should be spent among the people of Arkansas rather than among the Indians.[5]

A few days after his appeal, Stuart visited Swallow Rock and found ample support for his opinion that it was a much better site for a post than Fort Smith. Its beauty and height and the abundance of timber and grass were appealing enough. However, of greater importance was that it offered a better command of the river; his troops would not be as easily observed there by smugglers as they were in Fort Smith. Too, with winter approaching, it would be necessary to make additional and costly improve-

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[3] John Stuart to Lewis Cass, May 1, 1833, Clarence Edwin Carter, comp., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, (23 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934–1958), Vol. XXI, pp. 710–712.

[4] Stuart to Cass, June 30, 1833, *ibid.*, pp. 744–745.

[5] Stuart to Brigadier General Roger Jones, September 19, 1833, *ibid.*, pp. 794–796. The petitions were in a large part the work of Captain John Rogers, a native of New York and former sutler at Fort Smith. Stuart charged that Rogers wanted the number of troops increased so that he could sell the government some of his land at an exorbitant price. See Stuart to Jones, October 10, 1833, and Stuart to Secretary of War, October 21, 1833, *ibid.*, pp. 799–800, 803–806. On June 17, 1836, the government bought 306 acres from Rogers for the erection of Fort Smith, which was reestablished there a few months later. See Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860*, p. 55.

One of the original buildings constructed at Fort Coffee by members of the Seventh Infantry under the command of Captain John Stuart

ments to the quarters and storehouses at Fort Smith. If the post were removed, the building materials could be shipped up river in keel boats.[6] It was because of these repeated reports by Stuart and others of the unhealthiness of Fort Smith that on May 10, 1834, Jones ordered the troops removed to Swallow Rock.

Swallow Rock was occupied by several Choctaws who had to be removed: Nathaniel Folsom, two widows named Folsom and Coleman, Charles Jones, John Riddle, Apresantubbee and John Walker, a white man. On the immediate site of the post was the double log cabin of Robert M. Jones, who kept a store.[7] Swallow Rock was a bluff on the south bank of the Arkansas, rising about sixty-five feet above the water. The site for the fort was a short distance back of the bluff. The country around it was low and level, covered with heavy timber and brush. Around the nearly perpendicular face of the bluff the river formed a semicircle, and from the promontory, the troops could command a view of the river for some distance in both directions.[8]

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[6] Stuart to Jones, October 7, 1833, enclosure in Stuart to General H. Leavenworth, June 6, 1834, Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives.

[7] Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860*, p. 31.

[8] Henry C. Benson, *Life Among the Choctaw Indians and Sketches of the Southwest* (Cincinnati: L. Swormstedt and A. Poe, 1860), pp. 64–65.

The site was ideally situated for its major purpose—the continuation of attempts by Stuart's troops to control the illegal traffic of liquor into the Indian country.

Stuart was pleased with the new site. He reported that after two weeks at the post there had "scarcely been a single man intoxicated at this post," while at Fort Smith, nearly "one half of the men were intoxicated almost every day." By September, work had progressed to the point that by the end of the month he hoped to be able to turn more of his attention to the enforcement of the intercourse laws.[9]

Stuart built his post to specifications. His orders had directed him not to make "any more than a comfortable covering for the officers and men to be attended with as little expense as possible in the construction." The buildings were made of hewed logs and were one-story affairs with porches in front and back. The roofs were shingled, the floors were made of rough boards, the windows were shuttered and the stone chimneys were built on the outside of the houses. These buildings sat around three sides of a square which measured one hundred feet across. The fourth side, which faced the river, was left open except in the center where the small magazine for the fort was located. The entire fort was shaded by huge trees. On the edge of the bluff was built a guardhouse with a tower on top. It served as an observation post from which Stuart and his troops could watch the traffic on the river.[10]

It was not only the whites who trafficked in illegal whiskey. The possession or manufacture of whiskey in the Indian country was prohibited by law, yet the Cherokees in the vicinity of the posts, especially Fort Gibson, kept a supply on hand to sell to the troops. Many of the Cherokees were open in their talk against the prohibition laws, and from their position on the frontier of Arkansas, it was almost impossible for the army to control the flow of whiskey into their country.[11]

Yet, Stuart gave it a try. On March 15, 1835, he issued an order that all boats going up the river must stop at Fort Coffee for investigation. He placed a six-pounder atop the guardhouse and gave orders to fire on any boat which refused to stop. All known steamboats were allowed to pass if their captains signed certificates saying they were not carrying whiskey. All

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[9] Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860*, pp. 31–32.

[10] Jones to Stuart, May 10, 1834, Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives, and Carter, comp., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXI, pp. 973–983; Benson, *Life Among the Choctaw Indians*, p. 64.

[11] Matthew Arbuckle to Jones, December 6, 1834, Carter, comp., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1001–1002.

other boats were searched. All "foreigners" were required to have a pass to enter the Indian country from some official of the War Department.[12]

Elsewhere, the method of capturing and prosecuting violators of the liquor laws went as follows: writs were issued at the request of the United States Attorney for Arkansas and brought to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs by a United States marshal for the Territory of Arkansas; the Superintendent gave the writ to the army for execution; once captured by the troops, the accused was delivered to the federal marshal in Arkansas where he either made a bond to appear before the United States District Court at Little Rock, Arkansas or was put in jail, depending upon the circumstances of the case.[13]

Stuart, always conscious of the army's relationship with the Indians in the Fort Coffee area, found some difficulties in capturing suspected violators. In July, 1835 occurred an incident that illustrated the danger which attended the army's role in suppressing the liquor traffic. Stuart had reported Ellis Phillips, a Cherokee, for having sold whiskey. The marshal brought a writ to Stuart who sent First Lieutenant Henry McKavett with a small detachment to arrest Phillips and take him to Fort Coffee. They found him, arrested him with no difficulty and were in the process of explaining to him that he could be released on bail when Phillips bolted and escaped. The party chased him but did not fire at him. The troops had each been given ten rounds of ammunition but had been instructed not to load their rifles. Had it not been for that, Stuart believed they might have shot Phillips on "a quick Military impulse." When McKavett reported to Stuart, the captain sent the troops back to Phillips' house with their muskets loaded with blanks. If they saw him, they were to fire as if they intended to kill him, their purpose being to intimidate him into surrendering. While Stuart realized the difficulties imposed by such tactics, he realized as well that if Phillips had been killed, "a difficulty would at once have arrisen [sic] which would have been extremely difficult to reconcile." Besides that, he believed a liquor violation was not worth a life. Therefore, he instructed his men that when they went as an armed party among the Indians, they were to make "a bold and daring aspect, and to produce among them as much terror as possible—but at the Same time to avoid most particularly accidents, and Never to take life, unless in cases where it might be absolutely necessary."[14]

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[12] Fort Coffee Garrison Order No. 5, March 15, 1835, in Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860*, p. 32.

[13] Stuart to the Adjutant General, July 30, 1835, Carter, comp., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXI, p. 1062.

[14] *Ibid.*

During the summer of 1835, Stuart's command at Fort Coffee frequently found and destroyed whiskey but always in small quantities. Nevertheless, First Lieutenant John P. Davis, who was instrumental in most of the seizures, succeeded, in Stuart's terms, in rendering "himself very obnoxious to some of the depraived [sic] individuals" of the Cherokee Nation, who made threats against his life. Stuart, too, was threatened "by some of the ignorant and depraved Cherokees," but he was not any more afraid of them, he said, than he was of "many of the white inhabitants residing East of the line."[15] Meanwhile, Ellis Phillips, who had escaped from McKavett in July, had made repeated statements that he would not be taken alive. Although afraid that serious results might arise in the course of Phillips' apprehension, Stuart decided in September to send First Lieutenant Davis in pursuit of Phillips and two white men named Sutton and Stiff whom Stuart had reported as whiskey smugglers. Davis left Fort Coffee on September 24, 1835, with a small detachment, carrying writs for the arrest of the suspects. They searched along the route to Fort Smith and from there back to Skin Bayou. From there they went to the mouth of the Illinois River where, on September 25, Davis and his troops rushed Phillips' house and captured him. Davis sent him to Fort Coffee under guard and continued the search for Sutton, whom he heard news of but who, through the assistance of Cherokees, escaped.[16]

From evidence gained during his search, Davis had good reason to believe that a wagon laden with whiskey was about to pass along the old military road, eight or ten miles north of Fort Coffee, toward Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation. Stuart ordered Davis with a detachment to cross the river into the Cherokee country and pursue the wagon. On September 27, they crossed the river and marched toward Fort Smith where they found the tracks on the military road. They soon overtook the wagon, loaded with four barrels of whiskey and tended by three Indians and a black. Davis destroyed the whiskey. The Indians protested, saying that the law was arbitrary, and becried their case, especially when they claimed that wagon loads of whiskey were passing weekly from Washington County, Arkansas, into the Creek and Cherokee nations and from Fort Smith as well. Davis was convinced from this and other incidents that there was a good deal of dissatisfaction among the Indians in relation to the law and that they would soon openly express that dissatisfaction. "Many," he said, "are now ripe for turmoil and wide spread excitement on this Subject, as is

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[15] Stuart to the Adjutant General, October 6, 1835, *ibid.*, p. 1099.

[16] *Ibid.*; John P. Davis to Stuart, September 29, 1835, *ibid.*, pp. 1099–1100.

evident from reports that have reached me from the Cherokees, that my own safety in the Nation will not be guaranteed."[17]

In spite of their success in some instances, Stuart and his troops never effectively controlled the flow of whiskey into the Indian country. During June and July of 1837, for instance, they boarded fifty-two steamboats at Fort Coffee, yet an unusual quantity of whiskey went into the Indian country that summer. Stuart, believing that some of the boats carrying certificates of honor had been used in smuggling whiskey upstream, started an investigation. While he was kept busy at the river, the two principal roads leading from Arkansas to Fort Gibson, one ten miles from Fort Coffee and the other forty, were left unguarded. Less than a year later, Stuart complained that he was ineffective in controlling the whiskey trade because of the complicity of the Cherokees and of the fifty to seventy whiskey shops run by Arkansans along the western border of the state.[18]

Stuart's failure, however, was due to more than geography and the attitudes of the Indians. His attention was diverted to the matter of defense of the Arkansas frontier. The Arkansans had not liked the decision to remove the troops from Fort Smith and shortly after their removal had begun to agitate for the reestablishment of a post on their western border and continued their agitation for the removal of the troops from Fort Gibson.[19] From the time they laid the groundwork for statehood in 1836 until Fort Coffee was abandoned, they exaggerated, magnified and apparently even created tensions which arose between them and the Indians on their western border in order to justify their demands. Their agitation began in earnest with the constitutional convention that convened at Little Rock in January, 1836.

At that time, excitement began to prevail among the Cherokees and Choctaws because it was reported in the Indian country that Arkansas, after it became a state, would lay claim to all of the land lying west of its boundaries and would extend its jurisdiction over Indian Territory. Such talk made the Indians apprehensive for they believed that the land had been given to them in fee simple forever and that they had been given the right to govern themselves under their own laws except in cases explicitly stated in treaties with the United States. Some Indians thought that the rumors

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17 Davis to Stuart, September 29, 1835, *ibid.*, pp. 1100–1101.

18 Stuart to Jones, August 8, 1837, and Stuart to Adjutant General, June 9, 1838, in Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860*, pp. 32–33.

19 The Territorial Assembly had drafted memorials for the removal of the troops in both 1833 and 1835. See Stuart to Secretary of War, November 10, 1833, and Sevier to Secretary, January 17, 1836, Carter, comp., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXI, pp. 845, 1151–1152.

were simply a prelude to another forced removal. Hence, the Indians' excitement.[20] In the temporary absence of William Armstrong, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western District, Stuart took it upon himself to report this state of affairs to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The rumors contained a good bit of truth. The constitutional delegates at Little Rock drafted an ordinance which they submitted to the Secretary of State along with the newly drafted constitution. Dated January 29, 1836, the ordinance said, in part, that all of the country lying west of the State of Arkansas which had formerly been a part of the Territory of Arkansas and had been ceded to the Cherokees and Choctaws would, upon the extinction of the Indian title, be attached to the State of Arkansas.[21]

When the deliberations of the constitutional convention were published, Stuart once more wrote to Commissioner Elbert Herring on behalf of the Indians. It was obvious to him that the Arkansans "confidently expected that the Indian Title, to a portion of the Cherokee and Choctaw Country, will at no very remote period be extinguished. . . ." He called such thinking "an unfortunate delusion" which would ultimately prove injurious to public interests; the spirit of dissatisfaction would be kept alive among the Indians. The Cherokees and Choctaws were settled farmers and were rapidly being civilized. They had too much Anglo blood in them, Stuart believed, to ever again submit placidly to intrusion on their rights, to the extension of state government over them or to forced removal; they would go to war first. Therefore, he called for the rejection of those parts of the proposed constitution dealing with boundary lines and for fixing the western boundary of Arkansas at its present location. Such action by the United States Congress would quiet the excitement, would make easier the emigration of other tribes from east of the Mississippi River and would avoid a subsequent clamor on the part of Arkansans for the extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands, thus securing the frontier from the threat of an Indian war.[22]

President Andrew Jackson submitted the ordinance and the constitution to Congress on March 10, 1836. That part of the ordinance calling for the relinquishment of the Indian lands to the State of Arkansas was rejected. And in late April, assurances came from Washington that the Indians would be fully protected in their land rights.[23]

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[20] Stuart to Elbert Herring, January 28, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 1156–1157.

[21] "Ordinance by the Constitutional Convention," January 29, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 1190.

[22] Stuart to Herring, February 15, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 1170–1171. When William Armstrong returned to his office at the Choctaw Agency later that spring, his assessment of the situation was the same as Stuart's. Armstrong to Herring, March 22, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 1200–1201.

[23] Andrew Jackson to Senate and House, March 10, 1836, and Herring to Armstrong, April 27, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 1187, 1190, 1215–1216.

The excitement over the boundary question had no more than begun to subside when another matter of greater consequence arose. Ultimately, the new problem proved to exist only in the minds of military officials, but it served to bring Fort Coffee to the front as an important post in the defense of the frontier—it would serve as an ordnance depot.

The new danger to the frontier came from the Texas war for independence against Mexico, which had begun in early March. News of the war came from Texas to Major General Edmund P. Gaines as commander of the Western Division at Natchitoches, Louisiana. Gaines became convinced that "many of the Indians from our side of the Texas Line will unite with the victors in the bloody conflict now raging there, as soon as they approach the waters runing [sic] into the Sabine Bay, if not sooner." Thus, in order to help bolster the frontier defenses from the Sabine Bay to the Kiamitia River, he requested that Brigadier General Matthew Arbuckle, commanding at Fort Gibson, send to Fort Towson from six to eight companies of the Seventh Infantry with all of the Light Dragoons west and south of the Missouri River. That left only three incomplete companies at Fort Coffee and Fort Gibson to protect the western frontier of Arkansas. Thus, Arbuckle was directed to call upon the governor of Arkansas to furnish as many companies of volunteers, mainly infantry, as necessary to protect that frontier should the need arise.[24]

Fear of Indian difficulties spread to the citizenry of Arkansas. Governor W. S. Fulton asked the Secretary of War to deposit arms in the territory for use by the volunteers if they were called into service. In response, the Secretary directed the Ordnance Department to send 1,500 muskets, 500 rifles and the proper equipment and ammunition for deposit, not in Arkansas but at Fort Coffee, which was near the line, where they would be needed and therefore more convenient than Little Rock. The arms in deposit would be issued upon the requisition of the governor.[25]

In Washington, Arkansas' representatives were taking political steps to insure her protection. On May 5, during a United States House of Representatives debate on an appropriation bill, A. H. Sevier moved that the portion appropriating $50,000 for erecting barracks at Fort Gibson be deleted and substituted for it an amendment which provided for the removal of Fort Gibson to some point on the Arkansas River at or near the western border of Arkansas. The motion passed. This provision was the culmination of several months' political activities on the part of Arkansas politicians.

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[24] Edmond P. Gaines to Arbuckle, April 12, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 1211–1212.

[25] Secretary of War to A. H. Sevier, April 28, 1836, and Secretary to W. S. Fulton, April 28, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 1216–1217; *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock, Arkansas), May 31, 1836, p. 3.

They had been dissatisfied with the decision to remove the troops from Fort Smith to Fort Coffee. Early in 1835, Sevier had drafted a bill for the House of Representatives, calling for the removal of the troops from Fort Gibson to the Arkansas line. However, Major General Alexander Macomb, Commanding General of the Army, opposed the move, stressing that Fort Gibson was necessary in effecting the removal of the Indians to the West. In his opinion, Fort Coffee was not only near enough to the Arkansas frontier for its protection but was also strategically located and could serve as a depot for posts above it on the Arkansas.[26] In spite of such objections from the War Department, the Arkansas politicians had won, and the provision for the removal of the troops from Fort Gibson and the erection of a post on the Arkansas frontier became part of a bill that became law on May 14, 1836.

The movement of troops on the frontier caused much speculation about the possibilities of hostilities with the Indians. William Armstrong assured the War Department that all of the Indians in his jurisdiction were peaceable but that they were developing a "feeling of inquiry" as a result of troop movements and the war in Texas. The Choctaws were in council on the day the troops passed their agency on the way from Fort Gibson to Fort Towson. In a letter to Armstrong, the Choctaw chiefs and captains expressed their "regret and mortification" at the "several rumors relative to the hostile disposition of the Choctaws to the United States Government and its citizens." They repudiated the rumors, which they thought were perpetrated by "bad white men," and offered their services wherever they were needed by the United States. Some of them had contemplated going to Texas to join the battle on the side of the Texans, but Armstrong had persuaded them not to do so, and the Choctaws promised not to go.[27]

From Fort Coffee, Captain Stuart made a public appeal through the pages of the *Arkansas Gazette* for calm and a conscious effort on the part of all to allay unnecessary or unjustified fear of Indian hostilities. He defended the Five Civilized Tribes against charges that they were unfriendly to the whites and tried to divert the attention of the Arkansans from the Indians who were their friends and to the Mexicans who were their potential enemies.[28]

Increased military movements also caused a flurry of activity at Fort Coffee. On June 7, Stuart received orders from the Adjutant General that

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[26] *Arkansas Gazette*, May 24, 1836, p. 3; Alexander Macomb to Sevier, February 7, 1835, Carter, comp., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXI, p. 1020.

[27] Armstrong to Herring, May 13, 1836, and Choctaw Indians in Council to Armstrong, May 12, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 1222, 1223; *Arkansas Gazette*, May 24, 1836, p. 3.

[28] Stuart to Editor, May 15, 1836, *Arkansas Gazette*, May 31, 1836, p. 3.

ordnance stores would be sent there from the Allegheny Arsenal and stored for use by the Arkansas militia. He set his men to constructing additional storehouses to hold the property, as the post had been established originally on a temporary basis and the public stores were small. Neither was the post fortified, because it had been established merely to control the liquor traffic, but the arrival of additional stores might render fortification necessary.[29]

However, for various reasons, Stuart did not want to fortify the post unless it were absolutely necessary. One reason was the precarious state of affairs in Texas. In addition, the Mexicans had recently sent emissaries among the Indians, presumably to solicit their support. Also, the Five Civilized Tribes were friendly at the time, and Stuart did not expect the situation to change. Therefore, unless some action by the wild Indians to the west justified fortifying the post, Stuart feared that the Five Civilized Tribes might suspect that the fortifications were intended to guard against them. In that case their friendly relations toward the government might be compromised.[30]

By late June, however, the situation had so changed that Armstrong recommended to the War Department that additional military aid be sent to the Arkansas frontier. Several reasons led him to that conclusion. A general restlessness had developed among the Indians because of the war then in progress between some of the eastern Creeks and Seminoles and the United States and because of "great inducements" which earlier had been offered the Indians to engage in the war between Texas and Mexico. Armstrong feared that this general restlessness and the exposed condition of the frontier, now that most of the troops were at Fort Towson, might be enough to cause some to begin a war. In Armstrong's opinion, the Osages, and to some extent the Creeks, had been restrained from committing depredations on neighboring tribes only by the presence of the troops on the frontier. Finally, the future emigration of eastern Creeks and Seminoles would create additional dangers. Certainly the war parties would bring with them many hostile feelings. Once in the West, they would realize that they were not surrounded by whites as they were in the East and would see the open country to the west as an escape route should they decide to go to war. To cope with these potential dangers were two incomplete companies of the Seventh Infantry at Fort Gibson and one at Fort Coffee.[31]

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[29] Stuart to Adjutant General, June 7, 1836, Carter, comp., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXI, p. 1227.

[30] Stuart to First Lieutenant Washington Seawell, June 12, 1836, and Stuart to Adjutant General, June 7, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 1226, 1227–1228; Stuart to Seawell, June 6, 1836, Records of the United States Army Continental Army Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives.

[31] Armstrong to Herring, June 23, 1836, Carter, comp., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1230–1231.

Armstrong's letter got results. On May 25, the Secretary of War, acting on orders from the President, had authorized Governor Fulton to raise 1,000 volunteers to be called into the service of the United States whenever required. On July 11, Gaines was given authority to call on Fulton for the number of volunteers he needed. Upon receipt of Armstrong's letter, the Secretary ordered Fulton to supply troops to either Arbuckle or Gaines, depending upon who made the first request.[32]

A week earlier, however, Arbuckle had advised Fulton to organize volunteers without delay to await in readiness "to turn out at the shortest notice" in order "to avoid disturbances on the frontier." These volunteers, if called, would draw on the "ample supply" of arms and ammunition to be found at Fort Coffee and Fort Gibson. Arbuckle was apparently acting under authority given him by Gaines in April to request the organization of such volunteer forces. To avoid excitement among the citizens, he asked Fulton to give no publicity to his letter.[33] A week later, however, his action was given official sanction in Washington.

By this time, the supplies had arrived at Fort Coffee. One thousand rifles, muskets and accoutrements for a thousand muskets were stored in one of the officers' kitchens which had been converted into a storehouse. The ammunition was temporarily stored in the icehouse while the magazine, then under construction, was being completed. There was no shelter for the artillery, but Captain Stuart decided not to build one because a few months of standing in the weather would do it no harm. During that time, it could be determined if Fort Coffee would be retained as a permanent post.[34]

Meanwhile, Gaines called on Governor Fulton to raise ten companies of mounted men to be mustered into service. Arbuckle requested 100 men, or two companies, to be raised and sent to Fort Gibson. The ten companies called for by Gaines were to be sent to Fort Towson where they were expected to arrive by August 20. Therefore, Fulton called on Captain Stuart to have the arms shipped by steamboat from Fort Coffee to Little Rock or, if that were not possible, overland to Fort Towson.[35] Lieutenant Colonel Josiah H. Vose, commander at Fort Towson, was ordered to receive the arms and to issue them as soon as possible to the Arkansas volunteers.[36]

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[32] Secretary of War to Fulton, May 25, July 13, and July 20, 1836, and Secretary to Arbuckle, July 20, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 1224, 1235, 1236, 1237; *Arkansas Gazette*, June 28, 1836, p. 2; Jones to Arbuckle, July 20, 1836, Records of the United States Army Continental Army Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives.

[33] Arbuckle to Fulton, July 13, 1836, *ibid.*

[34] Stuart to Seawell, July 21, 1836, *ibid.*

[35] Fulton to Arbuckle, July 30, 1836, and Stuart to Seawell, July 21, 1836, *ibid.*

[36] Seawell to Joseph H. Vose, August 16, 1836, *ibid.*

By August 21, Stuart had sent all of the arms under Fulton's requisition except 140 muskets and 120 sets of accoutrements. On August 16, Brigadier General Arbuckle called on Fulton for eight companies of infantry volunteers to be sent to Fort Gibson, and Stuart held the remaining arms, assuming that they would be needed in that area and awaited word from Arbuckle before sending them on to Fort Towson. Fulton, however, was having trouble raising the troops which had been asked for by Major General Gaines. The *Arkansas Gazette* published an editorial, criticizing the citizenry for not responding to the call and relying for protection upon the "mere handfull" of soldiers on the western border. By August 21, only four companies of mounted men had been organized. Part of the problem was apparently a reluctance of the volunteers to serve at Fort Towson; they preferred to be sent to Fort Gibson. However, the greatest problem was that the Arkansans did not want to volunteer as infantrymen in the service of the United States; instead, they wanted to be mounted gunmen.[37]

Because he was having trouble raising troops, Governor Fulton at first rejected Arbuckle's request for additional men, giving priority to the earlier request of Gaines. However, on August 3, the President had reversed Gaines' request for troops from Arkansas and other states in order to maintain the appearance of a neutral position of the United States in regard to the precarious state of affairs in Texas. Thus, on September 5, Fulton issued a proclamation, directed at the northern and western counties of Arkansas, asking for the volunteer troops which Arbuckle had requested. Those raised in Washington, Crawford, Scott and Johnson counties were to rendezvous at Fort Coffee, and those raised from the northern counties at Fayetteville, Arkansas.[38]

Because of the reluctance of men to volunteer as infantrymen, Fulton had been able to send only six or seven companies to Fort Towson. Response to his new proclamation was quick, but those who volunteered wanted to do so as mounted men. Because Arkansas had just been admitted to the union, its militia was unorganized, and it was impossible to draft soldiers for service until laws were passed regulating the militia. Governor J. S. Conway, who took office in September, asked Arbuckle to submit a new request for eight companies of mounted gunmen rather than infantry. Several companies of the former had already been formed by the last week in September, and the governor believed that there would be no difficulty in raising the additional

[37] Stuart to Seawell, August 21, 1836, Fulton to Arbuckle, September 26, 1836, and J. S. Conway to Arbuckle, August 23, 1836, *ibid.*; *Arkansas Gazette*, August 9, 1836, p. 2.

[38] Fulton to Arbuckle, August 25, 1836, and September 5, 1836; Records of the United States Army Continental Army Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives; *Arkansas Gazette*, September 6, 1836, p. 3; see also Carter, comp., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXI, p. 1237, note 61.

Nineteenth century map of Indian Territory—the location of Fort Coffee is indicated a short distance upstream on the Arkansas River from Fort Smith, Arkansas

troops.[39] Arbuckle had asked for infantry because of the difficulty of finding forage for the horses of the mounted gunmen, but the uncertainty of the conditions of the frontier made him relent and accept what troops were available.

In late fall of 1836, Captain Stuart became concerned that the demands of the Arkansans on his ordnance stores, if continued, would jeopardize his own defenses. On November 13, he asked Brigadier General Arbuckle to take the matter into consideration. Of particular concern to him was the matter of the six-pounders he had on hand. He had sent two of them to Little Rock at the request of the governor, but there was no evidence that they were for use in the service of the United States. Now, rumors came to him that the governor was thinking of requesting one of the two remaining for the city of Fayetteville, which the Arkansas legislature was about to incorporate. Stuart said sarcastically that he supposed the piece would be used "to fire Christmas Guns with."[40]

Stuart believed that if any more of the pieces were taken, Fort Coffee would be left without the means of defense, if any defense were ever necessary. Therefore, he asked to keep the two pieces in spite of any requests the Governor of Arkansas should make, unless the latter could show proof that the weapons were required for the service of the United States or for immediate use in the state to put down an insurrection or stop an invasion. Stuart was obviously rankled by what he considered exorbitant requests for arms by the Arkansans, but there was another matter which had begun to cause him concern—the removal of formerly hostile bands of Creek Indians to the lands of their fellow tribesmen in the West. A few days later, Stuart urgently requested permission to make fortifications "with as little delay as possible" at Fort Coffee. After his earlier letter, he had discussed the Creek removal with the emigration agent and had become fully convinced that the presence of the new group of Creeks would represent a danger to the peace of the region. In the event a war was started by the disaffected Creeks, they would likely try to seize the store of arms on deposit at Fort Coffee. It would be impossible for Stuart and his thirty-eight men to protect the arms against a large force. Therefore, he also requested that at least one additional company of footmen, perhaps drafted militia or Choctaw Indians, be stationed at the post.[41]

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39 Fulton to Arbuckle, September 5, 1836, and Conway to Arbuckle, September 26, 1836, Records of the United States Army Continental Army Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives.

40 Stuart to Second Lieutenant A. Harris, November 13, 1836, *ibid.*

41 *Ibid.*

Stuart made the same appeal to Adjutant General Roger Jones. On November 25, he expanded upon his request for Choctaw volunteers, for it had become apparent that footmen could not be procured from Arkansas. He believed that the Choctaws would turn out when called on by the United States, and that they could be relied upon as fully as any other raw troops. Because the Choctaws had never been at war with the United States, Stuart thought that using some of them in its defense would stimulate their national pride and more fully ally that tribe with the United States. Although Stuart had not consulted Armstrong in the matter, he was sure that the superintendent would give his approval. He proposed to write Arbuckle with the request that a company of Choctaws be mustered into service. He was aware that he was perhaps overstepping his bounds as a subordinate officer, but he believed the situation was serious enough to warrant his request.[42]

Meanwhile, Arbuckle had become convinced that some difficulties might be expected from the arrival of the Creeks. Without notifying Governor Conway, Arbuckle ordered into service at Fort Gibson a company of volunteers organized by Captain Thaddeus Wilson of Washington County. The company arrived at Fort Gibson on the morning of November 26. In a letter of explanation and apology to the governor, Arbuckle urged Conway to send two more companies from Fort Towson to Fort Gibson. Wilson's company brought to three the number of volunteer companies already there. With his force now bolstered by the arrival of the volunteers, Arbuckle informed Stuart that should the need arise, he would send a company of mounted gunmen to Fort Coffee.[43]

Stuart was clearly disappointed. He would rather have had Choctaw troops than volunteers and footmen rather than mounted gunmen because there was little forage for the horses. He and the acting assistant quartermaster at the post had found that no hay or fodder could be bought in the neighborhood, and not more than 500 bushels of corn could be found. While Stuart was disappointed, he was nevertheless relieved that troops of whatever description were available for his use. On December 3, he set his men to the task of erecting pickets of round poles to enclose Fort Coffee, but the work went slowly because of the size of his company.[44]

Stuart's expression of disappointment about the troops drew a quick response from Arbuckle, who interpreted his statement as a second request

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[42] Stuart to Jones, November 25, 1836, *ibid.*
[43] Arbuckle to Conway, November 26, 1836 and Stuart to Harris, December 4, 1836, *ibid.*
[44] Stuart to Harris, December 4, 1836, *ibid.*

for the Choctaws. It angered Arbuckle that Stuart would renew the request in the face of the general's promise of additional forces that might be needed at Fort Coffee. Arbuckle also reprimanded Stuart for having written to the Adjutant General about the matter. Nor was that all. He thought it highly improper for Stuart to talk to the emigration agent about the Creek matter when Stuart was well aware that the general himself had done so. There was no need for Stuart to take matters into his own hands. Undaunted, Stuart insisted that Arbuckle had misread his last letter concerning the Choctaws.[45] He must have been highly gratified some three weeks later to find that the Adjutant General had found his assessment of the Indian affairs "interesting" and had forwarded them to the Secretary of War. Furthermore, he informed Stuart that if it became necessary, the secretary would approve the use of Choctaws in the defense of Fort Coffee.[46]

Whether Arbuckle would admit it, Stuart was right in another respect: the mounted volunteers presented a problem of forage for their horses. Because finding forage was difficult, Arbuckle wanted to discharge the volunteers about the first of February, 1837 at which time he expected the return of detachments of the Seventh Infantry and First Dragoons that had left Fort Gibson the preceding May.[47]

By mid-January, the atmosphere on the frontier had so cooled that five companies of volunteers, previously stationed at Fort Towson, had been discharged from service, and five other companies were to be discharged at an average of one company per day as soon as they could be paid. At the end of that time, the regiment of volunteers would be dissolved.[48] Discharge of the volunteers had immediate implications for Fort Coffee. The decrease in troops meant that a number of officers would be available for duty elsewhere. Stuart, who had long complained about the size of his force, requested that Arbuckle send him an officer. He had only First Lieutenant Henry McKavett, the acting assistant quartermaster for the post, who, as such, was exempted from company or garrison duty. At this time, Stuart had only forty-two men under his command. Nevertheless, by early February his command had enclosed the post with pickets and built two bastions at the opposite angles of the enclosure. On top of these structures they mounted three six-pounders which could protect the sides of the fort. Stuart also "organized and arranged" his company for defensive operations so that he was convinced his present force could "make a very vigorous re-

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[45] Harris to Stuart, December 9, 1836 and Stuart to Harris, December 16, 1836, *ibid.*

[46] Jones to Stuart, January 7, 1837, *ibid.*

[47] Arbuckle to Jones, December 4, 1836, *ibid.*

[48] Arbuckle to Vose, January 17, 1836, *ibid.*

sistance in case of an attack." And because the recent Indian "scare" had subsided, he believed no increase in force was necessary.[49]

In late February, a large order of supplies—three times as much as the storehouses of the post would contain—arrived at Fort Coffee. They had been sent under orders of the Commissary General of Subsistence, who believed that a new fort for the protection of the Arkansas frontier was to be established at Fort Coffee. The supplies would be needed in the construction of a new post.[50] A new post had been contemplated for some time, but its location was far from being settled.

The proposed new fort was a part of an elaborate system of posts proposed for the defense of the western frontier. As it was finally developed by officials of the War Department, the plan called for two lines of fortifications that reached from the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Superior. The first was an interior line of forts which would serve as places of refuge for the frontier settlers in times of danger and alarm. In the southern section, it consisted of Fort Jesup in Louisiana and two proposed forts between the Red and Arkansas rivers; in the middle, Fort Smith and another post on the Arkansas line, a proposed fort near the juncture of the Spring and Neosho rivers, a proposed fort on the Marais des Cygnes River near the present Missouri-Kansas line and Fort Leavenworth; in the northern sector, forts Crawford, Winnebago and Howard in Wisconsin.

The forts on the interior line were to be connected by a military road. An Act of July 2, 1836 appropriated $100,000 for surveying and building the road and for constructing the proposed forts along the route. The road was to pass through Indian country west of the Missouri and Arkansas lines.[51]

The exterior line of forts was to serve the main purpose of intimidating the Indians and foreign nations whose territories or influence touched the western frontier. This line was to consist, in the southern section, of two posts in Louisiana, where the Opelousas and Natchitoches roads crossed the Sabine River into Texas, and Fort Towson in the Choctaw Nation; in the middle, Fort Gibson and a proposed fort at the head of navigation of the Kansas River and a proposed post on the Missouri just below the mouth of the Platte; in the northern area, a proposed fort near the upper forks of

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[49] Stuart to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, January 23, 1837, and Stuart to Lieutenant F. B. Arden, February 11, 1837, *ibid.*; "Returns from Fort Coffee," January, 1837, National Archives Microfilm Publication, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[50] Stuart to Arden, February 28, 1837, Records of the United States Army Continental Army Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives.

[51] *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (21 vols., Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1848), Vol. V, p. 67.

the Des Moines River, Fort Snelling in Minnesota and a proposed fort at the western extremity of Lake Superior.[52]

In 1836, the Arkansas and Missouri frontiers were of most concern to military officials because of the historical circumstances of the time. Relations with the Republic of Texas were friendly, and the new nation served as a buffer between the United States and Mexico and the wild tribes of western Texas. But to the west of Arkansas was the territory of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles, whose numbers increased yearly. West of Missouri were various tribes and remnants of tribes that had been removed or pushed west, including the Sacs and Foxes, Ottawas of Maumec, Iowas, Kickapoos, Delawares, Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Peorias and Kaskaskias, Piankeshaws, Weas, Quapaws, Senecas and Swan Creek and Black River Chippewas. Tribes indigenous to the country immediately west of Arkansas and Missouri were the Osage, Kansas, Otoe and Missouri. Farther to the west and north were various other tribes who were considered to be within striking distance of the frontier.[53] Military men saw danger in this situation, and the Indian scare on the Arkansas frontier during the summer and fall of 1836 seemed to justify their fears.

When the act of July 2, 1836 was passed, the forts in existence along the Arkansas and Missouri frontiers were Fort Towson; Fort Coffee; Fort Gibson; Fort Smith, which had been abandoned; and Fort Leavenworth. Secretary of War Lewis Cass immediately appointed a board to survey the route of the road and select sites for the proposed additional posts, one of which was to be on the western boundary of Arkansas in accordance with the act of May 14, 1836. The board consisted of Colonel S. W. Kearny and Captain Nathan Boone of the First Dragoons and Major T. F. Smith of the First Infantry. By the time they prepared to go to work, winter had set in. However, they journeyed to the Arkansas frontier to find a site for the proposed post on the Arkansas line, arriving at Fort Gibson in early December. They visited several likely sites along the line, but after the survey, they recommended the location of Fort Coffee for the erection of a permanent fort.[54] Evidently on the basis of this recommendation, the Commissary General directed the large shipment of supplies to be sent to Fort Coffee in February, 1837.

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[52] A good summary of this plan appears in J. R. Poinsett to R. M. T. Hunter, March 21, 1840, United States House of Representatives, *House Document 161*, 26th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1840), pp. 6–9.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–13.

[54] S. W. Kearny, T. F. Smith and Nathan Boone to Secretary of War, December 11, 1836, United States House of Representatives, *House Document 278*, 25th Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1837), p. 14.

Kearny, Smith and Boone spent the spring and summer of 1837 awaiting a topographical engineer. Because of bureaucratic oversight, Charles Dimmick, the engineer, did not arrive at Fort Leavenworth until the end of August. The party then traveled south to Fort Coffee, intent on surveying and laying out the route of the military road from there to Fort Leavenworth. On September 27, they began on the north bank of the Arkansas River directly opposite Fort Coffee and, on November 8, completed their work at Fort Leavenworth, 286 miles to the north. In the wooded areas, they blazed timber to mark the road and on the prairies built rock mounds every mile.[55]

Following the recommendation of Kearny, Smith and Boone, the new Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett had decided to have a permanent post erected at the site of Fort Coffee; however, in the fall of 1837 the citizens of Arkansas renewed their agitation to have Fort Gibson abandoned, and a fort erected on their border. The Arkansas delegation to Congress remonstrated against the secretary's decision concerning Fort Coffee, and after an interview with Archibald Yell and the Senators from Arkansas, Poinsett ordered an examination to be made of a site within the boundary of Arkansas. Meanwhile, Poinsett worked on his appropriation request. In January, 1838 he was prepared to ask Congress for an appropriation of $700,000 to complete the system of interior and exterior lines of forts for the defense of the frontier. Included was a request for $150,000 to build permanent structures of stone at Fort Gibson, but no request was submitted for funds to build a permanent post at Fort Coffee.[56]

Military leaders on the frontier differed concerning the location of permanent forts on the Arkansas River. Arbuckle believed that at Fort Smith or in its vicinity a large and strong work should be erected to quarter a regiment and to furnish ordnance stores to the Arkansas militia when necessary. He also maintained that Fort Gibson should be made a permanent post, for it occupied the most important site south of the Missouri River. Finally, he urged a temporary post farther west on the Arkansas River. However, Major General Gaines, while agreeing that the lines of forts should be pushed westward, did not see Fort Smith as a necessary post but thought one should be built near Fort Gibson or between there and the North Fork of the Canadian River.[57]

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[55] Charles Dimmick to Poinsett, February 25, 1838, *ibid.*, p. 6, and Supplement, p. 2.

[56] Poinsett to Archibald Yell, October 16, 1837, cited in Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860*, p. 52; Acting Quartermaster General T. Cross to Poinsett, January 12, 1838, United States House of Representatives, *House Document 114*, 25th Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Thomas Allen, 1838), pp. 1–3.

[57] Arbuckle to the Assistant Inspector General, January 14, 1838, Records of the United States Army Continental Army Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives; Gaines to Major

An 1853 drawing of Fort Coffee

On February 7, 1838 the War Department received more pressure when the Arkansas delegation succeeded in obtaining the passage of a United States Senate resolution calling on the secretary to report the site for a new post on the Arkansas border, according to the act of May 14, 1836. However, the secretary steadfastly refused to abandon Fort Gibson, claiming it was necessary to aid the emigrating Indians when they arrived from the East.[58] Nevertheless, congressional investigations and deliberations of the next few months and events on the Arkansas frontier ultimately caused the reactivation of Fort Smith and the abandonment of Fort Coffee. The congressional deliberations went on during March and April. Evidently thinking that they were taking too long, the Arkansans undertook certain activities which, to some contemporary observers, amounted to little more than harrassment of the Indians and the perpetration of "danger" and "alarm."

General Macomb, February 28, 1838, United States House of Representatives, *House Document 311*, 25th Congress, 2d Session (Washington: Thomas Allen, 1838), p. 10.

[58] Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860*, p. 52.

Whether their representatives secured it, a directive came from Washington that the traders at Fort Gibson garrison were not to buy or sell to the Indians. However, the Arkansans came to the post and did business as usual. The favored treatment increased the business of the latter and created dissatisfaction among the former. It had long been contended by military authorities that the traders, especially those who traded in whiskey, were the ones clamoring for the establishment of forts within the states. The Cherokee agent, Montfort Stokes, agreed that trade was the basis of the Arkansans' demands for a fort and caused them to perpetrate rumors of Indian hostilities. He informed federal officials on June 5, 1838 to, "Give Arkansas the whole control of Indian affairs—remove every just and independent agent; build them forts and fix garrisons within the state; appoint all your agents from Arkansas and perhaps you will hear no more about Indian hostilities from them."[59]

In early June, the citizens of Van Buren, Arkansas held meetings, prepared resolutions and petitions to the government and delivered harangues. From all appearances, they were in extreme peril. They selected a site and planned to build what they called a county fort. Reports of these events came to Captain Stuart at Fort Coffee by people who charged that the show of fear was raised for political effect.[60] Stuart himself would not go so far as to accuse the Arkansans of such duplicity. If it were true, he believed it was the work of only a few. Stuart's concern was with the safety of Fort Coffee. As far as he could tell, the Indians had no hostile disposition. Yet, in the event of an outbreak, he thought that Fort Coffee would be one of the first points of attack because of the ordnance stores there. He feared that if the people of Van Buren erected a fort, they might prevail upon the governor to request the two good pieces of artillery from Fort Coffee. In that case, Stuart would be left with only one old piece to defend the post and the remaining stores. Arbuckle, on the other hand, believed that although there had been no Indian troubles on the frontier, there existed "a very unfriendly feeling" among several Indian tribes toward the United States. Like Stuart, he thought Fort Gibson would be an early object of attack because of the ordnance stores there. For that reason, in late May, he called for the early removal of the stores from there and Fort Coffee to some convenient point in Arkansas.[61]

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[59] Montfort Stokes to Poinsett, June 5, 1838, cited in *ibid.*, pp. 54–55.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[61] Stuart to First Lieutenant S. G. Simmons, June 13, 1838, and Arbuckle to Jones, May 23, 1838, Records of the United States Army Continental Army Commands, 1821–1920, National Archives.

Whatever the motives of the Arkansans, they prevailed. Fort Coffee was to be abandoned and Fort Smith reoccupied. On July 5, 1838 orders were issued from the Adjutant General's Office directing that a new post be located on the Illinois River within ten miles of the Arkansas border. Stuart and Major Charles W. Thomas were appointed to select the site, and Stuart was to proceed with his command and begin constructing the new post. The same order directed the reoccupation of Fort Smith. Thomas was to superintend the work to be carried on simultaneously at Fort Smith and the new post. Arms stored at Fort Gibson for use of the Arkansas militia were sent to Fayetteville where a military store was established.[62]

The work of reconstructing storerooms at Fort Smith fell to Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, who left Fort Gibson with a company of the Seventh Infantry on July 22. His immediate task was to construct the necessary storehouses and magazine to house the public property to be sent from Fort Coffee, the arms subsequently to be sent to Fayetteville. Bonneville and his command received their supplies from Fort Coffee. In addition, the quartermaster at Fort Coffee was instructed to supply Bonneville with 4,000 or 5,000 split boards to cover the buildings he was to construct. To supply the boards would mean the destruction of the buildings at Fort Coffee and Stuart objected. The post was inside the Choctaw Nation, and the Choctaws wanted it for a school. The Choctaw agent had already asked that it be turned over to the Indians. Thus, Stuart asked Arbuckle to stay his order until the Department made a decision in the matter.[63]

Shortly after the middle of August, the river began rising so that Stuart believed he had a fair prospect of shipping the ordnance stores downstream. As soon as they were all shipped, he planned to start his company for the Illinois River where they would remain until a new site was selected. He would make himself as well acquainted as possible with the country while he waited for Thomas to join him. Once the site was selected, Stuart planned to build huts for quarters for his men and then turn the men over to the quartermaster for special duty in erecting the new works. However, the first of a number of problems had begun to surface; these problems would delay the abandonment of Fort Coffee and the construction of the new post. One problem was that Stuart had no bugler in his company, and his drummer was ill; thus, his company had no music or instruments by which to sound the calls. Also, his quartermaster had been transferred at the time he was preparing to move his command, and Major Thomas was making

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62 General Orders No. 22, July 5, 1838, *ibid.*

63 Arbuckle to First Lieutenant Forbes Britton, July 19, 1838; Simmons to B. L. E. Bonneville, July 21, 1838; Arbuckle to Jones, July 24, 1838; Stuart to Simmons, July 31, 1838, *ibid.*

plans to remove the hospital from Fort Coffee, leaving Stuart with no facilities for a number of his men who were ill.[64]

Nearly a month later, Stuart was still at Fort Coffee, and he attributed the delay in carrying out his orders to foot-dragging by Major Thomas. As soon as the orders had come, Stuart turned over to Thomas the ordnance and stores at Fort Coffee and started a part of them from Fort Coffee, but in September fifty-five boxes and a forge still remained at the post. Stuart had been unable to prevail upon Thomas to select the new post and lay out a road from Fort Smith to the Illinois River, although he was convinced that the War Department probably assumed that those duties had already been performed. In addition, Thomas had evidently applied for an order to move the buildings at Fort Coffee to Fort Smith and for Stuart's company to do the work. Stuart again objected. The post was inside the Choctaw Nation and had been constructed of timber cut from Choctaw lands. In his opinion, the United States had no right to remove timber from the Indian country to any of the states. At most, only the plank in the floors could be taken, but the substantial buildings would have to remain.[65]

To add to the difficulty of the situation, the troops at Fort Coffee ran out of supplies. A few days after he had complained of Thomas's slowness, Stuart reported that all of the public property, except six horses and one wagon, had finally been moved to Fort Smith. When the orders to remove the post had come, Stuart ordered the quartermaster of the post to retain only a month's supply of stores, believing that the troops would be moved within that time. But the month had passed, and the troops were still there, with stores of every kind exhausted. The quartermaster began shipping provisions back from Fort Smith by wagon. In this rather awkward state, Stuart waited in mid-September for Thomas to act.[66]

It was early October before the new site was selected. On October 6, Stuart reported that a site had finally been chosen on the Illinois River about one-mile from the point where the trail blazed by Kearny and Boone crossed it and about 600 yards from the river at the mouth of Williams Creek. Thomas and Stuart planned to lay out the military road to Fort Smith during the following week, and Stuart prepared to ship the company clothing to Fort Smith and move his company to the Illinois.[67]

Stuart had relinquished his command on September 24, and it was assumed by First Lieutenant Forbes Britton. On October 19, the post was

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[64] Stuart to Arbuckle, August 19, 1838, *ibid.*
[65] Stuart to Arbuckle, September 11, 1838, *ibid.*
[66] Stuart to Arbuckle, September 16, 1838, *ibid.*
[67] Stuart to Arbuckle, October 6, 1838, *ibid.*

officially abandoned, and the troops under Stuart's command went to the Illinois River where they established a post. Called Camp Illinois, it was located just a few hundred yards west of the Arkansas line and sat on the low ground near the north bank of what is now known as Ballard Creek just above its confluence with the Illinois. It consisted of a few rude huts, partially enclosed by pickets.[68]

Thus, the final few months of Fort Coffee's existence were marked by the uncertainty which seemed to be typical of its history as a military installation. And though its existence was ephemeral, when compared to the history of some other frontier posts, that existence must be taken into account in the history of the southwestern frontier of the 1830s. The uncertainty of its permanence as a military post and its subsequent abandonment reveal much of the attitude of contemporary military men towards the defense of the western frontier. Fort Coffee was one of those posts whose significance flared momentarily and then disappeared as those men reassessed that defense in terms of the elaborate system of forts they had devised.

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[68] "Fort Coffee," National Archives Microfilm Publication, National Archives; "Fort Wayne," *ibid.*; *Army and Navy Chronicle* (New York, New York), November 22, 1838, p. 331.

The new post, later known as Fort Wayne, was subsequently completed but was moved shortly thereafter, in July, 1840, to Spavinaw Creek about nineteen miles to the north.

After the troops left Fort Coffee, some of the former Choctaw occupants of the site returned. Only the walls of the buildings remained. In 1843, at the invitation of the Choctaws, the Methodist church established a school at the site called Fort Coffee Academy. The buildings were sold to G. T. Lincoln in 1869. Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860*, p. 55; W. Julian Fessler, "Work of the Early Choctaw Legislature," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (March, 1928), p. 63.

THE SOONER NRA: NEW DEAL RECOVERY IN OKLAHOMA

*By James Ware**

Possibly no period in Oklahoma's history in the twentieth century has attracted more attention than the tragedy of the Dust Bowl in the 1930s. Oklahoma farmers had suffered minor booms and major busts throughout the 1920s, but the worst was yet to come. By 1932, mechanized agriculture had begun to drive small independents into tenancy, and the psychology of failure had spread. The worst depression in the nation's history only compounded Oklahoma's problems. On the one hand, industry was failing and jobs were scarce in the towns and cities, and, on the other, parched winds of one of the worst droughts in the area's history literally blew farms away. Prodded by visions of paradise, cloudless skies and expensive new tractors, thousands of Oklahomans fled the state.[1] While these "Okies" struggled along Route Sixty-six in their worn and overloaded trucks and cars, others followed shorter roads to Oklahoma's towns and cities. Their hopes for jobs, as well as those of thousands of other Oklahomans, depended on the success of the New Deal's primary legislative venture, the National Recovery Administration.[2]

Congress had created the National Recovery Administration during the whirlwind of the first hundred days of Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. The National Industrial Recovery Act recognized the fact that state and local recovery agencies could not cope with the overwhelming problems of the Great Depression. For example, $300,000 appropriated for relief during the first year in Oklahoma could not quench the thirst of the dusty Sooner unemployed.[3] To quell this crisis Congress established the federal recovery program, symbolized by the Blue Eagle. The act granted the National Recovery Administration the power to create codes of fair competition in cooperation with industrial groups or trade associations. In addition, the National Industrial Recovery Act recognized the right of workers to bargain collectively without interference from their employers. Hopefully, by exempting coded industries from the antitrust laws and allowing

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1 Walter Stein, *California and the Dust Bowl Migration* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973), pp. 3–31.

2 United States Government, *Congressional Record*, 72nd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), pp. 98–99.

3 Oklahoma State Department of Labor, *Biennial Report*, 1930–1932 (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Department of Labor, 1932), pp. 24–25.

Scenes such as this were typical in western Oklahoma during the "Dust Bowl Era"

them to regulate themselves, American business could pull itself out of its moribund state; industry, again prosperous, could then provide the jobs necessary to cure the serious illness of unemployment.[4]

Hugh Johnson, head of the recovery agency, was responsible for creating the National Recovery Administration's organization. The former cavalryman from Alva, Oklahoma handpicked his subordinates largely from among businessmen and industrialists. Then, these men and women helped the states, counties and cities establish their agencies.[5] But before Oklahoma's National Recovery Administration could act it had to have its legal foundations. These came with the codes of fair competition which a mixture of lobbying and hearings held in Washington, D.C., during the summer and fall of 1933 finally determined.

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[4] "National Industrial Recovery Act," United States Government, *Statutes at Large* (multi-volumes, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), Part 1, pp. 195–211.

[5] Hugh Johnson, *The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1935), pp. 73–193.

Although primarily an agricultural state, the crisis of the Dust Bowl made Oklahoma industry extremely important to the state's economy. Thus, the status of oil, the state's primary industry, became a critical issue in 1933, and the creation of its code a necessity to all Oklahomans. The depression had swept through the petroleum industry like a tornado striking a Sooner town in spring. The price of oil had declined from $1.30 per barrel in 1930 to about 1¢ per barrel in 1932, and because of overproduction, the industry had begun closing wells at a rapid rate—21,603 in 1931 alone.[6] For these reasons, oilmen from the major and minor companies and representatives of the oil-producing states eagerly came to Washington for the code hearings on July 24, 1933.

The code hearings for the petroleum industry demonstrated the power of the big oil companies over their independent counterparts. With major oil company management, the American Petroleum Institute, which carried tremendous lobbying strength within the government, wrote the initial code proposal and controlled the public hearings. Axtel Byles, President of the American Petroleum Institute, and Oklahoman Wirt Franklin, President of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, detailed big oil's position.[7] And across the battlefield twenty-two independent producers led a frustrating attack on the monopolistic tendencies of the American Petroleum Institute's code.[8] In the end the major oil companies, through their ally the Federal government, dictated the final solution. "Section Five" was the key to the new code of fair practices; this provision ruled that any agreements between competitors designed to accomplish the objectives of the code or to eliminate the duplication of manufacturing, transport and marketing facilities were permitted. An open invitation to monopoly, "Section Five" directly aided the cause of big oil and seriously impaired that of the small independents.[9] Other provisions covering wages and hours, production, marketing and the industry's governing committee added to the American Petroleum Institute's victory.[10] Will Rogers had predicted the outcome of the hearings early in July:[11]

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[6] Myron Watkins, *Oil: Stabilization or Conservation?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), pp. 43–54.

[7] National Recovery Administration, *Hearings on the Code of Fair Practices and Competition presented by the Petroleum Industry*, 10 vols., Library, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, Vol. I, July 24, 1933, pp. 3004–3038.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 3079–3153.

[9] National Recovery Administration, *Codes of Fair Competition, Nos. 1–57* (23 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), Vol. I, pp. 149–150.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 151–164.

[11] *Daily World* (Tulsa), July 12, 1933.

> Frank Phillips of oil fame was out the other day, said he was going to Washington, the oil men were going to draw up a code of ethics. Everybody present laughed.

The alliance between big oil and the Federal government may have proved unhealthy later; however, at the time oil helped Oklahoma survive the depression and the crisis of the Dust Bowl migration. After signing up with the National Recovery Administration, the major Sooner petroleum companies such as Continental, Mid-Kansas and Phillips reemployed 2,200 workers and increased the state's purchasing power by $5,500 per day.[12]

Even while various groups battled over oil in Washington, state and local leaders created the foundations of the National Recovery Administration bureaucracy. But that task was not without its political difficulties in Oklahoma. Sooner governor, William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, bitterly attacked Franklin Roosevelt after the Oklahoman's unsuccessful favorite-son bid for the Presidency in 1932; Murray's hatred for the Chief Executive finally "dominated his thinking on nearly every issue."[13] Naturally, the National Recovery Administration, as a New Deal program, drew a variety of antagonistic criticism from the governor. An example of Murray's attitude occurred in August of 1933; Ancel Earp, head of Oklahoma City's drive to promote the Blue Eagle, requested that the governor lead a parade advertising reemployment and the National Recovery Administration. With obvious malintent, "Alfalfa Bill" refused to attend, excusing himself with a more pressing engagement.[14] The governor attacked the New Deal and the National Recovery Administration more directly by refusing to call a meeting of the State Recovery Board. This body gave a sense of direction to the local National Recovery Administration committees and was important to the Sooner Blue Eagle's success. After a request from local officials, the national administration pressured Murray into calling the board, but not until after a serious delay.[15] The governor's influence also probably helped prevent the passage of a state recovery law or "little NRA."

Not all state politicians supported Murray's animosity toward the New Deal. Other political leaders seemed more aware of the potential changes wrought by Dust Bowl population shifts. Campaigning on the slogan

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[12] *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), September 3, 1933; *Daily World*, August 3, 1933; *Oklahoma City Times* (Oklahoma City), September 2, 1933.

[13] Keith Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 236.

[14] Ancel Earp to William Murray, August 8, 1933, and Murray to Earp, August 24, 1933, *NRA Campaign in Oklahoma City, 1933–1935*, Library, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[15] Earp to Boaz Long, August 18, 1933, *Ibid.*

Oklahoma Governor William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray who bitterly attacked President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal

"Bring the New Deal to Oklahoma," Congressman Ernest W. Marland defeated Tom Anglin, the governor's handpicked successor, in the gubernatorial primary of 1934. Later, as governor, Marland proved much more sympathetic toward the New Deal and the National Recovery Administration.[16] J. Berry King, attorney-general under Murray, was also more friendly toward Roosevelt's recovery program. The National Recovery Administration faced a possible conflict with a 1931 Oklahoma law governing trusts, but King used the wide interpretive powers of his office to rule in favor of the Blue Eagle.[17]

In spite of intense opposition from the Governor's office and the absence of a state recovery law, Sooners still managed to create a State Recovery Board as well as a very important campaign organization in Oklahoma City. The State Recovery Board with the assistance of the State Recovery Council directed Oklahoma's National Recovery Administration. Frank Buttram, President of Buttram Petroleum Company, Chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma and former candidate for governor, headed the board. This body acted as a transmission agent; it received reports from the county chairmen, synthesized those documents, and relayed that information to Washington. In cases where the federal administration deemed it necessary, the board enforced federal law in behalf of the National Recovery Administration. The State Recovery Council, an advisor on local conditions, included representatives from six state districts and members of state-wide businesses and trade associations. The council also assisted county and local groups with any technical problems involving the Blue Eagle or the National Recovery Administration's rules and regulations.[18]

Oklahoma City's National Recovery Administration Committee was possibly even more significant than the State Board due to political and economic circumstances. Organized to complete the Blue Eagle drive for the state capital, the committee later expanded its influence over the entire state apparatus. Oklahoma City maintained partial control through the city's Chamber of Commerce which dominated the committee and helped finance all state, county and local National Recovery Administration groups. Ancel Earp and Mrs. J. J. Volz served as co-directors of the city branch. These two individuals represented the conservative, business-oriented, upper class people who ran the Blue Eagle at the local level. Earp operated his

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[16] Edward E. Dale and Morris Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1948), pp. 357–359.

[17] J. Berry King to J. F. Owen, July 25, 1933, *NRA Campaign in Oklahoma City, 1933–1935.*

[18] *Ibid.*

own insurance company, formerly had served as secretary to Governor Robert Williams, had held office as the state's Adjutant General, had been in charge of Oklahoma's draft boards during World War I and had been President of the Better Business Bureau. Mrs. Volz had acted as head of the state's largest women's club. Two major groups operated immediately under the co-directors in the city administration. The seventeen-member Executive Council helped make top-level decisions and the Advisory Council, comprised of leaders in trade, business and professional groups, kept the National Recovery Administration informed of the attitudes of its members toward the Blue Eagle's rulings and actions.[19]

The city's committee had a two-fold purpose: the group created and administered the local recovery agency, and it enforced the National Recovery Administration's rules. The leaders of the committee interpreted the latter function very conservatively. They intervened to see that a business obeyed the federal law only when the local trade association or professional group proved unable to enforce a code. The local National Recovery Administration was much more energetic when it came to creating an administrative organization. The central committee established six smaller units, decentralizing control, decision-making and responsibility. These sub-committees covered the areas of adjustment, interpretations, exceptions, compliance, publicity and education. The last three were the most important.

The seven-man compliance board determined violations of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the codes, as well as nominally ruling on exceptions to those rules. By a majority vote, the committee decided who had broken the law, passed their ruling on to the district board in Dallas, Texas, and then on to Washington. This group also attempted mediation over union contracts and labor disputes or sent these problems to the National Labor Board. Two weaknesses affected the success of the compliance committee and the National Recovery Administration. Labor had only two representatives on the board creating a definite advantage in favor of management. Decisions tended to support the latter. This partially explains the National Recovery Administration's failure to fulfill its promised role as protector of organized labor. Moreover, the fact that the local board had little direct power to enforce its decisions seriously impaired the effectiveness of the Blue Eagle. Time, distance and the bureaucratic hierarchy benefited violators and frustrated those who sought a just hearing under the federal recovery program.[20]

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19 *Ibid.*

20 J. A. Hull to Stanley Draper, October 2, 1933, *Ibid.*

The last two sub-committees, publicity and education, created the all-important, patriotic image of the National Recovery Administration, its supporters and its enemies. H. P. Hoheisel of the Oklahoma City Advertising Club headed the publicity group which had been divided into five parts; each of these blanketed a different aspect of publicizing the National Recovery Administration and its campaign. These subdivisions included the Newspaper Bureau; the Radio Bureau; the Poster Bureau; the Amusement Bureau; and a group handling trade journals, civic clubs, bulletins and other miscellaneous areas. The Education Committee, comprised of the Appointment Bureau, the Information Bureau and the Speaker's Bureau was even more important. Theodore M. Green of the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company led the Speaker's Bureau as it launched a barrage of supporting propaganda. One hundred and sixty-nine of the community's top business, professional and religious leaders stressed the patriotic nature of the recovery venture and emphasized the fact that the National Recovery Administration was not trying to socialize the economy or nationalize independent businesses. The local committee ordered its speakers to discuss subjects that fit the "spirit of the movement" and to emphasize that their audiences not rock the boat.[21] The Blue Eagle's propaganda mixed religion with patriotism as the city's pastors preached a series of sermons supporting the federal program:[22]

> Everybody in this crisis should trust this government . . . Wars can only be won by unlimited faith in leaders . . . Upon you devolve the duty of giving your moral support at all times . . . to the government which is seeking to bring about the harmony of the laws of God and the laws of man . . . In this way you can cooperate with them in bringing about the Kingdom of God on Earth.

Besides the working staff, the new kingdom of the Blue Eagle required a large volunteer organization to bring everyone under the watchful eye of the National Recovery Administration. In Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, the Volunteer National Sales Army filled this traditional role. The recovery committee divided these volunteers into two divisions, the Blue Eagle Army and the Loyalty Army. The first, led by "Colonel" Lyall Barnhart, explained the provisions of the National Recovery Administration to businessmen, persuaded them to join by signing the President's Reemployment

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[21] "Minutes of general meeting of the National Recovery Council," *Ibid.*; United States Government, *Helpful Hints for Speakers* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 40–41.

[22] *The Oklahoma News* (Oklahoma City), September 1, 1933; United States Government, *Handbook for Speakers* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 29–30.

Agreement, and gathered information concerning the effects of the program on the local economy. The second group secured pledges supporting the President's Consumers Agreements, committing individual citizens to patronize stores bearing the insignia of the Blue Eagle. The National Recovery Administration Committee singled out several groups for special attention in the volunteer organization. The Loyalty Army included five regiments under the Women's Division. Stressing their significance as consumers, the Women's Division aroused local housewives and businesswomen to the importance of the Blue Eagle. This section contacted all women's organizations in the city, frequently kept news about the recovery program on the women's page of the newspaper, geared advertisements to women and their concerns, approached women's church groups and obtained radio time for women speaking in favor of the Blue Eagle. The recovery administration also contained the fifth regiment especially for "colored" residents of Oklahoma City.[23]

The Chamber of Commerce played a vital role in all of the local recovery committees, providing manpower and leadership. Oklahoma City's National Recovery Administration drew almost all of its officers from the ranks of the Chamber. The business organization supplied men and money as well as physical facilities for meetings, study groups and rallies. For example, it gave local businessmen the full support and cooperation of the Chamber's industrial committee to work out mutual problems. The Chamber hoped to further the interests of Oklahoma City by promoting the state capital as a regional headquarters for National Recovery Administration affiliated trade associations. In the future this could make the city a vital urban center for the Southwest. The close association of the Chamber and the Oklahoma recovery committee indicates the basically conservative nature of the New Deal's principal program.[24]

The National Recovery Administration began its Blue Eagle Drive on August 27, 1933 with a nation-wide radio broadcast starring such speakers and entertainers as Hugh Johnson, Will Rogers, Bing Crosby, Eddie Cantor, Kate Smith and Al Jolson. Oklahoma's National Recovery Administration committee held an intensive speaking campaign to parallel the national program and conducted rallies and parades to sell the Blue Eagle to every city, town and hamlet in the state. Supporting all this, the Volunteer National Recovery Sales Army conducted a house-to-house, business-to-busi-

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23 *NRA Campaign in Oklahoma City, 1933–1935*; *The Oklahoma News*, August 31, 1933.

24 Russell Hogin and David Shackleford to Frank Buttram, September 14, 1933, *NRA Campaign in Oklahoma City, 1933–1935*; *The Daily Oklahoman*, August 3, 1933.

Frank Buttram, head of the Oklahoma Recovery Board and Will Rogers, who helped "kick off" the National Recovery Administration's Blue Eagle Drive on August 27, 1933

ness canvass of the city and state selling the program like recovery encyclopedias.[25]

In addition to the workings of the volunteer group, radio programs and local speakers, the National Recovery Administration promoted its Blue Eagle Drive through several other means. The recovery committee held a five-mile long parade of the reemployed and built a billboard 20 by 200 feet containing the names of those who had signed the Blue Eagle pledge. Probably the biggest promotional event was a mass rally held on September 6,

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[25] United States Government, *Pointed Paragraphs for Speakers* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 2–4.

in Oklahoma City. Washington included the entire Southwestern District in the meeting which listed as its main guests Henry Rainey, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and Mrs. S. L. Johnson, of Okmulgee, Oklahoma, mother of the National Recovery Administration's director.[26]

Oklahoma's initial response to the Blue Eagle Drive overwhelmingly favored the new program. By August 31, over two-thirds of the city's businesses had signed the President's Reemployment Agreement, and consumer pledges totaled 101,693. The latter included 36,870 white males, 62,778 white females and a total of 2,045 blacks. By as early as August 6, 1,800 new workers had been added to the city's businesses, amounting to a payroll increase of $15,000 per week. For example, the city's grocery stores added 500 employees by going on a forty hour week and a six hour day; M'Ewen-Halliburton Dry Goods Store increased its payroll by thirty workers; and Horabaugh-Brown Dry Goods Company added twenty employees. The influence of the petroleum industry on reemployment has been mentioned already. In fact, there are indications that Oklahoma City led the nation in the drive for pledges. Praising the efforts of the city and the director of the local National Recovery Administration, a memo from Washington to all state committees cited the Sooner State's progress as the best example of the national campaign. Oklahoma's efforts in the Blue Eagle Drive even merited a visit from Harry Hopkins, head of the Civil Works Administration and principal advisor to President Roosevelt; Hopkins met with campaign workers and the city's Chamber of Commerce on August 23.

Citizens of the Sooner State expressed their support in ways other than just signing their pledges. State newspapers stated their views in the form of editorials and editorial cartoons calling for full cooperation with the President and the recovery program. The University of Oklahoma announced that it planned an addition of forty new courses to be held during the evenings and on Saturdays. These were to help workers use the excess leisure time made available by shorter working hours. Men from Guymon, Oklahoma, who had been employed under the Blue Eagle, started the nation's first National Recovery Administration baseball team. According to the team's captain, C. L. Saunders, baseball helped keep "thoughts of hard times and blue days away from the human mind." The team carried a banner displaying the Blue Eagle to all ballgames, parading with it down the town's main street.[27]

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[26] *NRA Campaign in Oklahoma City, 1933–1935*; Draper to Earp, September 1, 1933, *Ibid.*

[27] *The Oklahoma News*, September 1, 1933; *The Daily Oklahoman*, August 3, 1933; *The Edmond Sun* (Edmond), August 3, 1933 and September 7, 1933; C. L. Saunders to Franklin D. Roosevelt, August 3, 1933, *NRA Campaign in Oklahoma City, 1933–1935*.

In addition to the more traditional business, professional and citizen's groups who promised to work for the Blue Eagle, Oklahoma's more radical elements also offered their suggestions and support. Urban radicals and their jobless agricultural counterparts joined their voices in favor of a federal recovery program. The Progressive Youth of Oklahoma, an organization of young Socialists, Communists and Liberals, backed the National Recovery Administration, but promised to keep it honest by lobbying for strict enforcement of the codes. Leftist help also came from Oklahoma's United Front which included the Veterans of Industry, Farmers and Workers of America, the International Labor Defense, the Socialist party and Communist party. This group offered several names for labor representatives on the compliance board, none of whom were accepted. The stand of Oklahoma's left ran counter to that of its national brothers. For example, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in a statement issued July 4, 1933, denounced the National Recovery Administration as only dealing with the symptoms of the far more pervasive disease of capitalism. The national Socialists also feared that this arrangement easily could have been turned into an American brand of fascism.[28]

At high noon on Monday, May 27, 1935 the nine justices of the United States Supreme Court unanimously declared the National Recovery Administration unconstitutional. However, the real verdict, judging the effects of the National Recovery Administration on the economic life of states such as Oklahoma, proved much more complex. On the negative side, the Blue Eagle was a bureaucracy at its worst; the creeping slowness of the administrative hierarchy had benefited those who violated the codes and frustrated those who sought a fair hearing under the National Recovery Administration. The national recovery policy had also precipitated a rise in prices, hurting the nation's buying power. For example, Oklahoma reported an increase in the costs of meals from five to twenty cents, and in the price of a haircut to fifty cents.[29] More positively, business profits climbed from $100,000 in 1932 to over $430,000,000 in 1935; more important for Oklahoma, the 1932 petroleum profits of $20,000,000 more than doubled in three years.[30] In the same period Oklahoma's unemployed declined from 354,000

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[28] *The Oklahoma News*, July 31, 1933; J. T. Bays, C. W. Hollaway, and G. E. Taylor to Earp, August 3, 1933, *NRA Campaign in Oklahoma City, 1933–1935*; David Shannon, *The Socialist Party in America* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1955), pp. 227–249.

[29] *The Oklahoma News*, August 3, 1933.

[30] National Recovery Administration, *Report on the Operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act*, Library, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma), p. 42.

to 227,000, a drop of nearly thirty-six percent, and weekly payrolls increased $478,000,000 to $638,000,00.[31]

John Steinbeck's portrayal of the "Okies" trekking to California could have been joined by an equally important picture of the exodus to Sooner cities. Those who chose the latter road may have faced better economic opportunities than their brothers in the California migrant camps. The renewed strength of the petroleum industry and the partial success of Oklahoma's National Recovery Administration were major causes of such opportunities. Those who fled the terrors of the Dust Bowl found some solace in their strange new urban environment under the protective wing of the Blue Eagle.

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[31] Bureau of Business Research, "Report," Business Department, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1937. Oklahoma Department of Labor, *Biennial Report*, 1934–1936, p. 17.

STRESS AND DEATH IN THE SETTLEMENT OF INDIAN TERRITORY

*By R. Palmer Howard and Virginia E. Allen**

Disease and death stalked the Cherokees and other southeastern Indians during the 1830s on their "Trail of Tears" to new homes beyond the Mississippi River. The confinement after 1867 of the nomadic Southern Plains Indians on reservations in western Indian Territory at first appears less dramatic. The "white man's road," however, brought strange diseases and agency doctors with new medicine. The stresses between the native and Anglo-American cultures continued for many years. Indeed, the attempt by the federal authorities to resolve the Indian problem in the 1890s through tribal dissolution and individual land allotment left many cultural conflicts. Though the origins of these conflicts date from the first white contacts, the Indians today recall the removals to Indian Territory with acute sorrow and bitterness.

The early removal treaties with each of the five Southeastern tribes were negotiated through threats to the tribal autonomy and inducements to individual Indian negotiators. The Treaty of New Echota required all Cherokees to leave their eastern lands before May 23, 1838 but less than 3,000 enrolled for removal. The majority stolidly remained while the Cherokee National Council unsuccessfully sought modification of the treaty. At the scheduled time, Brigadier General Winfield Scott's troops assembled 15,000 recalcitrant Cherokees, and during June, 1838 three detachments were dispatched to the West.[1] The physician's and conductor's accounts of one journey are dramatic.

First Lieutenant R. H. K. Whiteley assumed charge of a party of approximately 875 Cherokees on June 12, and four days later they entered flat boats at Ross's Landing near Chattanooga, Tennessee. Contract physicians, Robert H. Hodsden and George D. Morrow, accompanied them until they

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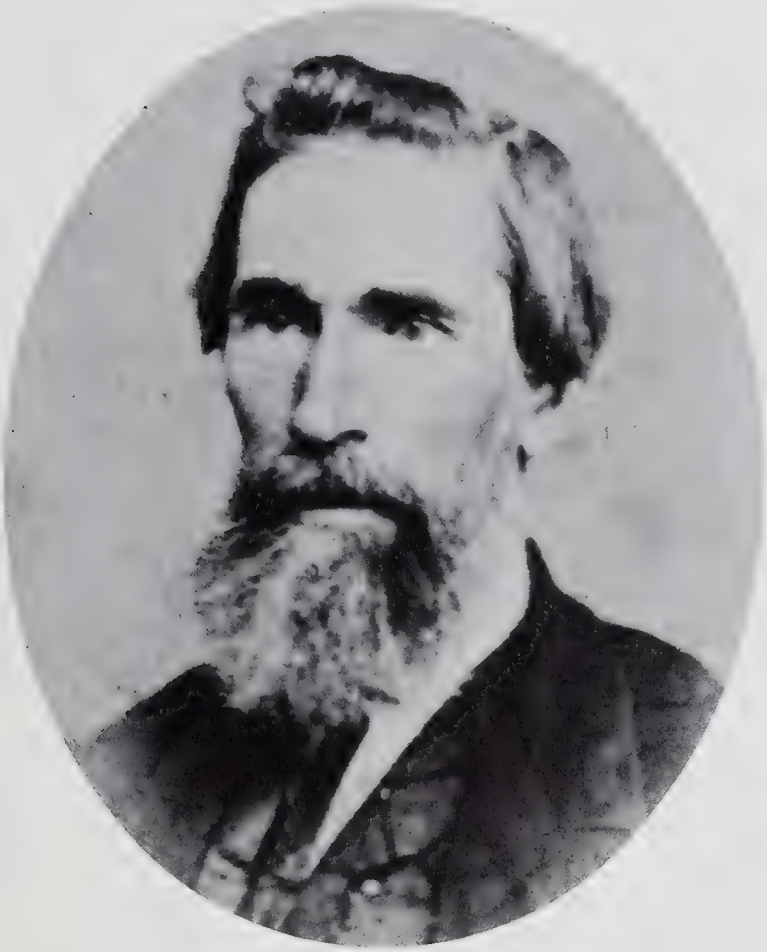
[1] The negotiations and the removal are discussed by Grant Foreman in *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), pp. 264–293.



Dr. Jason Holloway, Agency Physician to the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, 1872–1876

were disbanded near the present site of Stilwell, Oklahoma. Doctor Hodsden's medical report substantiates Whiteley's official journal, except for minor details.[2]

Passage over the Mississippi River system was delayed by rapids on the upper Tennessee and by mismanagement. On July 13, their vessel grounded

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 294–296. A typescript of R. H. K. Whiteley's "Journal," as cited by Foreman, is available in the Library, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma. The Five Civilized Tribes Museum, Muskogee, Oklahoma, displays a reproduction of Doctor Robert Hodsden's medical report, which belongs to W. Patton Fite, Sr., M.D.

on a sand bar in the Arkansas River after a thousand-mile journey of thirty-one days. From the first week intestinal infections and measles sickened many and were responsible for most of the seventeen deaths before the party disembarked near Lewisburg because of low water. The rugged terrain of the upper Arkansas made land travel arduous.[3] The conductor hired twenty-three wagons for the elderly and sick, while others walked over the primitive trail along the river. In the oppressive heat and drought they advanced seven to sixteen miles a day before camping near tributary streams. Several miles before reaching Fort Smith, Arkansas the party turned north along Lee's Creek and entered the new nation. Their journey ended thirty-six miles from the Arkansas River at the western edge of the Boston Mountains, in the Flint District of the Cherokee Nation. On August 5, the receiving officer enumerated 602 surviving migrants, although 62 to 65 others apparently reached their new lands.

In 24 days, on the 161 mile march, 56 or 57 Cherokees died, which raised the total to 73 or 74 for the entire journey. Doctor Hodsden most frequently attributed the deaths to "flux"—diarrhea—or "dysentery"—severe diarrhea with blood and mucus. He blamed the high mortality on the unpropitious season, indulgence in green fruits and the "pernicious practice" of frequent bathing in cold water.[4] The probable causes, however, were contaminated water and lack of precautions against the spread of bacterial infections.

More than 4,000 Eastern Cherokees died during the removal or within a year of their arrival in the West. The hardships encountered during the journey west left the survivors dispirited and weakened. With inadequate protection from environmental hazards and impaired immunity to infectious diseases, the mortality during the first year in the territory continued at a high rate.[5] The other Southeastern Indians suffered similar losses.[6]

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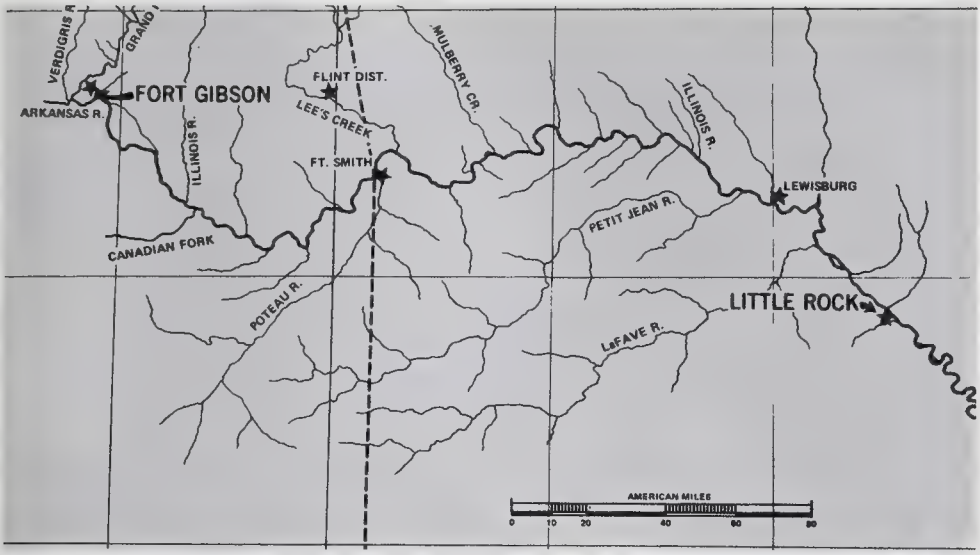
[3] The valley was vividly described by Thomas Nuttall, a travelling naturalist, in *Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory During the Year 1819, with Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines* (Philadelphia: Thomas H. Palmer, 1821), frontispiece map and pp. 119–ff. A later detailed survey was made by the United States Army Corps of Engineers; Second Lieutenant T. S. Brown, to Brigadier General C. Gratiot, May 8, 1833, United States House of Representatives to Brigadier General C. Gratiot, May 8, 1833, United States House of Representatives, *Document 1*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Gales and Seation 1835), pp. 112–118. A copy of the map prepared by Brown to accompany the report is in the Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[4] Robert H. Hodsden "Report" Five Civilized Tribes Museum, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

[5] Marian Lena Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), pp. 282–301, 315. R. almer Howard, "Cherokee History to 1840: A medical View," *Journal of the Oklahoma State Medical Association*, Vol. LXIII (February 1970), pp. 78–81.

[6] Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*. The Reverend Cyrus Byington estimated that 6,000 Choctaws died during removal out of a tribal population of 40,000; cited in Virginia R. Allen, "Medical Practices and Health in the Choctaw Nation, 1831–1885," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1970), p. 62.



The final portion of the "Trail of Tears" during the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes in which many tribal members died of " 'Flux'—diarrhea—or 'dysentery' "

Although the Southern Plains Indians were not forced to leave improved homesteads and march long distances, their defeat, relocation and loss of freedom produced stress and shock comparable to those suffered by the five Southeastern tribes.[7] By the terms of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas and Comanches were assigned reservations in western Indian Territory. The Federal government provided each reservation a resident agent, physician, several instructors, agricultural assistance and $20,000 annually.[8] Intermittent warfare, confusion and suffering continued for several years, due in part to recurrent delays and poor quality of the promised annual supplies. In 1875, the hostile bands were disarmed and their leaders imprisoned, as these demoralized people tried to adjust to the dull routine of reservation life.

The restless nomads were expected to become farmers at once, but farming was an alien occupation. The Indian women's tasks included gathering

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[7] Virginia R. Allen, "The White Man's Road: The Physical and Psychological Impact on the Southern Plains Indians," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (April, 1975), pp. 148–163; Virginia R. Allen, "Health and Medical Care of the Southern Plains Indians, 1868–1892," Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1973.

[8] Charles Kappler, ed. and comp., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Five vols., Washington, D.C., 1904–1941), Vol. II, pp. 984–989.

The buffalo culture was still at its zenith when this photograph was made, about 1870. With their teepees arranged in the traditional groups, the women had been performing their usual duties of drying meat and curing hides

fruits and plants and performing camp chores, while the braves hunted, traded and defended the tribe. A few chiefs, such as Big Mouth, attempted to lead their people down the white man's "corn road," but inexperience and recurrent drought limited their achievements in agriculture. Government policy actually discouraged successful farmers because their rations were correspondingly reduced. The acculturation could not be achieved quickly. As the Arapahoe, Carl Sweezy, explained:[9]

> It took years to learn to settle down on a farm and work alone and see one's neighbors only once in a while. Neither we nor our dogs nor our ponies understood this new way of the white people. To us it seemed unsociable and lonely, and not the way people were meant to live.

The forced relocation, the inadequacy and unreliability of food and shelter and the recurrent hostilities affected the health of the Indians. Insecurity and defeat created an emotional climate detrimental to both mental health and physical well-being. Smallpox, typhoid fever and malaria, which

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[9] Althea Bass, *The Arapaho Way, A Memoir of an Indian Boyhood* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1966), p. 38.

Indian medicine man singing a prayer and using a gourd rattle to dispel malevolent spirits

were introduced by Europeans and Africans, caused many deaths because the Amerindians had no natural or acquired immunity, and their medicine men did not know effective remedies for these disorders. They could only resort to traditional rituals and chants for treating "the great chill." The Cherokee medicine man invoked the spirits of the air, the mountain, the forest and the water, while he blew upon the sufferer a decoction of wild cherry or tobacco. In refractory cases, the medicine man prayed also to the "great whirlwind."[10] Contemporary physicians prescribed cinchona alkaloids for the ague, but the etiology and transmission of both malaria and typhoid fever remained matters of speculation until the microbiological discoveries near the end of the nineteenth century.

In western Indian Territory, seasonal fevers reached their peak during late summer, but sometimes continued into December. Some preventive

[10] James Mooney, "The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1885–1886 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), pp. 360–363.

Physician's office at Darlington, Indian Territory, about 1872. Dr. Holloway is sitting on the porch

measures were suggested. Doctor F. B. Cleary, at the Cheyenne-Arapahoe Reservation in 1872, recommended moving the agency from the bottom lands along the north bank of the North Canadian River to higher ground. During prolonged rains the area near the government buildings became a swamp, and as the river receded it left stagnant pools.[11] The agency, however, was not moved until 1912.

In 1876–1879 the doctors at the Darlington and Anadarko agency headquarters often treated more than 1,000 cases per month; for example, in August 1878, Doctor Lawrence Hodge treated 1,314 Cheyennes and Arapahoes with 36 deaths reported. In addition, he turned away over 1,000 suffering from fever, after the quinine supply was exhausted.[12] This situation contributed to the decision of Dull Knife and his band of Northern Cheyennes to flee to their former homeland. On their departure they were reported to say:[13]

> We are sickly and dying here, and no one will speak our names when we are gone. We will go north at all hazards, and if we die in battle our names will be remembered and cherished by all our people.

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[11] Dr. F. B. Cleary to John Miles, September 16, 1872, Letters Received, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[12] Lawrence A. Hodge, "Sanitary Report August 1878," Cheyenne and Arapahoe Doctors, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[13] United States Senate, *Document Number 708*, 46th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 278; James Covington, "Causes of the Dull Knife Raid," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1948), p. 22.

The summer seasonal fevers and epidemics of exanthematous diseases persisted as major threats, but respiratory and ocular afflictions also impaired health on the reservations. The new environment entailed inadequate nutrition, shelter and physical exercise, as well as exposure to the diseases and vices of the white man's society. The psychological stresses ensuing from the conflicting cultures possibly led to a greater frequency of serious physical disorders. Undoubtedly, the combination of social stresses and environmental factors accounted for the increased incidence and mortality from tuberculosis and syphilis during the later reservation years. Chronic poor health and resentment about the loss of their traditional way of life may explain both the apathetic behavior and outbursts of irrational and violent activity; for example, the shooting in 1874 of the son of the Cheyenne-Arapahoe agency physician, Doctor Jason Holloway. Throughout the reservation period, the stresses engendered by the unwelcome acculturation to the "white man's road" undermined the physical and psychological health of the Southern Plains Indians.[14]

The five Southeastern tribes suffered similarly during and after their removal to the Indian Territory, where they were confronted with the problems of adaptation to new environmental and political conditions imposed by the Anglo-Americans. Resentment, malnutrition, disease, mourning and alcoholism led them to return to a more primitive level of social behavior.[15] Violent factional feuding characterized life within their tribal borders for several decades. Weaker racial groups of ancient and modern times, as well as the Amerindian tribes, suffered similar fates when they met and lost to dominant cultural groups with strange customs and diseases.

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[14] Allen, "Health and Medical Care of Southern Plains Indians 1868–1892."

[15] Howard, "Cherokee History to 1840: A Medical View," *Journal of the Oklahoma State Medical Association*, Vol. LXIII, p. 81; R. Palmer Howard, "Illness and Grief as Causes for the Antisocial Behavior of the Southeastern American Indians When Removed to the West," presented in April 1971, at the annual meeting of the American Association for the History of Medicine, Colorado Spring, Colorado.

BAWLING CATTLE AND BARKING BRAKEMEN: AN OKLAHOMA RAILROAD MEMORY

*By Donovan L. Hofsommer**

A story which is well known is that of the early cattle business in the American West—its cowboys, longhorn steers and trail drives to the railhead. Although in later days it may have been overly romanticized by Hollywood writers and others, it is, nevertheless, an interesting and even important story. Now however, both "legitimate" cowboys and longhorns are rare breeds, and railroad transport of livestock in any form has almost entirely disappeared from the American scene. Indeed, several important railroads have completely abolished their livestock tariffs in recent years. Nevertheless, the potential for generating and retaining a lucrative livestock traffic was a crucial incentive in the strategy of many early western railroads. This was particularly evident in the development, expansion and operation of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway, also known as the MK&T, the M-K-T after 1923 or Katy, in Oklahoma.

In 1871, MK&T stockholders were told by the railroad's management that "it would be difficult to assign limits to the probable extent of the through business which this company will derive from the cattle trade." The Katy's corporate goals at that time were to "afford the best and shortest route for freight and cattle from Texas and Indian Country to Chicago, St. Louis, New York, and all points East—300 miles less drive than by Abilene, and 100 miles less than by Neosho." Heretofore, an MK&T official continued, "in driving cattle in great herds through the country, much time has been consumed, and many head of cattle have been lost, by the ordinary vicissitudes of travel."[1]

While the completion of the MK&T route to Denison, Texas did not forestall the long drives to Abilene, Newton and Dodge City, Kansas, it did, nevertheless, draw a significant livestock traffic to its rails. A company spokesman boasted that by the end of June, 1871 the Katy had hauled twice as much stock into Sedalia, Missouri as the Kansas Pacific had hauled into

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[1] A passage from the *Annual Report of the Board of Directors, Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Company, 1871*, as quoted in *The M-K-T Employes' Magazine* (May, 1943), p. 6.

Kansas City, Missouri. Indeed, cattle traffic represented the railroad's number one commodity in terms of tonnage during the mid-1870s.[2]

This pattern persisted for two decades. In 1894, livestock traffic amounted to 338,025 tons, 13.85 percent of Katy's total for the year and drew income amounting to $1,295,761.33—highest among all revenue categories. A change began to develop in the next season, however. In 1895 revenues from the haulage of livestock were up slightly, but the percentage of livestock traffic, in tons, was down slightly. Two years later livestock represented 13.11 percent of the road's tonnage, but by then it was in third place behind coal and grain. It should be noted, however, that in 1897 the Katy hauled 424,167 tons of livestock, 86,142 more than in 1894; and during 1910 it handled 446,309 tons of livestock. Yet, this represented only 5.96 percent of all tonnage and only 5.79 percent of gross revenues from freight.[3]

The earlier lofty position of livestock in Katy's traffic mix continued to deteriorate. In 1916 it handled 357,423 tons—2.59 percent of the total. A major reason for this decline was the development of the refrigerator car; a corollary was the institution of major regional packing centers in Katy's trade area. Moreover, the MK&T's traffic mix was considerably more varied than it had been earlier. By now the region it served yielded heavy traffic in coal, grain, manufactured items and petroleum. To be sure, no less than 20.95 percent of Katy's traffic in 1922 was in oil or petroleum derivitives. Clearly oil was king; livestock tonnage had, at the same time, slipped to tenth place among commodities handled by the company.[4]

An attending corollary involved the physical expansion of the MK&T system. In 1910 it acquired the Texas Central Railroad. More important for Oklahoma, in 1911 it leased the Wichita Falls and Northwestern Railway, also known as the WF&NW, absorbing it fully in 1923; and during 1931, it would purchase the Beaver, Meade and Englewood Railroad, or the BM&E in the Panhandle of Oklahoma. By so doing, the parent road spread its tentacles throughout western Oklahoma and gathered to itself a growing volume of traffic in petroleum, grain and livestock—the commodities characteristic of the region.[5]

The WF&NW had been fostered by J. A. Kemp and Frank Kell, enterprising businessmen of Wichita Falls, Texas. Their road crossed the Red

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[2] V. V. Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 119, 204.

[3] Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, *Annual Report, 1894*, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Offices, Dallas, Texas, pp. 11, 26; Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, *Annual Report, 1895, ibid.*, pp. 9, 19; Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, *Annual Report, 1897, ibid.*, p. 23; Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, *Annual Report, 1910, ibid.*, p. 42.

[4] *Ibid., 1916*, p. 29; *ibid., 1922*, p. 23.

[5] Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier*, pp. 278, 279, 285.

One of the forty-one stock pens along the Northwestern District of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad

River between Burkburnett, Texas and Devol, Oklahoma, turned northwestward to Altus, Oklahoma, then northward to Elk City and Woodward, Oklahoma and northwestward again to reach its terminal at Forgan, in Beaver County. Its main line was supplemented by an important fifty-seven mile branch—boldly labeled the Panhandle Division—from Altus to Wellington, in Collingsworth County, Texas. After the WF&NW passed to the MK&T in 1911 it was appropriately known as Katy's Northwestern District.[6]

The trade area served by the Northwestern District, particularly the Texas and Oklahoma panhandles, was "cow country." In 1903 the region's cattle industry had been revolutionized by the introduction of cottonseed cake, or "oil cake." As a result, ranchers used the railroad to ship in their supplies of this and other feed, but, more important, the rails were employed to move the cattle themselves. Consequently, stock pens were required at forty-one locations along the Northwestern District; virtually every station had such facilities, and a few even were constructed at country loading points. Almost

[6] Preston George and Sylvan R. Wood, "The Railroads of Oklahoma," *Bulletin No. 60* (Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, 1943), pp. 52–53.

all of them were built prior to 1918, although pens were installed at Dunlap, Oklahoma in 1926 and for the Cole Ranch, near Altus, in 1932. The sizes varied according to the volume passing through them. Stations in Oklahoma such as Moorewood, Trail, Rosston and Knowles had only two pens, but Elk City had five. The dimensions of these facilities ranged from 32 by 48 feet at Hollister to 39 by 204 feet at May, 70 by 174 feet at Supply and 100 by 150 feet at Elk City. Water, of course, was a necessity at all stock-loading locations. It usually was procured from city supplies or by way of Katy's own pumps. At tiny Knowles, Oklahoma, however, the railroad was compelled to install a wind mill with a twelve foot wheel mounted on a thirty foot wooden tower.[7]

Numerous stations acquired reputations as heavy cattle loading points, but more cattle were reportedly shipped from tiny Mocane, just east of Forgan, than from any other station on the Northwestern District. Certainly some of the largest ranches of the Panhandle were nearby. One of these was the well-known Barby Ranch. Otto N. Barby, its founder, was born at St. Louis in 1865 but moved to the Panhandle thirty-one years later. There, near Beaver, he acquired 160 acres, the humble beginnings of an empire that was later expanded to more than 50,000 acres. Barby and his sons annually grazed 3,000 head of cattle and employed 15 cowboys. Barby shipped in heifer calves from Texas and Colorado, but most of his shipping was outbound. In October, stock cattle which had been sold to farmers in Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania were driven overland to the pens at Mocane or Knowles for loading. Frequently the volume was great enough to warrant a special train. Slaughter cattle ordinarily were consigned to the Kansas City Union Stockyards; such shipments were made at the end of a week on a carlot basis. In all cases, the Barby cattle moved eastward via Woodward and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad.[8]

There likewise were numerous smaller cattle shippers along the route. At Supply, for instance, numerous ranchers received shipments of Mexican steers each spring. In the following fall, many of these same animals were reloaded and shipped east.

Most of the slaughter cattle billed from there and from other stations on the Northwestern District went to market in carload lots. During the early years, an extra train was called to Woodward late in the week to drop stock

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[7] Beaver County Historical Society, *A History of Beaver County* (2 vols., Beaver: Beaver County Historical Society, 1970), Vol. I, p. 346; Collective data from files held by the Valuation Engineer, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, Denison, Texas.

[8] Beaver County Historical Society, *A History of Beaver County*, Vol. I, pp. 30–32, 346; *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 237; Interview, Ralph Barby, Knowles, Oklahoma, November 3, 1972.

The cowboys who accompanied the cattle to market had to ride in bouncing cabooses such as this

cars at every station between Woodward and Forgan. The next day these cars, now loaded, were picked up by the same crew and handled to Woodward where most were given to the Santa Fe. On the same day, a local train began picking up stock at each station above Elk City. Upon its arrival at Woodward, interchange cars were given to the Santa Fe, and the remaining loaded stock cars were combined with whatever southbound cattle remained from the recently arrived train from Forgan. Another extra train then wheeled these cars, mostly consigned to Fort Worth, Texas packers, southward. Back in the bouncing caboose, the usually fearless cowboys who accompanied the cattle to market braced themselves, cursed the engine driver who was rapidly propelling them toward what appeared to be an uncertain destiny and yearned for the sanity of the open ranges now far behind. After they had delivered the cattle, and after "shootin' 'em up" in the big city for a few days, these same cattlemen boarded the cars of the Katy's passenger trains for a more civilized if less colorful return voyage.[9]

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[9] Interview, W. P. Altland, Woodward, Oklahoma, November 14, 1971; Interview, C. W. Dowdy, Mangum, Oklahoma, November 15, 1972; Interview, P. O. Parks, Woodward, Oklahoma, November 4, 1972.

Cotton, wheat and livestock were the three commodities which traditionally moved to and from stations on the Wellington Branch. Extra train 914 on August 18, 1917 represented a normally heavy Saturday livestock run on the Panhandle Division in those days. Its manifest read:

5—Cars of cattle, Wellington to Wichita, Kansas
2—Cars of cattle, Dodsonville to Kansas City
1—Car of cattle, Dodsonville to Oklahoma City
1—Car of hogs, Hollis to Fort Worth
3—Cars of cattle, Hollis to Kansas City
1—Car of cattle, Duke to Oklahoma City

However, none of the livestock handled by Extra 914 was destined for stations on the Northwestern District. Cattle bound for Oklahoma City were taken to Elk City where they were transferred to the Rock Island. Cattle sold to packing houses in Wichita and Kansas City were delivered to the Santa Fe at Woodward while the hogs for Fort Worth were handled all the way by the MK&T. Throughout the 1920s the regular eastbound freight trains collected from twenty to fifty cars of stock each Tuesday and Saturday at the various stations between Wellington and Altus. Many of these cars contained hogs billed to Oklahoma City packers and were moved via Altus and the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway. Slaughter cattle consigned by shippers on the Wellington Branch usually were destined for plants or yards in Oklahoma City, Fort Worth or Kansas City. As with most commodities, livestock shipments declined on the Wellington Branch during the depression. Such loadings reached an all time low in 1939 and then increased.[10]

The pattern was similar on the main line of the Northwestern District. At Leedey, for instance, rancher T. H. Farris loaded his cattle on the home road and sent them to Oklahoma City slaughterhouses via Elk City and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad. Saturday was an especially "big day" at Hammon, Oklahoma as it was at most other stations, for on that day ranchers and farmers traditionally sent their livestock to market. Entire trainloads of stock were shipped from some stations by on-line ranchers, but single-car billings by individual farmers was more typical at most. By way

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[10] Wichita Falls and Northwestern Railroad, "Dispatcher's Sheet," August 18, 1917, Missouri Kansas and Texas Railroad Offices; Interview, C. P. Parks, Altus, Oklahoma, November 17, 1972; Interview, V. L. Alsup, Duke, Oklahoma, November 16, 1972; E. B. Parks, Mangum, Oklahoma, November 15, 1972; M-K-T, "Carload Business Received and Forwarded to Stations on the Wellington Branch File," Missouri, Kansas and Texas Offices.

of example, total billings at Camargo, Oklahoma for October, 1914 included three carloads of cattle and seven carloads of hogs.[11]

On the northern end of the Northwestern District, livestock men were particularly pleased with the special Fort Worth-bound hog trains which were operated periodically by the railroad. Even after this service was terminated, about 1925, area hog shippers continued to rely on the railroad for their transportation needs. One of these men was Jacob C. Holmes, proprietor of the Holmes Livestock Company at Laverne, Oklahoma. He was an independent hog buyer and shipper who purchased animals at various stations along the Katy and BM&E, especially at Beaver, Laverne and Vici. Most of the hogs shipped by Holmes were taken by the M-K-T to Woodward from whence they were billed to Los Angeles, California slaughterhouses. Holmes also frequently consigned carloads of swine to Fort Worth, a lengthy and remunerative line-haul for the Katy. Prior to the depression nearly every farmer in the area had a few hogs, and Holmes was never at a loss to fill out his weekly carloadings.[12]

Other animals and even poultry similarly went to market over the rails of the Northwestern District. At Vici the sales barn shipped large numbers of horses and mules during the 1930s. This reflected more the financial disaster which had befallen local farmers than it did a switch to mechanized farming. Also at Vici, and at Forgan too, poultry cars were loaded several times each year until the late 1930s when this traffic disapppeared for all time.[13]

In 1935, the M-K-T system handled 142,492 tons of cattle; this represented 1.92 percent of Katy's gross tonnage for that year. Five seasons later it handled only 98,376 tons, representing a mere 1.21 percent of the road's gross tonnage. Nevertheless, the movement of livestock, particularly feeder and slaughter cattle, remained important to the financial health of both the railroad and its shippers. In 1943, the M-K-T expected to participate in the movement of at least 9,000 carloads of Texas range cattle to various northern feeders. Such animals ordinarily weighed about 700 pounds and were valued at from $85 to $100 per head; the railroad loaded 28 in each car. Federal law required that the animals be rested for at least five hours after each twenty-eight hours enroute. Thus, on the Katy, the cattle were un-

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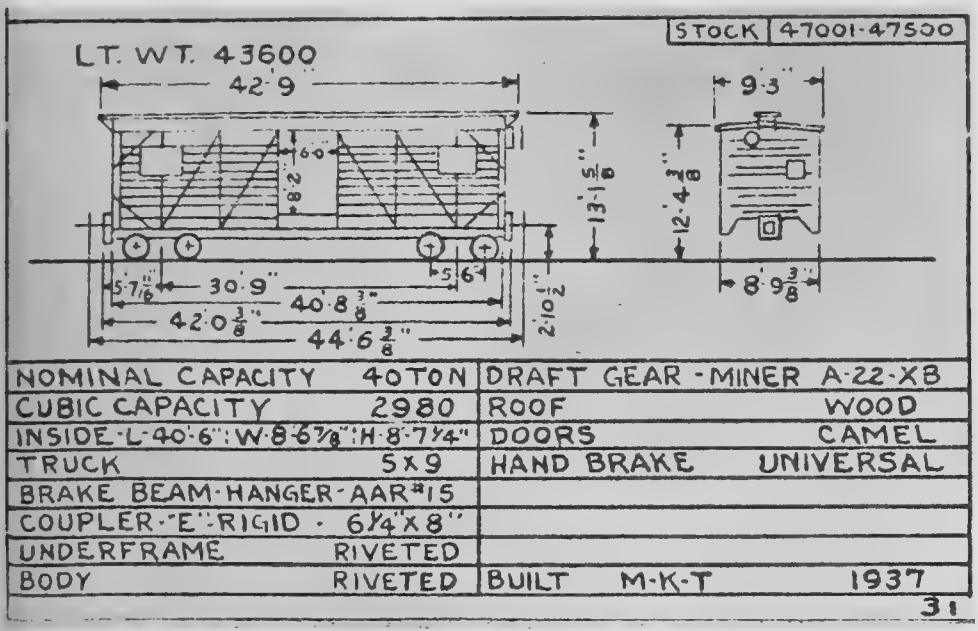
[11] Interview, M. H. Farris, Elk City, Oklahoma, November 17, 1972; Interview, Mrs. E. B. Savage, Hammon, Oklahoma, November 15, 1972; *Camargo Comet* (Camargo), November 20, 1914.

[12] Interview, Walter R. Smith, Laverne, Oklahoma, November 9, 1972; Interview, Jacob C. Holmes, Laverne, Oklahoma, August 24, 1972.

[13] Interview, Cliff Kay, Ponca City, Oklahoma, June 20, 1972; Beaver County Historical Society, *A History of Beaver County*, Vol. II, pp. 132, 135.



NOMINAL CAPACITY	40 TON	DRAFT GEAR - MINER A-22-XB	
CUBIC CAPACITY	2980	ROOF	WOOD
INSIDE L 40'6" : W 8'6 7/8" : H 8'7 1/4"		DOORS	CAMEL
TRUCK	5 X 9	HAND BRAKE	UNIVERSAL
BRAKE BEAM HANGER - AAR #15			
COUPLER "E" RIGID - 6 1/4" X 8"			
UNDERFRAME	RIVETED		
BODY	RIVETED	BUILT M-K-T	1937

31

Specifications by the Mechanical Department of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad for the stock cars rebuilt at Denison, Texas in 1937

loaded for feed, water and rest at stock pens constructed for those purposes at Hodge, Texas, on the outskirts of Fort Worth; at Denison, Texas; Muskogee, Oklahoma; and at Parsons, Kansas. The railroad provided 200 pounds of hay for each carload of cattle when the animals were detrained; it charged shippers a combined unloading and hay fee of $2.55 per car for those services. Naturally, expeditious handling was important to all parties. Therefore shipments of twenty-five or more cars were handled by special trains; during the early 1940s, however, Katy was pleased to note that its stock trains averaged forty cars.[14]

Although livestock traffic held up rather well throughout the war years, it declined precipitously thereafter. The percentage of gross tonnage represented by cattle on the Katy for 1945, 1950 and 1955 was—respectively—.79 percent, .65 percent and .53 percent. In the latter year, it should be noted, only 63,165 tons of cattle were moved by the road. Traffic in hogs and other live animals had, by this time, virtually disappeared.[15]

[14] Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, *Annual Report, 1935*, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Offices, p. 21; Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, *Annual Report*, 1940, *ibid.*, p. 21; *M-K-T Employees' Magazine*, (May, 1943), p. 6.

[15] Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, *Annual Report, 1945*, p. 42, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Offices; Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, *Annual Report, 1950*, *ibid.*, p. 32; Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, *Annual Report, 1955*, *ibid.*, p. 24.

The decline was patently evident on the Northwestern District. As late as the fall of 1947 the Barby Ranch near Knowles had shipped an entire trainload of cattle over the Northwestern District. Nevertheless, the construction of hardtop roads and the development of over-the-road trucking meant the end of the era when cattle were driven overland to the railroad's pens for loading. Barby and another rancher, T. A. Judy of near Forgan, continued to ship a few cars from Knowles and Mocane until the mid-1950s, but the end of all livestock shipping on the Northwestern District was clearly at hand. Even the Holmes Livestock Company of Laverne, which had shipped hogs to market on the Katy since 1925, quit using the railroad for its transportation needs about 1960. According to Jacob C. Holmes, the proprietor, there were several reasons for the switch. These included the development of sale barns, changing patterns of agriculture, good roads and large trucks.[16]

The demise of livestock traffic on the M-K-T system was soon reflected by the retirement of its stock handling facilities and equipment. On the Northwestern District, pens were dismantled during the 1940s at only two tiny stations; between 1950 and 1955, pens were retired at only two more small stations. Yet, between 1955 and 1960 pens at no fewer than twenty-one locations were retired; all remaining stock facilities on the Northwestern District were similarly disposed of in the 1960s. The same situation was mirrored in Katy's dwindling stock car fleet. In 1937, the railroad's shops at Denison, Texas had rebuilt 500 of its stock cars, turning them into virtually new equipment. By 1958, however, only 410 of these remained on the company's roster; the number dropped to 363 in 1959. As the M-K-T itself fell on hard times, and as the traffic in livestock ebbed away during the early 1960s, the company sold its last 300 cars to a rebuilder at scrap prices. After being upgraded, the cars were leased back to the Katy and were used to haul what little stock traffic that remained. Later in the decade they were temporarily converted to wheat cars after plywood had been nailed to the inside of the slats and paper grain doors had been applied. Finally, when the lease ran out, about 1970, the cars disappeared from Katy's property.[17]

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[16] Interview, T. A. Judy, Mocane, Oklahoma, November 12, 1972; Interview, Jacob E. Holmes.

[17] Collective data from files held by the Valuation Engineer, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad; In 1958 the Wellington Branch was abandoned and that portion of it extending from Hollis, Oklahoma to Wellington, Texas was dismantled. The remainder, from Altus to Hollis then was purchased for operation by the newly formed Hollis and Eastern Railroad, or the H&E. When the H&E assumed ownership stock pens still were in use at Duke, Gould and Hollis. A decade-and-a-half later, the entire BM&E along with part of the Northwestern District—from Altus to Forgan—was abandoned in 1973; *The Official Railway Equipment*

In 1894, livestock had been the Missouri, Kansas and Texas' most important tonnage and revenue-generating commodity. Changing conditions within the packing industry, altered feeding and marketing patterns, hard-top roads and over-the-road trucking changed that. Gradually the traditional livestock traffic was drained away from the railroads; what happened on the Katy was typical. The ultimate result was predictable. After being in the business of transporting live animals for more than a century, the M-K-T cancelled all of its livestock tariffs effective June 7, 1972. Now the sounds of barking brakemen—urging bawling cattle aboard wooden Katy stock cars —is nothing more than an Oklahoma railroad memory.[18]

Register, Vol. LXXIV (October, 1958), pp. 510–513; *ibid.* Vol. LXXV (April, 1959), p. 510; Freight Equipment Folio Number 41, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Mechanical Department, Parsons, Kansas.

[18] D. A. Fuhrig to all M-K-T agents, May 10, 1972, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Office.

WESTERN HISTORY COLLECTIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

*By H. Glenn Jordan**

The Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma, in Norman, is one of the most respected subject collections of its kind in the United States. The collections are an assemblage of manuscript and archival material, microfilm, printed matter and various other types of resources concerned primarily with the history and culture of the American West—both past and present—with special emphasis on Oklahoma, the Southwest and the American Indian. Administratively, the collections are divided into two major units, the Division of Manuscripts and the Library Division, each of which contains a number of sub-divisions.[1]

The Library Division is the oldest of the two units and owes its existence to the driving energies of Dr. Edward E. Dale, student of Frederick Jackson Turner and premier Western historian. When Dale became Chairman of the University of Oklahoma Department of History in 1924, he was immediately aware of the acute lack of research material available for graduate students in the department. Although the department received its prorated share of monies from the library fund, after being divided among the many divisions of history, they were insufficient to strongly develop one field for specialized research.

To Dale, a strong graduate program required specialized research materials in at least one area, and the natural one for the University of Oklahoma seemed to be state and regional history. Not only was the state rich in history, offering the opportunity to study the entire American West in microcosm, but little scholarly, in-depth historical study had been applied to it to that point. To build such a specialized collection, however, required money, and in an attempt to secure this, Dale first approached William J. Holloway, state senator from Choctaw County, who promised to aid in securing an appropriation from the state legislature. Yet, when the proposal came before the legislature, Dale, its strongest advocate, was away making a range cattle survey for the Department of Agriculture, and the proposal failed.

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[1] Jack D. Haley, "The Western History Collections: Library Division," *University of Oklahoma Libraries Bulletin*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (Fall, 1974), p. 2.

Frank Phillips—millionaire Oklahoma oilman whose contributions made possible the establishment of the Phillips Collection in 1927

Having been thwarted in obtaining public support, Dale next turned to private sources. He approached Patrick J. Hurley, prominant Oklahoma attorney, who, although personally unable to fund the project, promised to find someone who would. Within a few short weeks, Dale was at Woolaroc, the home of Frank Phillips, millionaire Oklahoma oilman, who was in the process of building a private Oklahoma collection similar to the one Dale envisioned. Phillips expressed interest in the concept of such a collection but questioned the need for two in the same state. Dale agreed that only one was necessary but argued that it should be at the university where graduate students would have full access to it and not fifteen miles from Bartlesville, Oklahoma, the location of Woolaroc. Phillips accepted the logic of Dale's

argument, and when Dale returned to Norman, he had a promise of financial assistance from Phillips.[2]

On April 5, 1927 the Frank Phillips Collection of Oklahoma and Indian History was formally established through a legal contract written by Grant Foreman, historian and retired attorney from Muskogee, Oklahoma and signed by President W. B. Bizzell of the University of Oklahoma and Frank Phillips. The purpose of the collection was:[3]

> To preserve and diffuse the data and materials of the history, ethnology, and archaeology of that part of the Southwest now incorporated in the State of Oklahoma, the memorials of its pioneers, and romantic past, the evidences of its development in industry, arts, civics, and literature, and all the elements of progressive civilization; to institute and encourage historical inquiry, and to inculcate interest and pride in our history; to mark the passing of a race of people and the genesis and growth of a new civilization; to perpetuate western American traditions and ideals; and to teach rising generations our debt to those who have gone before, and our responsibilities to the future; these things the undersigned believe worthy achievements to strive for, and they desire to promote their accomplishment.

More specifically, the goal of the Phillips money and the scope of the collections were as follows:[4]

> The purpose of the said Frank Phillips Fund shall be to aid in discovering and acquiring, cataloguing, and making available for research and study in connection with the Historical Department of the University of Oklahoma, letters, records, documents, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, and prints, pertaining directly or indirectly to the history of that part of the Southwest now included within the state of Oklahoma; to include accounts, journals, chronicles, data, and records of the indigenous Indians of that country; of the emigrant tribes before their removal, of the removal itself, and of their subsequent life and development, their governments and schools within their new home; Spanish, French, and American travelers, explorers and trading expeditions; of military expeditions and forts, and negotiations with the Indians both indigenous and emigrant; of the relations of that section of country and its inhabitants with France, Spain, American and other sovereign powers or neighboring people; and in general all other such historical material. And inasmuch as such records and historical material are known to be scattered throughout the state of Oklahoma in private

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[2] Interview, Dr. Edward E. Dale, Professor Emeritus, University of Oklahoma, in Guy W. Logsdon, "The Frank Phillips Collection," unpublished manuscript, Department of History, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1963, pp. 2–5.

[3] Contract between Frank Phillips and the University of Oklahoma, Western History Collections, Division of Manuscripts, Bizzell Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[4] *Ibid.*

ownership and custody, it is the purpose of this trust to acquire and preserve against loss such records and material as soon as may be; but it is also the purpose and within the scope of this trust to pursue its objects wherever the material may be found either within the State of Oklahoma or without, within the United States or in foreign countries; to acquire manuscripts, documents, and records or to secure copies or extracts from manuscripts, documents, and records in archives, museums, libraries and other repositories of the same, either in the United States or in foreign countries.

The contract, furthermore, stipulated that the fund was to be administered by a board of trustees of three members: the president of the University of Oklahoma, the head of the Department of History and a member appointed by Phillips. The university members were to be self-perpetuating by their positions, and the third member would be replaced by either Phillips or in a manner designated by him. The first members were Bizzell, Dale and Hurley. The board was to report the progress of the collection to John H. Kane of Bartlesville, friend and associate of Phillips. The money was to be deposited in a Bartlesville bank to the amount of $2,000 annually for five years. The university was to hold in one collection "to be called the Frank Phillips Collection" all "manuscripts, documents, records and other historical material" purchased with the Phillips Fund, but this material was to "become the property of the university." When size warranted it, the collection was to be housed in a special room open to "advanced students and others interested in research work in Oklahoma history." Also a suitable book plate was to be inserted in each item to show that it had been bought with the Phillips money. And lastly Phillips required a detailed annual report "showing in what manner the funds had been expended."[5]

Even though funds were now assured, a year with the Merriam Commission surveying conditions among the American Indians kept Dale away from the university, and, it was not until his return in September, 1927 that the collection actually started. Dale had checks printed which required himself and Bizzell as co-signers and, with these, he started an acquisitions program. The acquisitions book was a standard ledger, and each purchased item was assigned a number as it appeared chronologically in the book. Such a procedure, also being used by the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, provided both a method of bookkeeping and an acquisition record.[6] The following entry is found in the first ledger:[7]

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[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Logsdon, "Frank Phillips Collection," pp. 7–9.

[7] "Frank Phillips Collection Ledgers," Western History Collections.

The photographic archives of the Phillips Collection today boasts of approximately 250,000 items

The Book World, St. Louis, Mo., Paid Nov. 1, 1927, by Check No. 1
No. 1—Clark, W. P. *The Indian Sign Language* $7.50
No. 2—Moore, Clarence B. *Cooper Mounds* 1.00

The first books were simply placed in a glass case in Dale's office in Monnett Hall, the law building. As the amount of materials grew, it was moved to a room on the east side of the bottom floor of Monnett Hall, and a student helper was assigned to aid in administering the use of the Phillips Collection. Growth continued as Dale, interpreting the scope of the collections as broadly as possible, acquired materials on the entire Southwest and Plains area. In 1936, the collection was moved to the main library building and housed on the east side of the first floor.[8]

The usefulness and value of the Phillips Collection was soon quite evident. In 1930, Dale boasted that the value of the collections was great as evidenced by the fact that theses and dissertations were already being created from the material. Its size was "a thousand volumes very carefully chosen

[8] Logsdon, "Frank Phillips Collection," p. 9.

and a large manuscript and photographic collection."[9] Phillips was also very pleased with the progress of the collection. Although giving much of the credit to Hurley, he admitted "it has been a real pleasure for me and I hope to be able to continue to enlarge the collection for many years, and that it will develop into an important adjunct of the University."[10]

Dale, in his second annual report to the trustees of the Phillips Collection, reported significant growth and development and noted that the material was gaining quite a national reputation as well, as researchers were then traveling to the university to use the resources available. This was due to Dale's acquisition policy which stressed careful and conservation purchasing so that "each book and manuscript" would "have a real value to the student of Oklahoma and Southwest history."[11] Yet, Dale had made a very liberal interpretation of the scope of the collection and was acquiring materials on the entire Southwest and Plains area. This enlargement of the scope was probably the reason for the emerging national reputation of the Phillips Collection.[12]

The collection also had friends on campus. One of Dale's former students wrote to her brother, Patrick J. Hurley, praising both the Phillips Collection and Dale's efforts on behalf of it. "The collection is not only the greatest on Oklahoma history," she concluded, "but perhaps on the Southwest."[13]

Mackey's letter was correct in that the success of the collection could be traced directly to Dale. From inception to Dale's retirement in 1952, he had almost total control over the destiny of the collection and its development. Dale's abilities as a Western historian enabled him to select items for the collection which have grown in financial and scholarly value over the years. The broad interpretation Dale made of the scope of the collection cannot be overemphasized. From the beginning Dale refused to limit his acquisitions to a statewide coverage. This enabled the collection to acquire many fine items on topics that transcend state boundaries like the range cattle industry and the Plains Indians.[14]

Dale's acquisition policy can be best illustrated by what he considered "to be his most important acquisitions beyond the normal development of the collection." These were the Stand Watie Papers, the Brookings Insti-

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[9] Edward Everett Dale to Patrick J. Hurley, June 12, 1930, Patrick J. Hurley Collection, Western History Collections.

[10] Frank Phillips to Hurley, June 28, 1930, *ibid.*

[11] Dale to Hurley, April 29, 1931, *ibid.*

[12] Nancy Carol Carter, "The Phillips Collection of the University of Oklahoma," unpublished manuscript, School of Library Science, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1966, p. 5.

[13] Alice Mackey to Hurley, December 4, 1931, Patrick J. Hurley Collection.

[14] Carter, "The Phillips Collection of the University of Oklahoma," p. 6.

tute's donation of 625 volumes dealing with the American Indian and the *Indian-Pioneer Papers*. Acting on word from a student in one of his classes, Dale discovered and purchased three trunks of letters and papers of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot family from a woman in Grove, Oklahoma for $350 in 1933.[15] Not only did this rich material find a permanent home in the collection, but it furnished the basis for *Cherokee Cavalier* done by Dale and Gaston Litton. When, in the 1930s, a Works Progress Administration project to interview pioneers, Indians and old settlers was finished, Dale insisted that the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Phillips Collection receive copies. After the University of Oklahoma had supplied the necessary paper, the only two sets of this valuable 113 volume collection, known as the *Indian-Pioneer Papers*, were deposited at these locations. Finally in 1948 the Brookings Institute gave to the collection a 625 volume library that had been accumulated to aid in the work of the Merriam Commission. Although the Stand Watie Papers and the *Indian-Pioneer Papers* were clearly Oklahoma material, the Brookings library was not but the items included would have universal application for the study of the American Indian.[16]

The growth of the collection in the 1940s and 1950s was slow. Partly this was due to the absence of adequate funding although support in the form of material and funding was given by interested persons. Phillips in 1936 renewed the original contract one time through a supplemental agreement providing five additional years of support, at $2,000 annually.[17] From that point on, the Phillips Foundation has given the collection very important, but sporadic, financial support.[18]

Dale' retirement in 1952 marked a turning point in the history of the Phillips Collection. In spite of financial limitations, the collection had a solid foundation and a good reputation. When he retired, Dale estimated the collection had 8,500 books and pamphlets, 30,000 manuscripts, 4,500 photographs and several hundred typescripts, maps and newspapers.[19] Moreover, to improve the operation of the collection, he recommended that the

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[15] Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Families* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. i–x.

[16] Logsdon, "Frank Phillips Collection," pp. 10–12; Brookings Institute, "Frank Phillips Collection Acquisition List," Western History Collections.

[17] "Supplement to the Contract between Frank Phillips and the University of Oklahoma," Western History Collections.

[18] It should be mentioned that Frank Phillips gave over $30,000 to the collection during his lifetime. One-third of this amount was in the form of miscellaneous donations and the other $20,000 met the terms of the contract. Arthur McAnally to George Cross, October 19, 1953, Director's Files, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Norman, Oklahoma.

[19] Annual Report of the Director of the Frank Phillips Collection, 1951–1952, *ibid.*

administration of it be passed to the Director of University Libraries and that a full-time librarian be employed. Unfortunately, only the first recommendation was accepted.[20]

The years immediately after the retirement of Dale were discouraging ones for the collection despite sincere attempts at organizational improvements. The original three man trusteeship was abolished.[21] A committee representing the Department of History, the University of Oklahoma Press and the Library was appointed to discuss and develop policies on acquisitions, management and use of the collection and to supervise the expenditure of monies.[22] Arthur McAnally, Director of University Libraries, made a personal appeal to the Department of History to provide more active support for the library's only specialized collection.[23]

In spite of these efforts, the collection stagnated. The absence of a single, dominate individual to direct the operations concerning the entire collection was felt, and although many were genuinely interested, no one devoted the necessary time and attention required. Staff came and went, none remaining long enough to insure any lasting policies or procedures. The cataloging of the collection which had begun in 1952 came to a standstill in 1955 because of the overload of original cataloging necessary.[24] Financial problems continued to plague the collection. Little money was coming in from private sources, and the $300 to $600 library allocation was wholly inadequate. New problems emerged from the administrative relationship between the newly created Manuscripts Division of the Library and the Phillips Collection.[25] And overshadowing all of these problems was the fact that most excess energies within the library were being given to plans and efforts to construct a new library building.[26]

The Phillips Collection's fortunes took an upswing in 1957 with the appointment of A. M. Gibson as Curator of the Frank Phillips Collection and Head of the Division of Manuscripts, which had been established in 1948. For the first time since Dale, one highly interested person was responsible for the collection, and Gibson brought with him a high sense of

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] McAnally to W. C. Smoot, August 2, 1955, Director's Files, *ibid.*

[22] Pete Kyle McCarter to Gilbert Fite *et al*, November 22, 1955, *ibid.*

[23] Notes on the meeting of the Department of History, University of Oklahoma, December 14, 1953, *ibid.*

[24] Annual Report of the Director of the University of Oklahoma Libraries, 1955–1956, *ibid.*

[25] The Division of Manuscripts had been established in 1948 when the University received a grant from the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. A. M. Gibson, *A Guide to Regional Manuscript Collections in the Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. v.

[26] Carter, "The Phillips Collection of the University of Oklahoma," pp. 8–9.

purpose and dedication. Moreover, this dual appointment helped to alleviate some of the administrative problems existing between the two collections as both began to function as one administrative unit.[27]

Gibson immediately sought solutions to the financial problems facing the collection. Another effort was made to the Phillips Foundation to secure an endowment as George Cross, the President of the University, appealed to Paul Endacott, Chairman of the Phillips Foundation. Although the Phillips Collection was "good, valuable and useful," Cross argued that with additional monies, acquisitions could be made that would raise the statute of the collection to equal that of Yale, the University of Texas and the University of California.[28]

The response of the Phillips Foundation was not entirely what the university had expected. Instead of an endowment, a gift of $5,000 was made, but when W. O. Smoot, a member of the Phillips Foundation, met with Gibson, McAnally and Gilbert Fite of the Department of History, to explain the grant, it was evident that major differences existed between the foundation and the university as to the direction of the Phillips Collection. Smoot's comments clearly reflected the foundation's desire that the money be spent on books which would "contribute materially to the history of Oklahoma." Clearly this was a reversal of the developing scope of the collection and to accept this would retard its developing national reputation. Moreover, the foundation did not wish to see "rare and expensive (over $100) items" purchased. Instead of purchasing rare first editions, the foundation advocated the acquisition of less expensive, but useful, later editions.[29]

Although the Phillips Foundation gift was warmly received and again the university was extremely grateful for past support and continued good will, there was clear disappointment in the fact that an endowment had not been made at that time. An endowment would have provided a reasonably large and stable amount of money needed for the steady development of the collection. Moreover, such an endowment would have made funds available for the purchase of important items or collections that suddenly came on the market. The Ramon Adams Collection is a good example. The Adams Collection was probably the best range cattle collection available and also contained materials on law enforcement, peace officers and outlaws. The 3,000 volume collection was placed on sale in Dallas, Texas for $30,000. Rep-

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[27] *Ibid.*; McAnally, University of Oklahoma Library Administrative Memorandum, June 20, 1957, Director's Files, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

[28] Carter, "The Phillips Collection of the University of Oklahoma," 10; Cross to Paul Endacott, August 10, 1957, Director's Files, University of Oklahoma Libraries."

[29] Smoot to Cross, September 20, 1957, *ibid.*; Carter, "The Phillips Collection of the University of Oklahoma," pp. 10–11.

An example of the excellent holdings devoted to the American Indian available to researchers in the Phillips Collection

resentatives of the Phillips Collection and the university flew to Dallas, were favorably impressed with the materials and returned to Norman to make a request to the only possible source of money—the Phillips Foundation. Before the request, however, could even be prepared, the Adams Collection was sold to a private collector.[30]

Even without adequate financial support, significant progress was the trend of the 1960s and 1970s. New facilities in the form of a specially designed area on the fourth floor of the new library addition eliminated for a time the problems of physical storage and accessability. Through normal acquisition procedures; special support from the Alumni Development Fund, the University of Oklahoma Foundation and other organizations and patrons; and some $75,000 in grants from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the library now has some 57,000 books, pamphlets and printed items, including the former private collections of persons such as Walter Ferguson, John B. Fink, Alan Farley and Edward E. Dale. Moreover, the scope of the library was broadened to include the entire American

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 11; McAnally, University of Oklahoma Library Office Memorandum to Savoie Lottinville, June 5, 1958, Director's Files, University of Oklahoma Libraries.

West and the American Indian although the strengths are still Oklahoma, the Southwest and the American Indian. In 1967, the Division of Manuscripts, the Phillips Collection and all other subject-related collections were organized under one administrative unit—the Western History Collections with the two major divisions already mentioned. Additional full-time staff positions were added to handle the increasingly heavy usage.[31]

The strength of the Library Division has long been its excellent holdings on the American Indian which are both abundant and most valuable. Some of the classic works include: Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (1907–1930) consisting of twenty volumes of illustrated text and twenty large portfolios of photographs of the various Indian tribes of North America; Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *History and Conditions of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1852), one of the earliest descriptive works on the subject; Thomas L. McKenny and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (1855); George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* (1841); and O. B. Jacobson and Jeanne D'Ucel, *Les Peintres Indiens D'Amerique* (1950), a special edition of 750 copies of 77 prints of Indian artists done with a special French silk screen process.

Other holdings on the subject include works in the various Native America languages such as *The Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation.* Besides almost all of the standard monographs like the University of Oklahoma Press's fine *Civilization of American Indian Series*; reference works such as Charles J. Kepler, *Indian Treaties* and the United States Department of the Interior, *Biographical and Historical Index of American Indians and Persons Involved in Indian Affairs*; and bibliographies including Frederick J. Dockstader, *The American Indian in Graduate Studies* and Anne D. Harding and Patricia Bolling, *Bibliography on North American Indian Art*, there are complete sets of a number of publications. These include: the Bureau of American Ethnology *Reports* and *Bulletins*, the *Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, the *Reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, the *Annual Reports of the United States Inspector for Indian Territory*, the *California University Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* and the *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Memoirs.* Periodicals like the *American Indian Historian*, *American Indian Law Newsletter* and the *Plains Anthropologist* make the most

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[31] The information on the holdings of the Western History Collections, Library Division came from Jack D. Haley, "The Western History Collections: Library Division," *University of Oklahoma Libraries Bulletin*, Vol. XVII, pp. 2–6; conversations with Jack D. Haley; and personal observations and research within the library and its various catalogs.

recent scholarship on the topic available. And, lastly, to the student of the American Indian in the twentieth century, current newspapers including the *Navajo Times, Jicarilla Chieftain* and *Akwesasne Notes* are readily available for use.

Almost every aspect of the history and culture of Oklahoma and the Southwest is represented as well. The library is strong through both monographs and periodicals in the general histories of the state; travel and exploration—Spanish, French and Anglo-American—various economic enterprises such as the range cattle industry, mining, oil and agriculture; minority groups on the frontier; missionaries and frontier religion; lawmen and outlaws; and the military frontier.

The general histories of the state such as John D. Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma* (1922); Grant Foreman, *History of Oklahoma* (1942); C. D. Foster, *Foster's Comic History of Oklahoma* (n.d.); Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803–1906* (1939); Ted Byron Hall, *Oklahoma, Indian Territory* (1971); Victor Emmanuel Harlow, *Oklahoma, Its Origins and Development; A History* (1934); Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma* (1908); Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma* (1908), many of which are dated, are still of value to the state historian. Also, of course, the library has the more modern studies of the state such as the ones done by A. M. Gibson.

The material on travel, exploration and description is extremely rich with the following being representative examples of the library's holdings. The University of Oklahoma Press's excellent *American Exploration and Travel Series* includes such works as: Annie Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*; John Francis McDermott, *Tixler's Travels on the Osage Prairies*; Eugene W. Hollon, *The Lost Pathfinder: Zebulon Montgomery Pike*; and Grant Foreman, *Adventure on Red River: Report on the Exploration of the Red River by Captain Randolph B. Marcy and Captain C. B. McClellan*. Other works of value are Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542–1706*; Frederick Webb Hodge, *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States* (1907); and Ciros, *Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (1895).

Much of the material on politics and government was generated by the territorial and state governments including Oklahoma—territory and state —*House* and *Senate Journals, Reports of the Corporation Commission, Reports of the Attorney General* and *Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*. Other available studies on state politics and government are: Oscar P. Fowler, *The Haskell Regime, the Intimate Life of Charles Nathaniel Haskell* (1933); and *The Constitution of the State of Sequoyah* (1905).

The economic development of Oklahoma and the Southwest has long been the study of a number of prominent historians. The library is very strong in this area with such works as the following: J. T. Schlebecker, *Cattle Raising on the Plains, 1900–1961* (1963); Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (1874); *Southwestern Brand Book, Containing the Marks and Brands of the Cattle and Horse Raisers of Southeastern Kansas, Indian Territory and the Panhandle of Texas* (1883); Carl Burgess Glasscock, *Then Came Oil* (1938); Carl Cook Rister, *Oil—Tital of the Southwest* (1949); A. M. Gibson, *Wilderness Bonanza: The Tri-State District of Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma* (1972); Fred Albert Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier, Agriculture, 1860–1897* (1945); Edward Newfon Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854–1890* (1937); and Carl Coke Rister, *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers* (1942).

Historians are now just beginning to examine the true role played by various minorities including women in frontier development. Fortunately the Library Division has a number of studies like: Max Binheim, *Women of the West* (1928); E. M. Biddle, *Reminiscences of a Soldier's Wife* (1909); Elizabeth Custer, *Following the Guidon* (1890); R. D. Miller, *Shady Ladies of the West* (1964); Robert Elliott Flickinger, *Choctaw Freedmen* (1914); Nathaniel Jason Washington, *Historical Development of the Negro in Oklahoma* (1948); Kaye Teall, *Black History in Oklahoma* (1971); and M. E. Parrish, *Events of the Tulsa Disaster* (n.d.).

The effect of the missionary frontier and organized religion in Oklahoma has been great, and historians of this area will benefit from books like the following: Isabel A. H. Crawford, *Kiowa: The History of a Blanket Mission* (1914); G. L. Phelps, *Tepee Trails* (1937); *Minutes of the Oklahoma Indian Baptist Association, 1895–1922* (1923); John Morris, *History of the Brethren in Texas and Oklahoma, 1891–1922* (1923); Altha L. Bass, *The Story of Tullahassee* (1960); and Charles Clegg and Oden, *Oklahoma Methodism in the Twentieth Century* (1968).

Another topic that has drawn considerable study in Oklahoma has been outlaws and lawmen. Due to the lateness of the frontier period in this state, Oklahoma drew many of the outlaws from all over the west, and the library reflects this with such books as: Ed Ellsworth Bartholomew, *The Biographical Album of Western Gunfighters* (1958); Carl W. Breihan, *Great Gunfighters of the West* (1962); A. C. Appler, *The Younger Brothers* (1955); Emmett Dalton, *When the Daltons Rode* (1930); Burton Rascoe, *Belle Star* (1941); Glenn Shirley, *Henry Starr* (1961); Robert Park, *History of the Oklahoma State Penitentiary* (1914); R. S. Groves, *Oklahoma Outlaws* (1915); and Zoe A. Tilghman, *Outlaw Days* (1926).

Oklahomans have always expressed an interest in local history and the library mirrors the studies that have resulted from this keen interest. The library always seeks to add county histories when they become available, and the holdings are represented by the following: Guy P. Webb, *History of Grant County, Oklahoma* (1971); Margaret W. Teague, *History of Washington County* (1968); *Kay County, Oklahoma* (1919); Cecil R. Chesser, *Across the Lonely Years: The History of Jackson County* (1971); *Sage and Sod: Harper County, Oklahoma, 1885–1973* (1974); and *From Bluestem to Golden Trend: A Pictoral History of Garvin County* (1957). Community histories are also eagerly sought and the following are only a selective few from the holdings: John Alley, *City Beginnings in Oklahoma* (1939); Grant Foreman, *Park Hill* (1948); Angie Debo, *Tulsa* (1943); T. L. Ballanger, *Historic Points in and Around Tahlequah* (1961); O. B. Campbell, *Vinita, Indian Territory* (1969); *Pioneer History of Shattuck* (1970); Frank Cunningham, *Stillwater: Where Oklahoma Began* (1969); Joseph Ouayle Bristow, *Tales of Old Fort Gibson* (1961); and J. Biles, *Early History of Ada* (1954). Moreover, the library has an extensive periodicals subdivision including items like: *Chronicles of Comanche County*, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, *Cimarron Review*, *Great Plains Journal* and *Indian School Journal.*

There is also a government documents sub-division with several thousand items including Senate Reports, *Indian Territory Affairs* (1901); Senate Documents, *Coal Lands in Oklahoma* (1910); Senate Hearings, *Survey of Conditions of the Indians of the United States* (1939); and House Reports, *The Arkansas River and its Tributaries* (1939). Unfortunately, these are at present uncataloged and therefore inaccessible, but due to an extensive project presently being undertaken, they should be available for research within a year. Moreover, a catalog of the library's holdings will enable the staff and the researcher to have bibliographical control over them.

Besides the material within the library, the researcher has access to the holdings of similar subject collections through their printed catalogs. Some of these catalogs available in the library are: Denver Public Library, *Catalog of the Western History Department*; University of California, Berkeley, *Bancroft Library Catalog of Printed Books*; Yale University, *Catalog of the Yale Collection of Western America*; and Newberry Library, *Catalog of the Edward H. Ayer Collection of Americana and American Indians.* Also within this section are guides to archival holdings such as C. V. Kielman, *University of Texas Archives*; B. W. Parker, *Calendar of Papers in the Washington Archives Relating to the Territories of the United States (to 1873)*; M. C. Withington, *Western History Manuscripts in the Yale Uni-*

versity Library; and P. M. Hamer, *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States.*

At this point, a statement about usage of the Library Division should be made and, for the most part, it is applicable to the Division of Manuscripts as well. This is a research collection containing material that is extremely valuable both in a research sense and in monetary possibilities. For that reason, certain restrictions are placed upon its usage; these restrictions, however, are immediately made known to the researcher upon arrival and are enforced solely for the protection of the material for this generation and those to follow.

The companion to the Library Division is the Division of Manuscripts consisting of a very extensive collection of manuscript material, the photographic archives, the microfilm collection, a cartographic section, an oral history division, the University of Oklahoma archives and several similar units of miscellaneous records. The purpose of this division "is the collection and preservation of a wide variety of primary source materials relating to the history and culture of the America West, with special emphasis upon Oklahoma, the Southwest, and the American Indian."[32]

The history of the Division of Manuscripts was originally tied closely to that of the Phillips Collection. Through the first contract between the university and Frank Phillips establishing the Phillips Collection, manuscript and photographic materials were to be collected as well as books and housed in the Phillips Collection. In 1948, through a grant from the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, a separate Division of Manuscripts was created in the library "for the systematic collection, preservation, processing, and use of regional manuscript material."[33]

The first head of the Division of Manuscripts was Dr. Gaston Litton, and during his tenure from 1948 to 1956, initial progress was made in developing the collections. Immediately he started a campaign to collect and make available manuscript material to researchers. Using the National Archives as a model, systems and procedures were developed to process and store large quantities of such material. Although modifications have been necessary over the years, the original structure remains basically intact. The original location for the offices of the division was in the basement of Bizzell Library, although several years later work space and storage was made available beneath Owen Stadium. The operation of the division was

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[32] Jack D. Haley, "The Western History Collections: Division of Manuscripts," *University of Oklahoma Libraries Bulletin*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1975), p. 14.

[33] *Ibid.*, 15.

Some of the many books devoted to Oklahoma history that are contained in the Phillips Collection

severely curtailed by this separation of facilities which was not eliminated until the completion of the new library addition in 1958, when the division was rejoined in the old basement of Bizzell Library.[34]

Although the division continued to develop, progress was slow mainly due to the absence of continuity of staff. James Babcock was appointed Assistant Archivist in 1950 and he, along with Litton, a clerk-typist and part-time students constituted the staff. In the spring of 1956, Jack Saunders was appointed Acting Archivist after Litton and Babcock had both left for other positions. Late in the same year, however, Saunders resigned also and until the appointment of A. M. Gibson in July, 1957, the division was without leadership.

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[34] *Ibid.*, 14–15.

But with the arrival of Gibson, the division entered a period of substantial growth and development. In September, 1957, Jack D. Haley became the Assistant Archivist. Through extensive field work and speaking engagements by both Gibson and Haley, the successful effort was made to enlist support for the division throughout the state and region. New acquisitions were made and the quality of the holdings improved sharply. Additional facilities were made available in the library. Formal steps were taken to promote the holdings of the division. An inventory was made and in 1960 *A Guide to the Regional Manuscript Collections in the Division of Manuscripts in the University of Oklahoma Library* was published by the University of Oklahoma Press. Also selected holdings were reported for inclusion in the *National Union Catalogue of Manuscript Collections*. And clearly under Gibson's administration from 1957 to 1971, "the division grew rapidly and acquired a national reputation as a major research facility."[35]

Presently the manuscripts section of the Division of Manuscripts is composed of several thousand individual collections, varying in size from a single item to nearly one million pieces, covering American history from the beginning to the present. Almost unlimited resources for research and writing is offered by the estimated twenty million pieces of manuscript material. The format of this material includes personal and official correspondence, diaries, journals, business ledgers and records, literary manuscripts, proceedings and minutes of organizations, memoranda, telegrams, broadsides and posters, letter press books, newspapers and clippings, scrapbooks and printed documents.

The subject matter is as varied as the format and covers almost all areas. Material concerning various ethnic groups on the frontier including German, Italian, Slavic and black communities as well as the American Indian are available to attract the sociologist, anthropologist and the historian. A newly recognized minority, women, may also be studied and their actions on the frontier are documented through such collections as the Mary Jayne papers, one of the first female missionaries to serve among the Plains Indians.

Students of politics and government will find information in the various papers of tribal governments; of territorial, state and local political leaders; and those of national senators and representatives. The division has the official papers of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek nations, as well as the personal papers of many of their chiefs such as D. W. Bushyhead and Lewis Downing of the Cherokees; Jefferson Gardner and Green Mc-

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[35] *Ibid.*, 15.

Curtain of the Choctaws; J. M. Perryman and Pleasant Porter of the Creeks; and Cyrus H. Harris and William L. Byrd of the Chickasaws. Territorial and state politics can be examined through a number of collections such as those of Johnston Murray, David Boyer and Courtland M. Feuquay. Local political history may be found in a variety of collections such as that of Andrew N. Boatman. The papers of United States congressmen and senators such as Elmer Thomas, Robert S. Kerr, Carl Albert, Thomas Steed and Helen G. Douglas are of national interest. Of particular interest to the student of territorial and state politics are the proceedings of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention.

The person interested in the military history of the United States will not be disappointed as he will find diaries, letters, maps and journals of participants in many of the campaigns and wars of this nation's history. Of particular interest to those seeking to understand the role of the Indian Territory in the Confederate campaigns in the West will be the papers of Stand Watie, James Madison Bell, R. Bunch and Elias C. Boudinot. The G. M. Combest, Raymond S. McLain and Patrick J. Hurley papers, as well as other collections, are invaluable to students of military conflicts in the twentieth century and international relations. The Indian wars, perhaps the most popular military engagements in terms of popular interest, are documented in a number of collections such as the C. A. Dill, the Fort Gibson and the microfilm collections.

There is a wealth of material available to the student of the cultural history of Oklahoma and the entire Southwest. The letters and papers of John Rollin Ridge, Alexander Posey, Walter S. Campbell, Daisy L. Coldiron, Lois Lenski and George Milburn are used by the literary scholar. The papers of fine historians such as Edward Everett Dale, Roy Gittinger, Morris Wardell, Carl C. Rister and Althea Bass help to more fully understand their works. Moreover, the correspondence and literary manuscript files of the University of Oklahoma Press and *Books Abroad* are available and are additional sources of literary information on the state and region. The collections of Paul S. Carpenter, Yvonne Chouteau, Fredrik Holmberg and Oscar B. Jacobson are sources for the student of the fine arts, while the Gordon W. Lillie and Miller Brothers 101 Ranch collections document the development of entertainment of the region.

One strength of the division is the documentation of the economic development and history of Indian Territory, Oklahoma and the Southwest found in various collections. These collections treat such items as frontier trading and banking, mining, town development, the range cattle industry, agriculture, transportation and various oil enterprises. The files of the

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor and the collections of Sam M. Boydston, Charles Daugherty and David Fowler are invaluable to the labor historian of this region. The collections of Edward Everett Dale, John Simpson, Lyle L. Hague, Caryton H. Hyde and the files of the Oklahoma Wheat Growers Association offers interesting information on the range cattle industry and agriculture. The Chickasha Milling Company, Kali-Inla Coal Company, Pruitt Cotton Gin and the Redwine Trading Company help to more fully document economic enterprise in the area. Of course, the records of thirty-five representative Oklahoma banking firms during the territorial and early statehood days can provide financial information about particular towns as well as the territory or state in general.

The student of social and cultural history will find valuable resources that document the development of frontier institutions and illuminate frontier life. Such collections as the archives of the Episcopal Church of Oklahoma and the files of missionaries and ministers such as Joseph Samuel Murrow are useful in that they treat the development and activities of religious bodies. The development and operation of the medical profession can be documented in such collections as that of V. Berry, Ralph Bienfany and Lewis J. Moorman as well as that of the Oklahoma State Medical Association Collection. A good look at the operation of a law office can be gained through an examination of either the Cruce, Cruce and Bleakmore or the Bower Broaddus collections. Law enforcement and outlaws always attract attention and the Isaac C. Parker or Charles B. Rhodes collections can provide information for Indian Territory and Oklahoma. Files of the various tribal governments such as the Cherokee and Choctaw nations, papers of prominent educators such as William B. Bizzell or David Ross Boyd and the official proceedings of the various governing bodies casts light on the educational development of the Indian Nations, the territories, and the state. Extensive files of social and civic organizations reflect the development and change in these areas in the state and region.

One of the more interesting collections is the Division of Manuscripts Collection. Throughout the years several thousand pieces of manuscript material and photographs came in from a variety of sources, and it was impossible to assign them to a particular collection. To provide some means of classifying and controlling them, the Division of Manuscripts' Collection was created. Some eighteen linear feet in size, it includes miscellaneous items like the following: muster roll of the Oklahoma Territory Rough Riders, United States Cavalry, May 14, 1898; Works Progress Administration project on American Indian bibliography comprising 85,000 card entries for Indian material found in federal publications; census roll,

Coweta Town, Muskogee, Creek Nation; manuscripts of Sally Journeycake's days at Bacone College; and 325 photographs of Indians, land runs, hunting scenes and early towns of Indian Territory.

The Photograph Archives is probably the best known and most heavily used of the subdivisions of the Division of Manuscripts. The division supplies the needs of authors, publishers, film makers, museums, schools and others who need photographic materials for various projects. This section consists of well over 200,000 glass plate and acetate negatives and prints of historic places, events and personalities of the American West. The N. H. Rose, Robert Cunningham and A. A. Forbes are some of the outstanding collections located in this subdivision. Control and retrieval is possible in that although the photographs are filed by collections instead of by subjects, a shelf list is prepared for each collection, and subject cards are made for individual pictures. Only approximately fifty percent of the holdings are cataloged; however, in 1967 a photographic laboratory was obtained. And restoration and preservation work on pictures which are in danger of being permanently lost was begun.

Although occupying relatively little space, the Microfilm section is an invaluable part of the division. Through the years, a concentrated effort was made to obtain microfilm copies of important research collections in other manuscript repositories to facilitate local research. The collection now contains more than 8,000,000 pages of material on almost 10,000 reels of microfilm.

The holdings include almost all the available microfilm publications from the National Archives relating to the American Indian and extensive records of the War Department, the State Department and the Department of Agriculture. The presidential papers of James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, John Tyler, Zachary Taylor, Franklin Pierce, Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, Benjamin Harrison, Chester A. Arthur and Grover Cleveland from the Library of Congress have also been added to the division. Other extremely valuable collections on microfilm include the Draper Collection from Wisconsin, the Bexar Archives from Texas, the Mexican and Spanish Archives of New Mexico and material from Mexican and Spanish archives relating to the northern provinces of New Spain and Mexico. An effort has been made to obtain important regional newspapers on microfilm and these include the *Alta Californian*, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, the *Cherokee Advocate*, the *Arkansas Gazette*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *New Orleans Times Picayune* and the *Santa Fe New Mexican*. Also periodically the division is able to gain access to important manuscript collections within the region for microfilming. An

One of the research rooms available to the public at the Phillips Collection

excellent example of this was the Joseph Samuel Murrow collection from Bacone College. Although Bacone officials were not interested in parting with the collection, they were willing for the Western History Collections to process and microfilm it with the originals and a microfilm copy to be returned to them and the collections to retain a microfilm copy for its holdings. Of important interest is the fact that in 1975 a complete catalog to the microfilm holdings of the Western History Collections was completed; however, a shortage of funds has prevented the publication of this valuable guide to date.

The cartographic section includes over 5,000 maps relating to the subject matter contained in the collections. Although largely concerned with Indian Territory, Oklahoma and the Southwest, there are several hundred maps depicting other areas. The following examples are reflective of the types of maps within the collections and the areas they show: Lands ceded to the Choctaws in 1820; Boundary Area between New Mexico, Texas, Indian Territory, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska and Wyoming; Indian Territory, Showing Railways and Project Routes, 1865; Oklahoma Terri-

tory, 1891; Frank Bryan's Studies of Early Explorations and Historic Sites of Oklahoma and Texas by Means of Geological Features; Standing Rock Indian Reservation, Sioux County, North Dakota; and a Plat book of Kiowa County. An extensive project is underway to organize and file cartographic records by geographical or subject areas.

The Oral History section of the division attracts a number of scholars. Historians and anthropologists are very interested in the Indian Oral History Collection, financed by the Doris Duke Foundation in the 1960s. It consists of 900 typescripts of interviews in 55 bound volumes and 800 tape cassettes with a large subject card index providing access to it. The *Indian-Pioneer Papers*, mentioned earlier, consists of 118 bound volumes of typescripts. Located in the Library Division, the use of this particular source will increase greatly as a major indexing project is almost completed. There are also collections of speeches by and interviews with political and educational leaders, pioneers and American Indians. Some of the more notable sound recordings in this area include: a collection of stories of the Bolivia Colony by Johnston Murray; a series of radio programs providing the history of the 101 Ranch; lectures by Edward Everett Dale; and Osage songs and Cherokee, Creek and Shawnee language recordings.

The University Archives are also located in the division. However, when the division was established in 1948 and granted custody of the university archives, it was not given the authority to require the cooperation of the various administrative units and officials in developing a systematic records management system for the handling of university records and the result has been haphazard growth of the material. There is still a tremendous amount of material available to the researcher working in these kind of records. The files include the official catalogs, bulletins, reports and other published records as well as student newspapers, magazines, directories and similar university publications. Of additional value are the papers of past presidents of the institution such as David Ross Boyd, A. Grant Evans, Stratton D. Brooks, William B. Bizzell, Joseph Brandt and George L. Cross. Other useful information on the history and operation of the university can be found in the files of other administrators, faculty, and organizations such as Morris L. Wardell, Edward Everett Dale, A. M. Ewing and the American Association of University Professors.

Another of the subdivisions is the Historic Oklahoma Collection, some sixty linear feet of material "which exists to supply a means of orderly classification for miscellaneous items, ephemera, clippings, brochures, and other types of printed material which defy processing and inclusion in established collections, yet which possess potential for historical research." Organized under broad headings such as: Agriculture; Economic Condi-

tions; Historic Homes—by city, then by name; and Trails—A–Z, this material can be extremely valuable to the researcher.[36]

Moreover, there is a small collection of original Indian art and art prints. The division does have a complete set of Woody Crumbo's silk screen prints that were obtained through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare grant in the 1970s. Also included in other minor sub-divisions are small units of miscellaneous material like posters, broadsides, charts, blueprints, reprints, certificates and diplomas and several files of ephemeral records and memorabilia.

Even with its history of impressive growth and development, the Western History Collections looks to the future with an optimistic outlook. Dr. Abraham Hoffman who served as curator from 1971 to 1974 was replaced by Dr. John S. Ezell in 1975, with Jack Haley serving as acting curator in the interim. With Ezell, the collections now have another curator who is deeply interested in both the collections and their subject area; and Ezell has already undertaken a study of the department's most pressing problems and long-range plans. Some of the outstanding problems in relation to space will be certainly solved in 1976 as the collections move to newer facilities in Monnett Hall. For the Library Division particularly, this move will be somewhat ironic since it was born in a glass book shelf in Dale's office in Monnett Hall nearly fifty years ago. New acquisitions are being made almost daily to the collections, improving both the quality and quantity of its holdings. If these trends continue, the excellent international reputation earned by the collections throughout the years will continue to grow.

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[36] Gibson, *Guide to Regional Manuscript Collections in the Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library*, p. 80.

THE CHEROKEE SCRIPT ISSUANCE OF 1862

*By James F. Morgan**

On the second of May, 1862, the Cherokee Council and National Committee passed an act authorizing the issuance of $20,000 worth of notes for the Cherokee Nation, in the denominations of fifty cents, one dollar, two dollars and five dollars. The fact that this outpouring of bills was even required clearly demonstrates the degree to which the Cherokee economic conditions had degenerated during the early months of the Civil War. It also shows how confused these same conditions were at the moment.[1]

The Cherokees had successfully adapted to the white man's culture long before the beginning of the war in 1861. They possessed a thriving economy which was closely aligned with the agronomy of the South, including the use of black slaves. Henry M. Rector, the Governor of Arkansas, made note of this fact when he wrote to John Ross, the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, from Little Rock, Arkansas on January 29, 1861. In this letter Rector urged the Cherokees to side with the Confederacy because, "Your people, in their institutions, productions, latitude, and natural sympathies, are allied to the common brotherhood of slaveholding states."[2] But this is not the only evidence of how highly developed the Cherokee economy was, the paper money produced in 1862 gives more than ample evidence of this.

Before a discussion of the actual notes can be begun, the climate of the times that produced them must be fully considered. When the South began to withdraw from the Union, the Cherokee Nation was faced with one of several alternatives: they could remain with the United States; join with the Confederacy; or follow a course of neutrality. It was this last alternative that Ross chose to pursue when, on May 17, 1861 he issued a proclamation from Park Hill, in the Cherokee Nation, calling on the Cherokees to faithfully observe the treaties with the United States and maintain neutrality. "There has been no declaration of war between the opposing parties," Ross

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* The author is currently completing the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma and has been active in numismatics for many years.

1 "An Act Authorizing the issuing of Bills for the purposes of change and prohibiting the issuing and circulating of shin plasters," John Ross Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, p. 1.

2 United States Department of War, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols., 128 books, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 683. Hereafter cited as *Official Records.*

incorrectly stated at the time, "and the conflict may yet be averted by compromise or a peaceful separation."[3]

But Ross's hopes were to be short lived, for hostilities had commenced with the firing upon Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina on April 12, 1861. On August 21, a proclamation was issued by a special convention, presided over by Joseph Vann, Assistant Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. Through this document was affirmed both the principles of neutrality and slaves as property. The members of the convention also declared that there was to be no differences between full-blood and mixed-blood Cherokees in the Cherokee Nation—however, actions later proved they were wrong. The full-blooded Indians, called Pins for their habit of wearing a pin in their lapels to identify themselves, were to be strongly pro-Union. While the mixed-bloods were to be more solidly for the Confederacy.[4]

The Pins found a spokesman in Ross, while the opposing faction eventually settled on Stand Watie as their leader. Watie was to rise finally to the position of Principal Chief of the Cherokees and a brigadier general in the Confederate Army. Gaining a leading position among the Cherokees early in 1861, Watie's followers campaigned for a treaty of alliance with the Confederate States of America. As a result, Ross was persuaded to ally with the Confederacy even though the convention voted for neutrality. Later Ross wrote to Confederate Brigadier General Benjamin McCulloch on August 24, 1861, announcing his intention to seek a treaty with the South and tendering a regiment of troops to fight. On September 1, 1861 McCulloch answered Ross's letter and noted he had already authorized Watie to organize a force of 300 men to protect the Cherokee Nation's northern border. This force had been organized even though Ross had declined to allow those Cherokees with Confederate sympathies to organize as Home Guards, pursuant to an earlier request by McCulloch.[5]

Why did Ross change his stance? McCulloch, writing to Confederate Secretary of War, Judah P. Benjamin, on September 2, 1861 gave one reason. He stated that Watie, who belonged "to the true Southern party" was the one "by whose course and influence Ross was induced to join the South."[6] However, another version was later given by Federal officials of

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[3] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 490.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 499–500.

[5] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 690–691; Brigadier General Benjamin McCulloch to Judah P. Benjamin, September 2, 1861, *Ibid.*, p. 692; McCulloch to John Ross, June 12, 1861 and Ross to McCulloch, June 17, 1861, *Ibid.*, pp. 591–592, 597.

[6] *Ibid.*

the United States. On August 13, 1862 Brigadier General James G. Blunt, commander of the Department of Kansas, wrote President Abraham Lincoln from Fort Scott, Kansas stating that Ross had delayed signing a treaty with the Confederacy in hopes that United States troops would arrive and insure his group's protection. "This hope failing them, they were compelled to the policy they adopted as a matter of necessity and self-preservation."[7]

On October 7, 1861 a treaty was signed between the Cherokee Nation and the Confederate States of America, and two weeks later a declaration was issued by the National Committee and Council of the Cherokee Nation giving the reasons for this agreement. Stating that the Cherokee's origin was in the South and their "institutions are similar to those of the Southern" States, the Cherokee leaders reasoned that their interests were identical with the Confederacy. Further, they reiterated that they were loath to break their ties and tried neutrality, but that the Confederacy was strong and established itself in a defensive struggle without denial of personal liberties, whereas the United States was "behaving in an unconstitutional and bestial manner." They complained that "Foreign mercenaries and the scum of cities and inmates of prison were enlisted" and sent south to fight. The final reason given was by far the most telling one. They stated that they feared that the United States would force allotment in severalty on the Cherokees and deny them their slaves.[8]

Almost as soon as the treaty was signed, factionalism divided the Cherokee Nation. The treaty was ratified by the Confederate Provisional Congress, with amendments to which the Cherokee Nation later gave its assent, on December 24, 1861. But on December 11, 1861 Confederate Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, commander of the Indian Department, wrote from Little Verdigris, Cherokee Nation, to Colonel James McIntosh, who was in command of McCulloch's Division, stating that disaffection was widespread among the Cherokees and there was a serious need for more white Confederate troops. There was soon even a secret society of Union Cherokee Indians headed by a Cherokee named One Salmon.[9]

Such was the situation which greeted the new year, 1862. Colonel John Drew organized a regiment of full-bloods for the Confederate service, in

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[7] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 566.

[8] *Ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 669; *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, pp. 503–505.

[9] United States Senate *Document Number 234*, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America" (7 vols., Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), Vol. I, p. 611; United States Department of War, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VIII, p. 709; Colonel William Weer to Captain Thomas Moonlight, June 13, 1862, *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 431.

addition to Watie's mixed-bloods, and both saw action. But the question of money was also to be considered. In order to comply with the terms of the treaty, a survey was made of what bonds, issued by the states then within the Confederacy, were held in trust by the United States government for the Cherokees. This report was filed with Secretary of War Benjamin on January 17, 1862. In it the acting commander of Indian affairs, S. S. Scott, was hopeful that the states would pay the capital and interest of the bonds over to the Confederate States government, which would then collect it and pay over these sums to the Cherokees as trustees. Apparently this survey was taken in order to determine how much would be due annually to the Cherokees.[10]

By the actual terms of the treaty, the Cherokees were entitled to a one time payment of $77,644.36 in fulfillment of the 1846 treaty with the United States which the Confederacy assumed. This was to be paid "upon complete ratification of this treaty."[11] The money was quickly voted by the Confederate Congress, as Brigadier General Albert Pike noted in his December 25, 1861 letter to Benjamin; however, the funds were not sent to the Cherokees for some time.[12] On March 26, 1862 S. Rindley wrote to Watie from Grand Saline, in the Cherokee Nation, asking when the money to pay the troops would be received. Declaring that "We have been advancing pretty heavily on the duplicates of the Quartermaster & Commissary as well as to some of your officers in anticipation of its reception" he expressed concern over the lack of money.[13] He did not have long to wait for on March 31, 1862 the Confederate agent for the Cherokees, John Crawford, informed Watie that he had received money from Pike.[14]

Even though the Cherokees, by the terms of the treaty, were not required to pay for any of the costs of the war, they still were to feel a financial pinch. As the conflict progressed, small change was driven out of circulation among the Cherokees, creating a serious threat to the economy. This void was filled by the printing of bills on the part of private merchants and individuals, but this only created a confused situation that called for an immediate remedy. The arrival of the Confederate money did little to alleviate

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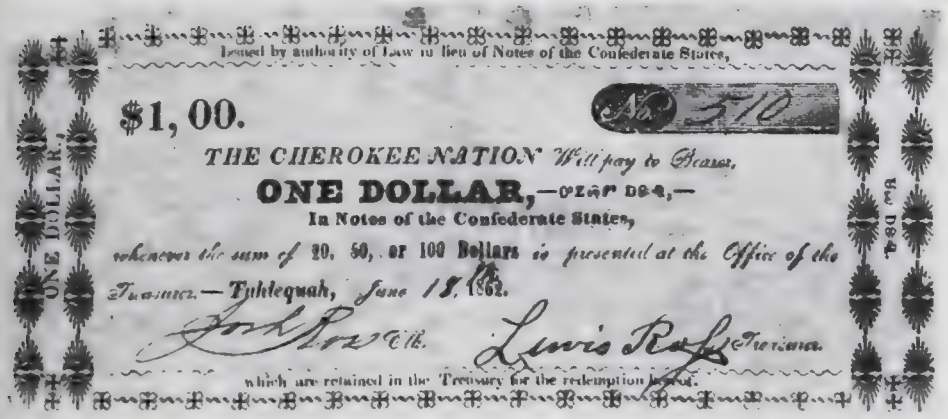
[10] S. S. Scott, *Letter of the Acting Commander of Indian Affairs, with Statement, &c., In regards to Certain Indian Trust Funds* (Richmond: Ritchie and Dunnacrent, Printers, 1862), p. 9.

[11] United States Department of War, *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 682, 685.

[12] Brigadier General Albert Pike to Benjamin, December 25, 1861, *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. VIII, p. 721.

[13] Cherokee Nation Papers, Western History Collections, Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

[14] *Ibid.*



One dollar Cherokee Nation note issued in 1862 and backed by Confederate notes held by the Treasurer of the Cherokee Nation

this plight, for the only bills that could have been sent were the 1861 issues—the first 1862 issues were not authorized until April 17, 1862—and no denomination lower than five dollars was even printed in 1861.[15]

Something then was required to correct this situation. On May 2, 1862 the Cherokee National Committee and Council passed an act requiring the Cherokee Treasurer to hold twenty thousand dollars in Confederate notes and issue, and in lieu of these notes of the Cherokee Nation in the denominations of fifty cents, one dollar, two dollars and five dollars were to be placed in circulation. These bills were to be redeemed at the Cherokee Treasury, for Confederate notes, when "presented to the amount of Twenty dollars, fifty dollars, One hundred dollars, or above the sum in like denominations."[16] With the passage of this act, the issuance of individual bills was made illegal and punishable by a fine of from five to two hundred dollars.[17]

The notes themselves were issued the next month in all the authorized denominations. It is interesting to observe that these bills are probably the only governmental issues authorized in what is today the United States that make use of the dollar sign. They were apparently only issued in June, 1862

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[15] United States Department of War, *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 679; "An Act Authorizing the issuing of Bills for the purposes of change and prohibiting the issuing and circulating of shin plasters," John Ross Papers, p. 1; Grover C. Criswell, Jr., *North American Currency, Second Edition* (Citra, Florida: Criswell Publications, 1969), pp. 117–122.

[16] "An Act Authorizing the issuing of Bills for the purposes of change and prohibiting the issuing and circulating of shin plasters," John Ross Papers, p. 1.

[17] *Ibid.*

but this was probably more a result of a combination of military events and the political situation, coupled with the arrival of Confederate notes, than any real change in the financial outlook.

In July, 1862 a Union expedition entered the Cherokee Nation. As the Confederate Cherokees advanced to meet the Federals they were defeated. As a result Colonel Drew's regiment deserted to the Union, practically to the man, leaving only a small body under Captain Pickens Benje to fight with Watie's regiment. The Pins now rose and the Confederates were driven back. On July 15, an expedition, led by Captain Harris S. Grenno, entered Park Hill to take the "surrender of the Cherokees there." He found that Ross had just received orders from the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General, Samuel Cooper, to issue a call for all men between eighteen and thirty-five to enlist in the Southern army. However, Grenno stated his arrival "gives Ross an excuse for not complying with the demand." Ross was thus made a "prisoner" and paroled to his house.[18]

The Confederates were not deceived by Ross's stratagems for very long. Confederate Major General Thomas C. Hindman wrote Cooper on June 19, 1863 that Ross "was pretendedly taken prisoner, but, as afterwards appeared, really went over to the enemy with the archives and money of the nation."[19] The Southerners soon began their campaign to reconquer the area, and the Federals withdrew. On August 8, 1862 Cooper wrote Confederate President Jefferson Davis, from Cantonment Davis, that within a few days he hoped to retake Tahlequah and Park Hill and put the Confederate Cherokees into power. This was done and, in late August or early September, Ross was thrown out and Watie elected the new Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.[20]

Even with the formation of a new government, the financial and political picture did not improve. The United States forces kept the National Council from meeting on various occasions and money was still scarce. It probably was of no real concern to the Cherokees to know that in 1863 other Confederate States, such as Alabama and Georgia, followed their lead by issuing small denomination bills backed by Confederate notes. They had enough problems of their own.[21]

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[18] Major General Thomas C. Hindman to Inspector General Samuel Cooper, June 19, 1863, United States Department of War, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 40; Captain Harris S. Grenno to Weer, July 15, 1862, *Ibid.*, p. 473; Grenno to Weer, July 17, 1862, *Ibid.*, pp. 161–162.

[19] Hindman to Cooper, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[20] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. LIII, pp. 820–821; Hindman to Cooper, June 19, 1863, *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 43; Brigadier General William Hudson to Colonel J. Y. Dashiell, September 15, 1862, *Ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 828.

[21] Criswell, *North American Currency*, pp. 11–12, 201–202.

On June 27, 1863 Ellis Cornelius Boudinot, the Cherokee delegate to the Confederate House of Representatives, wrote his uncle, Stand Watie, from Fort Smith, Arkansas, about the law that had just been passed by the National Council. Stating that the commissioners should use warrants or bonds rather than money or, failing that, he urged that they draw on army rations and transportation until arrangements could be made with the Confederate government. On December 18, 1863 Boudinot introduced a bill in the Confederate Congress to appropriate $100,000 for the Cherokees. It was signed into law January 18, 1864. By the terms of this act, this was only a loan, as the funds due the Cherokees could not be collected and was to be repaid after the war. This clearly demonstrates the Cherokees desperate need for money.[22]

Further funds were voted on May 1, 1864 and January 16, 1865. On May 6, 1864 Boudinot introduced a bill for the relief of the Cherokee Nation but nothing apparently came of this. However, it would seem that Confederate money was in circulation in the Cherokee Nation for when a tax of thirty-three and one-third percent was proposed on outstanding treasury notes, Boudinot wrote Watie, on October 3, 1864 from Paris, Texas that he would try to save the Cherokees from this tax, but he doubted if he would succeed.[23]

Through all these problems and hard times, the Confederate Cherokees still remained true to their cause. On June 24, 1864 the Cherokee troops unanimously declared their intention to reinlist for the war. They were still fighting when the end overtook them in 1865.[24]

What can these notes tell about Cherokee society at the time? They tell of an economy that had developed to such a point that the loss of money threw it into a panic. They point to a people whose life style was very similar to their white neighbors. They are the abstract symbols that were of little value to those who did not know how to use them.

Whenever a highly organized economic machine encounters a disaster such as war, it is thrown into utter chaos. That the Cherokees even had money points to how successful they had been at adapting to the white man's ways. And the fact that they experienced financial confusion as well as the

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22 Cherokee Nation Papers; United States Senate, *Document Number 234*, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," Vol. VI, p. 543, 683; "An Act appropriating one hundred thousand dollars for the use and benefit of the Cherokee Nation," United States Department of War, *Official Records*, Ser. IV. Vol. III, p. 40.

23 United States Senate, *Document Number 234*, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, "Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America," Vol. VI, p. 483; *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 489–490; *Ibid.*, 19; Cherokee Nation Papers.

24 Lieutenant H. T. Martin to Major General Samuel B. Maxey, June 27, 1864, United States Department of War, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 2, p. 1013.

hoarding of specie during the war, only demonstrates even further how tightly tied their economic system was to money. Barter does not know the panic of impending warfare, only a monied market exchange economy does.

That the Cherokee economy was highly organized and was at the same level as the surrounding Confederate States may be seen in other ways. Even if one chose to ignore the words of the people themselves, the fact that the Cherokees were able to support the same degree of specialization of labor with a money supply that could integrate so well with the Confederacy's supports the contention about how highly organized they were. A tightly controlled governmental machine, with an elected official at the head, also points to this conclusion. When their money was withdrawn from them, the Cherokees faced the same panic and search for substitutes that is common to any government in the same situation.

These pieces of paper then, together with the words of the people and their actions, demonstrate that the economies of the South and of the Cherokee Nation were one and the same. It is only that the Cherokee National Council acted before the legislatures of the other states of the Confederacy in order to create some form of small change to act as a circulating medium. In this they may have been ahead of their fellow slaveholders and, perhaps, more "civilized" than the white man.

BROKEN ARROW HISTORY PUBLISHED

A history of Broken Arrow, Oklahoma has been published for the first time, and copies are now available to the public at $4.00 per copy for handling and postage. Checks should be made to 'History of Broken Arrow', and orders mailed to the Chamber of Commerce, Broken Arrow.

The history explores the Creek Indian heritage of the community and apparently refutes a common legend that attributed naming of the town to a ceremonial post-Civil War breaking of an arrow on the banks of the Arkansas by members of the Upper and Lower Creeks.

The Broken Arrow name came from a tribe in Georgia which found a tree suitable for arrow making along the Chattahoochee River bottom. They discovered they did not need to cut the limbs from the trees but could break them off . . . thus becoming known as the 'Broken Arrow' tribe.

MYSTERY POST OFFICE

By George H. Shirk

Recently while in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. I came upon the record of a mystery post office that existed for a short while apparently in Indian Territory, now part of Oklahoma.

In the early 1850s the Postmaster General retired the then existing set of *Record of Postmaster Appointments*, being the master volumes arranged by states and opened a new register for the state of Missouri. All of the then existing post offices in Missouri were entered alphabetically by county in the new volume.

To my surprise I found in the register in its proper alphabetical place there appeared a page with the heading "Indian Territory, Missouri." The name was treated as though it were a county in Missouri and was placed in its proper sequence in the alphabet. On this page was entered only one post office, Uniontown. This record reflects that Uniontown was established March 18, 1851 with Robert Robitville as the postmaster. It was discontinued December 16, 1852 with only the one individual serving as postmaster.

I have been unable to locate Uniontown in any of the records of the Society. Being shown as a Missouri post office, undoubtedly it was located somewhere immediately adjacent to that state, and probably would thus be somewhere in present Ottawa County. Could anyone help me on Uniontown, where it was and why it was a post office?

PRESENTATION OF CHOCTAW FLAG TO OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By Mrs. V. M. Harry

On January 18, 1974 the Oklahoma City Chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy held its Annual Tea at the Confederate Memorial Hall celebrating the Birthday Anniversary of General Robert E. Lee. Jordan Reaves made an address as to the restoration of the Confederate Memorial Hall and mentioned several items that should be a part of the displays and directed our attention to the framed Choctaw Flag and tossed out the remark that surely one of the Daughters skilled with a needle and thread could duplicate the flag so that it could be displayed on a standard. Purely from reflex action, my hand went up, and I committed myself to making the flag.

After two years of struggling with my conscience as to why I made such a pledge, I phoned Hugh Hampton, curator, and asked that he meet me at the Confederate Hall. With the help of some of the wonderful employees at the Society, the framed flag was removed from the wall, and a tracing made of the design, and measurements of the flag determined. Material was purchased, and with my trusty sewing machine, I produced what I believe to be a reasonable facsimile of the Choctaw flag.

Here the picture changes a bit—Dr. Muriel Wright was a member of the Robert E. Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, having proved her membership through her Choctaw grandfather, Allan Wright, who gave the name "Oklahoma" to this great state. The flag was presented to the Chapter, and the membership voted unanimously to present the flag to the Oklahoma Historical Society in memory of Dr. Wright.

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF HONEY SPRINGS

*By Gary E. Moulton**

The Battle of Honey Springs, July 17, 1863 stands as a significant turning point in the Federal drive to recapture and secure Indian Territory for the Union cause. Coinciding as it did with the Federal success in the Gettysburg and Vicksburg campaigns in the East, it can be viewed more broadly as a part of a nationwide renewed Federal initiative.

The brief letter that follows may be the only surviving civilian account of the battle. The cryptic initials that close the letter—"E J"—must be those of

* The author is currently Director of the Papers of Chief John Ross and Assistant Professor of History at Southwestern Oklahoma State University, Weatherford, Oklahoma.

Evan Jones, long-time Baptist missionary to the Cherokees. The manuscript was discovered among the John Ross Papers at the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, and probably was meant for the Cherokee Chief who was then in Washington, D.C. Jones's account shows his bias against the "secesh," and his elation over the Union victory is apparent. Yet, when compared to official military reports of the engagement, Jones's description of the sequence of events is accurate. His portrayal of Confederate retreat may be more open to question. Other accounts of this battle have shown 3,000 men for the Federals and twice that many for the Confederates, but Jones's estimates are somewhat less for both sides.

The Confederate forces, in spite of their numerical superiority, were hampered by damp powder that refused to fire and by the effective cannonade of the Union artillery.

Fort Blunt CN July 21st. 1863

I write you a short note to say we have returned from a fight which we call the battle of Honey Springs, it occurred on the 17th. Inst. [July]. The first fighting took place in the edge of the timber as you approach Big Elk Creek, in the Creek Nation. It was a well selected place for the Secesh to defend. But Genl. Blunt[1] moved on them in their concealment, with two Brigades[2] formed in line of battle, stretching more than a mile in length. We marched all night and came in front of the enemy about 7 o'c A.M. About 9 o'c we moved in line of battle. The fight began a little before 10 o'c A.M. We had twenty five hundred men besides the batteries. The Secesh had about five thousand men and four howitzers. Chilly McIntosh's[3] rebel regiment did not fight but run. D. M. McIntosh's[4] fought a while and then run, Folsome[5] and Andy Walker's[6] Choctaw regiments, fought a little more

[1] Major General James G. Blunt, Commander, District of the Frontier. Engagement at Elk Creek, July 17, 1863, United States Department of War, War of the Rebellion: *A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols., 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 447–462. Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.

[2] The brigades were commanded by Colonel William R. Judson and Colonel William A. Phillips. Blunt to Major General John M. Schofield, July 26, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 447.

[3] Lieutenant Colonel Chilly McIntosh, Second Creek Regiment, Mounted Volunteers. Organization of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper's Brigade, April 30, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 832.

[4] Colonel D. N. McIntosh, First Creek Regiment, Mounted Volunteers. *Ibid.*

[5] Apparently Colonel Simpson N. Folsom whose name does not appear in the Honey Springs battle reports but is listed as head of the Second Regiment under Colonel Tandy Walker in April, 1864. Organization of Confederate Forces in Arkansas, April 20, 1864, *ibid.*, Ser. i, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. 1, p. 785.

[6] Colonel Tandy Walker, First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment. Organization of Cooper's Brigade, April 30, 1863, *ibid.*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 832.

than the McIntoshes. Stand Watie's[7] fought desparately [sic] for a while and then run. The Texas and Arkansas troops[8] fought better and displayed a good deal of bravery. We ran them four miles. They formed several times for a fight but we quickly broke their lines every time.

Honey Springs was Cooper's Head Quarters.[9] As they passed they set fire to their stores.[10] We saved from the flames all we wanted.

I have to stop in order to mail the letter in time.

EJ

ANNUAL AWARD PRESENTED BY THE UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY FOR THE BEST PUBLISHED RESEARCH STUDY ON THE CONFEDERATES IN INDIAN TERRITORY

Eligible research studies are master's theses accepted for degrees, doctoral dissertations accepted for degrees, printed articles and printed books. Manuscripts, longhand or typed, are not acceptable for consideration. Research studies to be eligible for the annual award competition must have been published during the preceding calendar year. Three copies of each item must be presented for the use of the Panel of Judges and must be received no later than March 1 following the year of publication. Please submit all items for the annual award competition to Mrs. Mary Jeanne Hansen, President, Oklahoma Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 2315 Northwest Twenty-second Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73107. The winner each year will receive a certificate of commendation at the annual meeting in June of the Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

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[7] Colonel Stand Watie, First Cherokee Regiment. Watie was not there personally, but his troops were commanded by Major Joseph F. Thompson. *Ibid.*; Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper to Lieutenant Colonel James M. Bell, September 24, 1863, Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge—Watie—Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940), pp. 140–141.

[8] Texas forces engaged included: Twentieth Texas Dismounted Cavalry, Twenty-ninth Texas Cavalry, Fifth Texas Partisan Rangers, Lee's Light Artillery, Scanland's Cavalry Battalion and Gillett's Cavalry Battalion. No Arkansas units seem to have been involved. The Arkansas brigade under Brigadier General W. L. Cabell had been ordered from Fort Smith to join Blunt, but the flooded condition of Grand River prevented the link-up. Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, General Orders No. 25, July 14, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, p. 462; Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), p. 121.

[9] Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper (CSA), Commander, First Indian Brigade. Organization of Cooper's Brigade, April 30, 1863, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 832.

[10] These warehouses contained a large store of supplies recently brought from Texas which the Confederates wished destroyed rather than have fall into Federal hands. Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, p. 121.

NEW MEMBER ELECTED TO BOARD

Mrs. Mark Allen Everett

Mrs. Mark Allen Everett comes to the Board with a strong background in the area of history. As a member of numerous historical organizations, she is author of several articles in the field of genealogy. Mrs. Everett is well known in the Oklahoma City area in the field of community service and support.

MERCY HEALTH CENTER HISTORICAL CEREMONY

On Tuesday, April 27, 1976 Mr. George Shirk and Sister Mary Coletta, R.S.M. officiated in the unveiling of a plaque to commemorate the Physicians' Building. Master of Ceremonies for the event was Mr. Stanley Grubin, General Manager of Western Electric Company. The invocation was given by Father Gerard MacAulay, Pastor of St. Eugene's Parrish. Guest speakers along with Mr. Shirk were Dr. Don F. Rhinehart, President, Oklahoma State Medical Association and Dr. Ira O. Pollock, Chief of Staff, Mercy Health Center.

JANET CAMPBELL, VOLUNTEER IN RESEARCH

If, as a reader of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, you find that quarterly has been consistently readable, much is due to the efforts of Janet Campbell, Editorial Assistant and a volunteer of three years standing to the publications department. Janet has been invaluable in the area of research and is quick to provide information in the field of Cherokee history.

THE HORSE OF THE AMERICAS. By Robert M. Denhardt. Foreword by J. Frank Dobie. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947; rev. ed., 1975. Pp. xx, 343. Illustrations. Map. Appendices. Bibliography. Index.)

Americans have shown an enduring and affectionate fascination with the horse. Thomas Paine, pamphleteer of the American Revolution, once illustrated his abysmal station in life by noting that he had not even the money to "hire a horse." Whether or not one gauges his station in life in terms of the capacity to "hire a horse," students of American civilization, as well as horse lovers, should welcome Robert Denhardt's interesting and informative account of the evolution of the Western horse. A revised and enlarged edition of an earlier book, *The Horse of the Americas* surveys the significance of the horse during almost fifteen hundred years that stand between the Moorish invasion of the Iberian peninsula down to the present. Tracing the roots of the American Quarter Horse to the Barb horses introduced by the Moors, Denhardt seeks to substantiate his basic contention that the horse was an "integral and irreplaceable adjunct to man's conquest and development of America."

The invading European was well aware of the importance of his horse in conquering indigenous peoples of the New World. Denhardt believes that horses proved a pivotal factor in the Spanish Conquest. A command of primary sources left by the sixteenth century invaders enables the author to demonstrate in an authoritative manner the value placed on horses by the *conquistadores*. Second only to God in the eyes of the Spanish intruders, the horse was used for various and sundry purposes from a means of transportation to an instrument of military superiority in the methodical subjugation of the native inhabitants.

Denhardt follows the relentless advance of the Spaniards from Columbus' discovery of the West Indies to the invasion and conquest of Mexico, the American Southwest and South America. From Mexico and the Spanish islands of the Caribbean came Spanish horses to western North America and the Atlantic coast, where they were accepted and put to work by the "Gringos."

The author uses appendices to complete his account with descriptions of breeds, types, conformations and colorations of horses in both North and South America. His sketch of the development of modern rodeo complements the portion dealing with the American West. Winfield, Kansas and

Prescott, Arizona claim title to the first rodeo, in 1882 and 1888, respectively.

For many years the editor of *Western Horseman*, Denhardt combines a solid historical foundation with an unabashed love for horses that gives the reader an appreciation of what J. Frank Dobie calls the "Age of Horse Culture." A bibliography in this revised edition contributes substantially to the work and offers the reader an excellent starting point from which to pursue further the role of the horse in the history of the Americas.

Readers can realize a better understanding of their past through Robert Denhardt's efforts. Perhaps the author says it best himself when, in reference to the heyday of the cowhorse in the American Southwest between 1866 and 1885, he notes that without the horse, "part of America could never have been built." Denhardt's publication awakens the sometimes latent, but ever-present romance between Americans and their beloved horses.

Dennis R. Daniels
Wichita State University

THE GREAT CHIEFS. By the editors of Time-Life Books with text by Benjamin Capps (New York: Time-Life Books, 1975. Pp. 240. Bibliography. Illustrations. Index. Maps. $9.95.)

"Here me . . . I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever." These words spoken by Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé, after the United States Army had thwarted his attempt to lead his people into exile in Canada, perhaps best illustrates the passage of the era of the great Indian chiefs in the American West. Though the power of the Indians would not be permanently crushed until the Wounded Knee incident in 1890, by the 1870s the western tribes would no longer be a serious threat to westward expansion. Only guerrilla outbreaks, such as those led by Geronimo, remained to be quashed. This subjugation by the military was accompanied by a decline of authority of the Indian leaders.

Names such as Black Rock of the Teton Sioux, Smoke of the Poncas, Clermont of the Osage, Wolf Chief of the Mandans, Mole in the Forehead of the Pawnees and Eagle's Ribs of the Piegan Blackfeet were nobles in their own kingdoms. Like "Knights of the Grasslands," they ruled over the vast expanse of the American West much like feudal lords. However, as the westward expansion of civilization gradually tightened its hold on the prairies and mountains, they became rulers of but small "red islands in a white sea."

In addition the differences between the two cultures—one which glorified those who stole the enemies' horses and one which condemned horse thiefs;

one which revered the land and one which violated it—led to the inevitable clash of the two races. The outcome of such a conflict was never seriously in doubt. Though the Indians managed some victories—especially by resorting to guerilla tactics—the advanced technology and overpowering numbers of the whites had, within two lifetimes, destroyed much of America's Indian culture.

This volume of the Time-Life Series on "The Old West" does much to preserve this lost portion of America's heritage. Again the editors have done a tremendous job of locating old photographs, paintings and sketches portraying some of the most famous Indian leaders of the nineteenth century. By reproducing many early paintings, the book presents the great chiefs in full regalia at the height of their power.

Janet Campbell
Oklahoma Historical Society

WITH SANTA ANNA IN TEXAS: A PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF THE REVOLUTION. By José Enrique de la Peña. Translated and edited by Carmen Perry. Introduction by Llerena Friend. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1975. Pp. xxix, 202. Illustrations. Footnotes. Index. $10.00.)

Texans should find nothing to dissatisfy them in this book written by a Mexican officer during the Texas Revolution, for de la Peña criticized nearly every Mexican officer involved in the campaign, deplored the brutality of the Alamo and Goliad and possessed only praise for the courage of William B. Travis and James W. Fannin. About the only thing of a derogatory nature that de la Peña wrote about the Texans was that the majority of the colonists who were loyal to the Mexican Constitution of 1824 allowed a few rebels to involve them in treasonable actions. He believed that Mexico was justified in going to war against the ungrateful colonists who had accepted sustenance, yet as soon as they gained strength "they used it to destroy us."

De la Peña seemed convinced that the disastrous campaign into Texas, horribly mishandled by Santa Anna and other prominent Mexican officers, destroyed the honor of his beloved Mexico in several ways. For one thing they lost Texas which de la Peña believed was the "most precious part of our territory." He described the terrain of southeast Texas as almost a Garden of Eden. In addition, de la Peña believed that the national honor was compromised because of the brutality displayed at the Alamo and Goliad. The headlong retreat of the entire army following the San Jacinto battle added to the humiliation de la Peña felt for his country. The Mexicans still

numerically outnumbered the Texans, and the presence of over 700 Mexican prisoners hampered Sam Houston's small army. De la Peña believed that the Texans would have been easy to defeat if the Mexican army's second in command, Vicente Filisola, had not retreated following the April 21 battle and Santa Anna's capture.

This book mentions the new information that seven Texans, including Davy Crockett, did not die in the Alamo battle but were unmercifully slaughtered afterward. Also of new interest is the rumor that Travis had intended to surrender or try to escape on March 6 if reinforcements had not arrived by then. Knowledge of this caused Santa Anna to attack on that date. Neither of these bits of information really alters the Alamo legend drastically. De la Peña's book tends more to reinforce, than to tear down the opinions present-day Texans maintain of their revolutionary ancestors.

Many thanks should go to Carmen Perry for her translation and editing work in order to present this volume to the present generation. In her introduction Llerena Friend detailed all the contemporary narratives of the revolution written from the Mexican viewpoint and declared the present one an objective account. De la Peña, a lieutenant colonel, did not write to justify his own actions as did the Mexican generals.

J'Nell LaVerne Pate
Tarrant County Junior College

THE RADICAL REPUBLICANS: LINCOLN'S VANGUARD FOR RACIAL JUSTICE. By Hans L. Trefousse. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975. Pp. xiv, 492. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $4.95.)

You can tell a book by its cover in the case of *The Radical Republicans: Lincoln's Vanguard for Racial Justice*. The subtitle clearly represents Hans L. Trefousse's main thesis. In this narrative, obviously pro-radical, Trefousse attempts to rescue the reputation of the "ultras." Trefousse overstates his case when he credits the radicals with: acting as the driving force in the organization of the Republican Party, causing the liberation of the slaves, forcing the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, bringing about the restoration of the Confederate states with universal suffrage, creating the Force Acts and generally enlarging the power of the Federal government. "Without them, Lincoln might not have succeeded in crushing the rebellion, and at the same time destroying slavery. . . ."

Trefousse begins by defining the concept of radicalism and then traces its early roots from the Free-Soil movement. He tends to discount the influence of the conservative and moderate wings of the Republican party, choosing

instead to champion the "ultras." He portrays radicals as "the most active Republicans" from the formation of the party after the Kansas-Nebraska Act to their final demise in the election of 1876.

He boldly challenges some widely accepted historical views. He does not picture Lincoln and the radicals in their usually accepted posture of conflict; rather he views them as partners working toward the same goals. Lincoln was ". . . not so far distant from the radicals as later observers tended to assume." The President's views ". . . might have been expressed by any radical." The author ignores or plays down hard evidence of substantive differences between the President and the "ultras;" he emphasizes a theme of cooperation.

He depicts Lincoln as a master politician who made ". . . the best possible use of radical counterpressure to do exactly what he had probably intended all along. The "ultras" agitation must have been convenient for him. He merely permitted the radicals to pave the way for his decision."

Even on the crucial question of Reconstruction power and policies, where Lincoln is generally regarded as opposing radical plans, Trefousse contends that the President was fast approaching the extremist position and would have reached it but for his assassination. He suggests that the radicals were more interested in Negro suffrage for humanitarian reasons than for political preservation of the Republican party. They were not, the author contends, crass "self-seeking politicians." Their advocacy of the unpopular concept of black enfranchisement in the northern elections of 1867 demonstrates this point.

The fatal mistakes of the Radicals were their misjudgment of President Andrew Johnson's shrewdness and their failure to remove him from office.

The author's desire to emphasize his major thesis unfortunately has led to needless repetition that detracts from the work. Trefousse offsets this somewhat by enlivening the narrative with exciting verbal exchanges from congressional debate. Although some historians will argue with Hans Trefousse's conclusions, he has written an impressive, well documented account of those hectic years of Civil War and Reconstruction. His book should be read and pondered.

James L. Barnidge
Nicholls State University

THE RAILROADERS. By the editors of Time-Life Books with text by Keith Wheeler. (New York: Time-Life Books, 1975. Pp. 240. Maps. Photographs. Drawings. Index. $9.95.)

The final chapter to the settlement of the American West—the construction of iron ribbons across the continent—is another of the fine volumes of the Time-Life series on "The Old West." In this, as in all volumes of the series, the pageantry and excitement, as well as the suffering and hardship of the westward movement is vividly portrayed.

"The work of visionaries—or of fools?" This question asked at the very beginning of the work adequately describes the initial undertaking of railroad construction across the "Great American Desert," over the defying peaks of the Rocky Mountains, above the turbulent flowing stream and through the mighty Sierra Nevada range. Though many of the men who began the work were called fools to attempt such folly, once the two oceans of America were joined by rails they were praised for the visionary foresight which contributed the final act to the settlement of the entire nation.

Undertakings of such great magnitude created some of the most colorful characters of the American history—the Railroad Barons. The tremendous wealth generated by the lavish government contracts and high profit percentages, produced an era of opulence never again matched in American History.

Alone *The Railroaders* vividly portrays one of the most colorful and exciting aspects of the American West; however, when placed among the other volumes of "The Old West" series the entire specture of western expansion is brought into view. It should be of interest to all those fascinated by the West, but better still, the entire series offers even more.

Kenny A. Franks
Oklahoma Historical Society

JOURNEY IN FAITH: A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST). By Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker. (Saint Louis: The Bethany Press, 1975. Pp. 505. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index.)

Journey in Faith is a good institutional history. The authors, both members of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), are capable historians and their work is objective, competent and comprehensive. It will appeal to the faithful, of course, and to the specialists, but it should also receive a wide reading among those who enjoy American history in general, for the authors

have done an excellent job of placing their story in wide historical perspective.

The book opens with a useful overview of Disciples history. It gives clarity to the often confusing history of this important religious group. Diversity, conformity, discord, harmony have all played their part as the Disciples evolved. From the Cane Ridge Camp Meeting in the early nineteenth century to the General Assembly in our own time, the whole experience has been a moving one, and it makes for interesting, informative, often exciting reading.

Early in the book the authors provide background material describing the inviting American scene, so conducive to the development of religious movements. The importance of freedom is emphasized, the founding fathers of the Christian Church are given attention and the movement launched by the Campbells, along with the struggle for identity, consolidation, and growth, 1830–1860, are noted in detail. Another chapter focuses on the slavery issue and the Civil War, a "watershed for the Christian Church."

Throughout the study, church leadership and the power of the press and education are often stressed. The late nineteenth century is depicted as a period of dissension and division, notably the estrangement of Churches of Christ from Disciples, as well as an era of new life brought on by the missionary emphasis introduced by the women, the renewed interest in foreign missions by the church as a whole, the growth and enthusiasm of the Sunday School movement and the creation of service and benevolent organizations. Also, increased "fellowshipping with other Christians" was encouraged, thus assuring a place for the Disciples in the mainstream of American church life.

The twentieth century is covered in chapters twelve and thirteen. Among the important areas analyzed are the growing interest in social issues; the development and problems of Black Disciples; the flowering of missionary spirit; the 1920s; more controversy; the Great Depression, recovery and theological renewal; postwar prosperity of church and nation; and the challenge of the future.

In sum, this is a fine book, well written, instructive, quite free from personal bias, and it deserves attention. There is an extensive bibliography and a guide to the literature of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).

Brad Luckingham
Arizona State University

FRONTIER HISTORIAN: THE LIFE AND WORK OF EDWARD EVERETT DALE. Edited by Arrell M. Gibson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1975. Pp. 367. $9.95.)

Biography and historiography are fused in this collection of essays about and selections by Edward Everett Dale, the frontier historian. Dale occupied a unique place in historiography because he was both a product and a student of the West. In succession, he was a pioneer farmer, a western cowman, a frontier schoolteacher, a university academic and an honored historian. The essays in *Frontier Historian* illustrate the value of Dale's experience-based point of view.

The first portion of the book consists of three essays by associates of Dale. Arrell M. Gibson, editor of the volume, evaluates the contribution of Dale, the historian. Dale, he points out, wrote "humanized history." The value of his work lay neither in startling innovations of historical thought nor in great amounts of comprehensive research, but rather in his service as a touchstone of reality for abstract historical theory. As a man of the frontier, he could pass realistic judgement on historical theories spun by others. Angie Debo assesses the role of Dale, the teacher. Dale always remained the "average man," she says, who could incorporate his personal experiences into an unpedantic style of instruction. Dale's frontier experiences also affected his teaching by establishing in him what she believes to have been the core of his philosophy of history—a belief in the progress of man. John S. Ezell completes the portrait with glimpses of Dale, the man. Ezell portrays Dale as a man of unselfish service, lifelong vigor and uncommon congeniality.

The collected writings by Dale himself, which compose the rest of the book, display the several facets of his life's work. One such is that of the folklorist-social historian. In "The Speech of the Pioneers," Dale provides a glossary of pioneer expressions for the benefit of those who might otherwise be as lost in Western verbiage as "a little dog in high oats." Equally earthy is "Cowboy Cookery," in which Dale conveys a wealth of detail about an essential aspect of cowboy life, as well as a surefire formula for sourdough biscuits. In "Medical Practices on the Frontier," Dale shows that life on the frontier was not necessarily a carefree idyll, and that medical practices were a curious blend of the pragmatic and the superstitious. Again a fascinating panorama unfolds as he depicts budding intellectual life in the West in "The Frontier Literary Society."

Several selections show Dale's interest in the ranching frontier, as also was evident in his books, *The Range Cattle Industry* and *Cow Country*. "The Romance of the Range" is an admiring tribute to the brief reign of the cattle kingdom, "the heroic age of the great West." A case study in the

passing of that age is "The Passing of the Range Cattle Industry in Oklahoma." Broader in scope and deeper in concept is "The Cow Country in Transition," Dale's presidential address to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1937. The theme of this essay is the initial conflict but eventual amalgamation of two cultures, those of the rancher and homesteader. Artfully incorporated is the metaphor of the cowboy who woos and wins the homesteader's daughter and in the process is absorbed into her society.

Some of the most poignant moments in the book occur in two essays that were products of Dale's experiences. In "Old Navajoe," Dale wistfully recreates the growth and demise of a Western town, without specifically confiding to the reader that Navajoe was his boyhood home. In "Cowboy Schoolmaster," Dale related his frontier teaching experiences, using calm understatement to impress the reader with the deprivations of frontier existence.

Three more selections illustrate the way in which Dale served as an interpreter between the physical and academic frontiers. The intellectual moulding of his thought is evident in "Memories of Frederick Jackson Turner." Turner imparted to Dale, his student, insights that made him much more than just a colorful chronicler of events and customs; Dale gave to Turner, his mentor, a breathing example of the frontier traits about which Turner had theorized. In "Two Mississippi Valley Frontiers" Dale draws parallels and contrasts between Turner's trans-Appalachian frontier and his own Oklahoma. And in "Wood and Water: Twin Problems of the Prairie Plains," Dale, as he also interpreted the West to the academic world, reverses the process and translates academic concepts about the Plains environment into the realities of Western experience, the search for water and fuel. This, as Dale might say, is "putting the fodder down where the calves can reach it." Dale had the gift of rapport with both the rough frontier and the polished academic community, but in the end he remained, like the prairie schooner he once recalled in verse, "with the tongue a-pointing west."

A more adequate Edward Everett Dale memorial volume could not have been produced. Arrell M. Gibson, Angie Debo and John S. Ezell are to be commended for their notable contributions to the book. Even the design and quality of the volume itself are praiseworthy, and for this the University of Oklahoma Press should be recognized.

LeRoy H. Fischer
Oklahoma State University

GOVERNOR CHARLES ROBINSON OF KANSAS. By Don W. Wilson. (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1975. Pp. ix, 214 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $11.00.)

The state of Kansas was born during the pre-Civil War era amid controversy and bloodshed. Out of the anti-slavery crusade emerged legendary figures such as John Brown and James H. Lane whose careers soon overshadowed those of their contemporaries. Notable among those whom history relegated to a secondary position was Charles Robinson, a dedicated anti-slavery man and social reformer whose public life reflected the same kinds of strains and conflicts endemic to his adopted state.

Born in Massachusetts in 1818, Charles Robinson experienced the revivalism and growing abolitionism of his surroundings. Yet, during his early life he remained somewhat detached from the crusading spirit and evidenced a greater interest in practical pursuits. After failing as a physician and California gold miner, Robinson won employment as a land agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Company which was engaged in settling eastern Kansas Territory. Though espousing a general abolitionist philosophy, the company was primarily an economic enterprise somewhat more interested in profits than humanitarian undertakings. Robinson's personal feelings well complemented the company's position as he kept his professional and private interests separate. But events moved quickly in "Bleeding Kansas" as pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions struggled in the late 1850s to capture political control of the territory. Robinson quickly found himself in the forefront of activity as he opposed not only the pro-slavery factions, but also vied with James H. Lane for control of the free-state groups. His determination and personal courage combined with a bit of luck to elect him Republican governor in December 1859.

While the Civil War years pulled together rival anti-slavery forces in other states, Kansas experienced no such consensus. Lane utilized his influence within President Abraham Lincoln's political circle to block Robinson's possible appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He then led a movement to impeach the governor and several of his political allies. Though Robinson was completely exonerated of the charges, he left the state executive office in January, 1863 as an embittered and frustrated man who in his later years would adopt the role of a political maverick.

Never far removed from politics, Robinson ran for a number of offices until his death in 1894. He flirted with third party movements such as the Independent Reform party, the Greenbackers and the Populists, but concluded his career in an unsuccessful 1890 gubernatorial bid on the Democratic ticket. Throughout those years of political maturation he increasingly

moved away from his former compromising nature to a more uncompromising brand of idealism. This partly arose from his reaction against the regular party system, but equally important was his almost full-time devotion to reformist causes. Championing women's suffrage, greater rights for blacks, financial reform for the nation, greater control of business monopolies and state support for quality education, Robinson always remained at the center of debate. His roles as Superintendent of Haskell Indian Institute, promoter of a state historical society and regent of the University of Kansas at Lawrence likewise indicated that he was a "doer" as well as a "planner." Those who questioned his ideas rarely questioned his dedication to actualizing those ideas.

Author Don Wilson, Assistant Director of the Eisenhower Library, is to be congratulated for resurrecting Governor Robinson from his secondary historical role. While the author basically likes his biographical subject, he does not omit those important negative features which exist in all persons' lives. We see that Robinson was less than successful as chief administrator at Haskell Indian Institute, that he was virtually forced out as regent at the University of Kansas because of his unsound educational theory and that he sometimes needlessly alienated people. Those with an interst in Civil War history, late nineteenth century reform and Kansas politics should find this book interesting and valuable.

Michael L. Tate
University of Nebraska at Omaha

THE TOWNSMEN. By the editors of Time-Life Books with text by Keith Wheeler. (New York: Time-Life Books, 1975. Pp. 240. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Index. $9.95.)

Another volume in the Time-Life Series on "The Old West," *The Townsmen* graphically portrays "the mass impulse that filled the American West with cities, towns and hamlets." Though this aspect of the westward movement has been overshadowed by the more exciting events of the gold rushes, cattle drives, Indian wars and silver strikes this social phenomenon was perhaps the most important to the actual settlement of the frontier. For it was the townsmen that brought a symbolism of permanency with laws, schools, culture and the other necessary aspects of civilization.

One of the most intersting phases of the development of towns in the West, which is presented in the book, was the adaption of architecture to the building materials most nearly at hand. Where there was an abundance of timber, log cabins and wooden structures were the rule; in the mountains,

stone buildings were not uncommon; and on the Great Plains, many stores and saloons were simply enlarged "soddies." Perhaps one of the most interesting contributions to American architecture provided by the West was the false front—because of this innovation townsmen could erect an imposing structure at a nominal cost. In each case the editors of Time-Life have done an incredible job of collecting photographic examples from throughout the American West.

As the author points out the founding of towns was big business and many fortunes were either made or lost by promoters who, after plotting a townsite, urged its settlement with often outlandish claims. Many of the fates of the early settlements were determined by the railroads. It was virtually life or death—if a railroad ran through a town generally it became the commercial and cultural center of the region; however, if it was bypassed often the settlement quickly withered and died.

The editors have done a remarkable job in the presentation of the development of towns in the American West—the collection of photographs vividly illustrate this almost forgotten bit of history. In addition, the author does much to bring the overlooked contribution of the townsmen into its proper perspective—for though the fur trappers, Forty-niners and soldiers led the way, it was the townsmen who permanently settled the West and provided the rudiments of government and culture. Though the book is a credit to itself, it is even more enjoyable when placed with the entire Time-Life Series on "The Old West."

Jayne White
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

FOUR CENTURIES OF SOUTHERN INDIANS. Edited by Charles M. Hudson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975. Pp. vi, 177. Illustrations. Maps. Chapter Sources Cited. Index. $3.00.)

The papers delivered at the nineteenth annual meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory held in Athens, Georgia between October 13 and 16, 1971 have been collected together by Professor Hudson in this compilation. They represent an interesting cross-section of work being carried on today by historians and anthropologists concerning various facets of the past and present cultures of the Southeastern Indians. Historians with their expertise in documentary investigation and anthropologists with their superior tools for contemporary investigation can each bring to the study of Native Americans a special perspective valuable in the endeavor to capture as much as possible of the essence of Indian life.

Following an introduction by anthropologist Hudson which places the collection of papers into their scholarly context, research findings concerning such points as white-Timucuan Indian relations in the sixteenth century, the existence of a Tuscarora Confederacy and the role of the Southern Indians in the American Revolution are delineated. James Covington's paper on the Timucuan Indians illustrates the difficulties which the French and Spanish faced in their efforts to colonize the southeastern seaboard in the sixteenth century when intense Indian hostility confronted their plantation efforts. Douglas W. Boyce describes the political organization of the Tuscaroras during the eighteenth century, contributing evidence opposed to the traditional view of the existence of a Tuscarora Confederacy and in favor of a record indicating that the village was the most effectively organized political unit. The white pressure on the Southern Indians to give up their lands and withdraw further west is described by James H. O'Donnell, III, as arising before and during the American Revolution with the ambiguous role of the Indians in the conflict persuading the white Americans that the Indians had lost all claims to their land as members of the defeated enemy.

The role of the Spanish *vis a vis* the Southern Indians in the late eighteenth century is depicted most favorably by Jack D. L. Holmes in his contribution to the collection. Of all the colonial forces, Holmes sees the Spanish as acting in the most fair minded and honest fashion towards their Indian associates, utilizing highly qualified agents, interpreters and government officials. Arthur H. DeRosier's powerful essay on the myths and realities of Indian removal is based to some extent on the researches contributing to his recent outstanding study of the removal of the Choctaws. His attempt to point out the complicated roles played in the process by missionaries, Indian agents and government soldiers has the effect of placing even greater blame for the tragedies involved on the federal and state governments than has previously been the case.

Moving into more contemporary times, Louisiana Choctaw life in the 1890s is examined by John H. Peterson with his findings based on several eyewitness documents, while Raymond D. Fogelson provides an anthropological account of Cherokee witchcraft and sorcery. Attempts on the part of present-day Oklahoma Cherokees to better their abysmal lot are related by Albert H. Wahrhaftig in his paper which emphasizes the constructive role of the full-blooded Indians in tribal affairs and the pressure for change generated by the powerless masses at the base of the tribal hierarchy. The collection of papers is capped by Charles Crowe's intensely felt essay on racist views of Indians and blacks in American society; a diatribe in which

such ambivalent figures as Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln are held out as white racist representatives of their times.

Norman Lederer
Camden County College

THE PLAINS APACHE. By John Upton Terrell. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975. Pp. xi, 244. Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Index. $7.95.)

This new book by John Upton Terrell, one of more than two dozen books by this author, purports to be the "story of 300 years of pageantry and violence of the 'notorious' Plains Apache." By relying entirely on previously of the full-blooded Indians in tribal affairs and the pressure for change published materials, particularly George Hyde's *Indians of the High Plains* and some of the works of Alfred B. Thomas, Terrell has written a popular history, which is primarily a narrative of Spanish-Plains Apache relations, rather than a history of Plains Apaches. Indeed, if the material relating to Spanish objectives and activity were removed, the book would be considerably smaller.

The book suffers from a number of problems that should encourage those interested in this topic to look at other publications. Little is really known about Apachean peoples living in the great plains region in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Scholars still disagree on the identity of tribal or band names that appear in Spanish documents. Whether all the bands or groups mentioned by Terrell were Apaches is still open to question, and a recent attempt to sort out some of these groups and describe something of their history, *The Jicarilla Apaches* by Dolores Gunnerson, was unfortunately not used by Terrell.

The Plains Apaches lacks balance and is marred by factual errors. Too much of the book is devoted to Spanish exploration and too little to Indian history. The author failed to use important published material on the topic, and he fails, also, to effectively indicate what happened to the various groups identified as Plains Apaches.

Richard N. Ellis
University of New Mexico

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
April 29, 1976

Oklahoma Historical Society statutes antedating and preceding Statehood decree that a meeting of the membership shall be held each year. Accordingly, the eighty-fourth such meeting was called to order by President George H. Shirk at 9:30 a.m., Thursday, April 29, 1976 in the newly refurbished auditorium of the Historical Building.

Following the invocation given by the Reverend F. W. Sprague, Mr. Shirk called on Mr. H. Milt Phillips, member of the Publications Committee, to make the second annual Muriel H. Wright Endowment Award. Mr. Phillips announced that the Committee had selected Dr. Terry Paul Wilson as the recipient of the award for his article, "Delegates of the Five Civilized Tribes to the Confederate Congress," appearing in Volume LIII, Number 3 (Fall 1975), *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Dr. Wilson, currently Director of Native American Studies, University of California, Berkeley, had been advised by the Committee of the award and had expressed his deep regret that he would not be able to attend the annual meeting. However, the parents of Dr. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Wilson of El Reno, Oklahoma, were present to accept the plaque and the $300 stipend. The Oklahoma-shaped plaque inscribed, "for excellence in the preservation and publication of Oklahoma History," is presented each year in honor and memory of Dr. Wright, former editor of *The Chronicles*. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson thanked the Society for the award and also Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, who had encouraged Dr. Wilson to write about the delegates.

Mr. Jordan B. Reaves was called upon to make special recognition to Mrs. V. M. Harry, President, Robert E. Lee Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy. Mrs. Harry spoke of Mr. Reaves' suggestion to her that the members of the Chapter make a replica of the Choctaw Confederate flag, the original of which is displayed in the Confederate Memorial Hall but which is quite worn. Mrs. Harry made a replica, which prompted Mr. Reaves to request the Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri and Texas state flags. Members of the Robert E. Lee Chapter raised funds to match funds from the Oklahoma Historical Society for the construction of a set of such flags.

The Louisiana and Texas flags have been completed and were presented, with the Choctaw flag, by Mrs. Harry to the Society. The Arkansas and Missouri flags will also be given to the Society when they are completed.

Mrs. Harry was presented the Oklahoma Historical Society's Certificate

of Commendation by Mr. Reaves for her distinguished service in the cause of preserving and understanding the history of Oklahoma.

President Shirk called on Museum Director Ralph W. Jones, who is also the local chairman of the American Association of State and Local History Awards Committee. As spokesman for the Committee, Mr. Jones presented an award to Mr. Pendleton Woods, Director of the Society's Living Legends program, for his "Voices from the Past" slide film/voice series. Mr. Woods thanked the Oklahoma Historical Society for making the program possible, and said that he had received requests from schools to place the series in film strip sets for use in classrooms to supplement the study of Oklahoma history.

Mr. Shirk added a tribute to members of the Oklahoma State Legislature for their understanding and desire to preserve the history of the State of Oklahoma and her people. Senator Herschal Crow and many others have supported the Society and businessmen and people throughout the state have felt the significance of the preservation work of the Society, which has reached its maturity in the 1970s, according to Mr. Shirk.

First Vice President W. D. Finney moved that the action of the officers and the Board of Directors in the corporate year just closed and as reported in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* be approved. Mr. Q. B. Boydstun seconded the motion and all approved.

Mr. Sprague came to the podium to extend a special invitation to anyone willing to volunteer his or her services to the Oklahoma Historical Society, specifically as a museum guide. Mr. Sprague has been serving in this capacity for the past six years and spoke of the opportunity to explain the state not only to school children and visitors from the entire nation, but to the many international visitors to the Historical Building. This service is an extension of the highway slogan, "We're glad you're here."

Mr. Shirk announced that an amendment to the constitution of the Society had been proposed by Senator Denzil Garrison. The constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society provides that any change must lay on the table of the members for ninety days. It has been proposed that Article IV, Section 3, Line 17, be amended to provide that on balloting for members of the Board of Directors the members will not be required to sign their names across the inner envelope, but that, "the member shall sign his name to the outer envelope." Senator Garrison moved that the amendment be laid on the table till the next annual meeting April 28, 1977. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion, adding that the amendment should be given final consideration as required by the statutes. All members approved the motion.

Mr. Jack Wettengel, Executive Director, presented the Oklahoma Historical Society's Certificate of Commendation to the Junior League of

Oklahoma City, Inc., for its assistance with the museum. Mr. Wettengel stated that on behalf of the officers and members of the Board of Directors he wished to recognize the considerable talents and achievements and contribution of the Junior League in helping with the museum's volunteer program. The certificate was given to Mrs. John Sargent, Chairman of the 1975–1976 Curatorial Assistants, and Mrs. Jerry Hagen, Chairman for 1976–1977. Mrs. Sargent said it had been a pleasure for the volunteers to see the improvements brought about through their efforts.

There being no further business before the members, President Shirk declared the eighty-fourth annual meeting of the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society adjourned.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
April 29, 1976

President George H. Shirk called to order the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at 10:30 a.m., April 29, 1976, in the Board Room of the Historical Building.

Because of the Annual Luncheon to follow, Mr. Shirk said that he would like to dispense with routine committee reports with the exception of those from the Library and the Museum Committees.

Mr. Jack Wettengel, Executive Director, then called the roll. Those responding were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydstun; O. B. Campbell; Jack T. Conn; Joe E. Curtis; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; E. Moses Frye; Nolen J. Fuqua; Senator Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. A. M. Gibson; Dr. James Morrison; Fisher Muldrow; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; H. Milt Phillips; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; George H. Shirk; and H. Merle Woods. After motion by Miss Seger, seconded by Mr. Phillips, those excused were Bob Foresman, John E. Kirkpatrick and W. E. McIntosh. Motion passed.

Mrs. Everett called the Board's attention to an error in the minutes of the January 29, 1976 Board Meeting. On page five, paragraph two, the words "and Mrs. Mark Everett" should be changed to read "and Miss Seger." The error has been corrected.

During the quarter there were fifty-nine applications for annual membership and three for life membership. The three were Eugene L. Ames,

James W. Cloud, who joined as an annual member in 1969, and Stanley Youngheim.

Miss Seger moved that those applying be elected to membership in the Society. Senator Garrison seconded and the motion passed.

A motion by Dr. Deupree to accept the report read by Treasurer Mrs. Bowman was seconded by Senator Garrison and approved.

Chairman Boydstun of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park Commission asked to report on the recommendations of the Commission which had met during the quarter. A bill for the balance of the archaeological work done by a crew under the direction of The University of Tulsa at Honey Springs was recommended for payment. Mr. Pierce moved that the bill in the amount of $1,465.26 be paid; motion seconded by Dr. Deupree and carried. Mr. Wettengel verified that all artifacts found at the site had been delivered to the Society and a full report of the project had been submitted by Dr. Charles Cheek of the university.

Mr. Boydstun spoke of the appearance at the Commission meeting of Mr. Gage Skinner of the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department. Mr. Skinner had been requested by Mr. Wettengel to attend the meeting in order to familiarize himself with the scope of the Honey Springs project. The Committee hoped that a master plan could be submitted by the Tourism and Recreation Department for the physical development of the Park. Discussion followed as to the cost of the plan and how such cost would be approved by the Board of Directors. Mr. Boydstun then advised that the Commission had recommended to the Board of Directors that the Society request the State Historic Preservation Officer to apply for matching federal funds equal to the state appropriation for the development of Honey Springs. The recommendation was placed in the form of a motion by Dr. Fischer and seconded by Mr. Boydstun. The motion passed. Mr. Boydstun moved that Mr. Wettengel proceed with negotiating a formal contract to be submitted July 1, 1976 for action by the Board at the July 24 meeting. The motion was seconded by Dr. Fischer and received unanimous consent.

Dr. Fischer invited the Board members to view the museum, all galleries of which have been opened for public view after many months of research and redevelopment. The museum now presents a cohesive history of the first fifty years of statehood.

Dr. Fischer called attention to a special exhibit of Oklahoma Territorial and Indian Territorial documents on temporary display in the West Gallery. These documents are owned by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library. He said the volunteer curatorial assistants from the Junior League of Oklahoma City, Inc., have completed the inven-

tory of the American Indian collection started by former Museum Director Martha Royce Blaine. Dr. Fischer also told of the award to John Hill of the Exhibits Section of a fellowship to a two-week seminar sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History on "The Management and Interpretation of History Museums."

Dr. Fischer on behalf of the Museum Committee then moved the following:

1. That the Oklahoma Historical Society gratefully acknowledge the offer of Miss Eunice Duckett to donate the "Duckett Family Collection" of handcrafted alabaster but respectfully decline the offer since the collection is outside the scope of the Society's collections. The Society will cooperate with Miss Duckett to see that the collection is placed in an appropriate institution. Dr. Gibson seconded, motion passed.

2. That the *U.S.S. Oklahoma* Association be allowed to use the punch bowl and plateau from the ship's silver service at their Oklahoma City reunion with the Curator and a Capitol Policeman in attendance. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow and passed.

3. That the Oklahoma Chapter of the American Institute of Architects be permitted to borrow certain "pioneer artifacts," to be selected by the Museums Director, on the fifteenth and twenty-second days of May, for the purpose of a temporary display in the Carriage House of the Overholser Mansion. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion and it was carried.

4. That the Oklahoma Heritage Association be granted permission to take the Liberty Bell replica on a tour of the state provided that (a) a contract between the Oklahoma Heritage Association and the Oklahoma Historical Society be drawn which will grant assurance of adequate and proper protection for the bell; (b) that adequate insurance covering the entire period of the loan be provided at no cost to the Society; and, (c) that an appropriate "truck size" sign be displayed throughout the tour, stating that the bell is "From the Collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society." Mr. Reaves seconded this motion which passed.

5. That Dr. Scott Meadows and Mr. Reaves make preliminary contacts on behalf of the Society to trade some of the duplicates in the gun collection for essential weapons not yet in the collection. Dr. Meadows has completely inventoried and appraised the museum's weapons collection. This motion was seconded by Mr. Conn and carried.

6. That Certificates of Commendation be awarded the following: (a) Miss Winona Koch and Dr. Scott Meadows for volunteer service inventorying, cataloguing, and arranging textiles and weapons, respectively; (b) Mrs. V. M. Harry for outstanding work with the Confederate Memorial Hall; and (c) the Junior League of Oklahoma City, Inc., as an organization for

their past and continuing work in the Museum. The motion to award these certificates was seconded by Miss Seger and passed.

Mrs. Nesbitt, Chairman of the Library Committee, thanked the committee members and the Society staff in researching past agreements between the Society and owners of book collections housed in the library. She referred to an attorney general's opinion that all books given to the Oklahoma Historical Society Library are the property of the State of Oklahoma with the exception of the Daughters of the American Revolution genealogical book collection which is in the Society's library on a loan basis. The committee has asked Mrs. Everett to contact the Daughters of the American Revolution to negotiate a contract which will set out the details of the loan and the use of the collection and which will specify the duties of the Oklahoma Historical Society with regard to the maintenance, security and periodic inventorying of the collection.

Mrs. Nesbitt reported that Mrs. Ben Musick, past State Regent for the Daughters of the American Revolution, had received money from insurance for the replacement of books stolen from the Daughters of the American Revolution collection in the Society's library. Replacement books are being purchased with these funds and money appropriated by "Senate Bill 73," Oklahoma Historical Society appropriation bill, First Session of the Thirty-fifth Oklahoma Legislature, would not be needed.

Mr. Campbell moved that a contract be prepared by the Library Committee, which would meet the approval of the Daughters of the American Revolution, to present to the Executive Committee for its approval or disapproval; if approved, the contract would then be submitted for approval to the full Board. Dr. Deupree seconded the motion, which passed.

A suggestion that a committee be appointed to make a report at the next meeting of the Board on the possibility of redecorating the Board Room was offered by Dr. Deupree.

The sales of the first three volumes of the "Oklahoma Series" have far exceeded the expectations of the Publications Committee, said Chairman Shirk. These volumes are *Territorial Governors of Oklahoma*, *Mark of Heritage* and *America's Exiles: Indian Colonization in Oklahoma*. Dr. Arrell Morgan Gibson was the editor of the latter work which appeared in the Spring issue, Volume LIV, Number 1, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Mr. Pierce commented that he believed it is the "best thing I have even seen about the Indian tribes in Oklahoma." Dr. Deupree moved that a letter of commendation be sent to Dr. Gibson for the issue and his wise editing of it. Mr. Pierce seconded the motion, which carried.

Mr. Shirk said work is continuing on the supplement to the Cumulative Index of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

As agreed in the preceding annual meeting, an amendment to the Oklahoma Historical Society constitution will be voted upon at the next annual meeting, April 28, 1977. The amendment proposes that Article IV, Section 3, Line 17, be amended to provide that on balloting for members of the Board of Directors the members will not be required to sign their names across the inner envelope, but that "—the member shall sign his name to the outer envelope."

Mr. Wettengel reported that "House Bill 1745," the Oklahoma Historical Society's appropriation bill, was presently before the Senate Conference Committee. As in the past, a number of line items have been added to the original bill. Mr. Wettengel pointed out, however, that a clear distinction is being made in the assignment of line items to the Society's bill that the Society shall not have line item special events as a part of its appropriation. Such events will be given to the Tourism and Recreation Department. The items assigned to the Oklahoma Historical Society will be of a historical or preservation nature.

Miss Seger was asked by the Oklahoma Federation of Women's Clubs to present the fourth and last of a series of commemorative milk glass plates to the Oklahoma Historical Society. The fourth plate is entitled "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land." It is believed the plates will increase in value through the year, for the molds will be destroyed on July 4, 1976.

Mr. Shirk reminded the Board members that their continued assistance and help is needed on the Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment Fund. The annual earnings of this fund go to provide the $300 stipend awarded each year to the winner of the Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment award for excellence in writing an article for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* To date there is a total of $3,963 in the fund. A goal of $5,000 has been set in order to provide the annual stipend. Mr. Foresman's generosity enabled the full $300 to be awarded for 1975. Vice President Finney responded to the request in a most generous manner.

A "Less Than Fee" Easement Proposal accepted by the Oklahoma Historic Sites Review Commission on April 22, 1976 was presented to the Board members for approval by State Historic Preservation Officer Shirk. To enhance the ability of the Oklahoma Historical Society to facilitate public participation in historic preservation, it is proposed that the Oklahoma Historical Society accept and hold preservation easements on properties of historical, cultural, architectural, archeological or environmental significance, such easements to be acquired, as a general rule, by donation. Mr. Shirk pointed out the tax advantages to donors of such easements and said that the sight view from Mount Vernon is an example of the protection afforded by such an easement policy. He said that the City of Guthrie is look-

ing to the Oklahoma Historical Society as the proper state entity to implement this policy. Miss Seger moved, seconded by Dr. Fischer, that the Board of Directors approve the policy recommended by the Review Commission that the Oklahoma Historical Society accept and hold preservation easements to aid in the preservation of historic properties. The motion passed. A copy of the Easement Acquisition Policy is a part of these minutes.

Mr. Conn, Chairman of the Oklahoma City Bicentennial Commission, invited members of the Board to visit the Bicentennial Plaza in downtown Oklahoma City. The Plaza features bronze plaques of the "Run of '89" and other significant events in the history of Oklahoma City.

Mr. Wettengel told of the gift of former Director Dr. B. B. Chapman to the Society of nine copies of his book, *Founding of Stillwater* and ten copies of *Oklahoma City: From Public Land to Private Property*. Dr. Chapman suggested that the books could be sold, such sales to be regarded as a donation to the Society.

Congressman Tom Steed also sent to the Society a book showing in color and black and white photographs every painting and piece of sculpture in the Capitol in Washington, D.C. The book will be placed in the Research Library, Mr. Wettengel said.

Mr. Phillips told of the desire of the Oklahoma Press Association to have a permanent committee, stemming from the interest in the Bicentennial year celebration, which would encourage all of the state's seventy-seven counties to prepare their own histories and then exchange them. The Association feels such an undertaking will provide a rich source of historic material.

Mr. Shirk announced that Vice President Finney is to receive a Distinguished Service Award as an alumnus of Oklahoma State University. Dr. Deupree was named a Distinguished Alumnus of Oklahoma City University at the university's annual Homecoming Banquet.

Mr. Shirk directed that the meeting recess to the Ramada Inn for the Fifth Annual Luncheon with Dr. Arrell M. Gibson as guest speaker.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, PRESIDENT

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the first quarter of 1976:

MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC SITES:

Walter F. Wallingford
Mrs. Agnes Mae Medders
Mrs. Ernest Jackson
Harry White
Earnie Coffman
Mrs. Thelma Flasch
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OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY EASEMENT ACQUISITION POLICY

To enhance the ability of the Oklahoma Historical Society to facilitate public participation in historic preservation and otherwise carry out its responsibilities assigned by law, it is the policy of the Oklahoma Historical Society to accept and hold preservation easements to aid in the preservation of historic properties.

Such nonpossessory easements (called preservation easements for the purposes of this policy) shall be acquired by the Society only on properties of historical, cultural, architectural, archeological or environmental significance and, as a general rule, by donation. In each instance such easements must contain covenants, which are binding and enforceable servitudes running with the land, in perpetuity or for a term of years obligating present and future owners to do or refrain from doing with respect to such properties certain specific acts, such action or inaction being adequate to assure protection of the historical, cultural, architectural or archeologial character of such properties.

An historic property shall meet one or more of the following requirements to be eligible for consideration of acceptance by the Oklahoma Historical Society:

1. It has been designated by the Secretary of the Interior as a National Historic Landmark or within a National Historic Landmark District; or
2. It is of historical, cultural, architectural or archeological significance and importance; or representative of a period, design, style, type or designer, and listed or eligible for listing on the National Register; or

3. It is deemed by the Oklahoma Historical Society to be reasonably necessary for the protection of properties either qualifying under 1 or 2 above, or which are owned by the National Trust.

In addition to the above requirements, prior to acceptance by the Society the following evaluative principles shall be applied in determining whether the proposed preservation easement meets the foregoing criteria:

1. The significance of the preservation objective in terms of the relationship to and coordination with national, state or local conservation and preservation programs;
2. The extent to which the easement may contribute to the successful achievement of the preservation goal for the property and accomplishment of the overall preservation objectives of the Society;
3. The extent to which the easement may contribute toward the property's long-range preservation;
4. The innovative preservation characteristics of the easement as a preservation technique, its significance as a demonstration of coordinated preservation action, the extent to which it serves as a model for public instruction and benefit;
5. The extent to which the covenants contained in the easement will require recurring or continuing supervision or enforcement responsibilities on the part of the Society;
6. The architectural significance of the property.

Preservation easements shall clearly define the features to be protected, generally protect open spaces thereon and prohibit incompatible uses, development, subdivision or such other uses as the Society may determine to be inappropriate.

Properties and their characteristics protected by preservation easements shall be fully described in the instrument of conveyance or by incorporation therein by exhibit, of such a description and such a description shall be fully documented and included among the permanent records of the Society after recording at the public office of record.

Ownership of preservation easements acquired by the Society shall normally pass to the State of Oklahoma upon the dissolution of the Society but, in special circumstances, easements may provide for alternate ownership in the event of occurrence of specified eventualities.

Preservation easements on properties meeting the above criteria may be accepted by the Oklahoma Historical Society only after approval in each instance by the Board of Directors.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

January 30, 1976 to April 29, 1976

Bain, W. O.	Valliant
Ball, Jodie	Oklahoma City
Bass, J. N.	Fort Worth, Texas
Boake, Colonel Corwin, Jr.	Anadarko
Bostwick, Ann T.	Fairview
Bullette, Bettie	Los Angeles, California
Burress, Kenneth	Skiatook
Caldwell, Earl I.	Oakhurst
Calhoun, George W.	Norman
Callihan, Clyde	Hobart
Carter, Albert	Gore
Clayton, Delores E.	Nowata
Clemmons, Ron	Yukon
Davis, Robert A.	Tulsa
Dougherty, William E., Jr.	Shawnee
Downer, Richard R.	Alva
Duckwall, Clyde M., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Easley, Blair	Oklahoma City
Elder, H. J.	Bartlesville
Frost, Mary E.	Oklahoma City
Gill, Sally	San Antonio, Texas
Gipson, Sue B.	Fort Worth, Texas
Grumbein, Gwen	Vinita
Gumerson, Mrs. Ralph	Guthrie
Hawrylko, Josephine	Oklahoma City
Hendrix, Mrs. Ruth	El Reno
Hicks, Ms. L. Frances	Nicoma Park
Hilderbrand, M. O.	Collinsville
Hull, Mrs. Gray B.	Bartlesville
Ingram, Whit	Oklahoma City
Isern, Thomas	Stillwater
Jarrett, David L.	New York, New York
Martin, David R.	Norman
Milligan, Florian McKee	Borger, Texas
Nelson, Mrs. David L.	Oklahoma City
Nelson, Mary Jo	Oklahoma City
Nelson, Monteray	Oklahoma City
Nichols, Othell E.	Tulsa
Nilson, Bob	El Reno
Paeochke, Milton H.	Oklahoma City
Perryman, Richard	Claremore
Peters, Doris	Skiatook
Riggs, M. David	Tulsa
Robbins, Lester E.	Seminole
Roberson, Glen	Stillwater
Rodgers, Sheron	Oklahoma City

Sanders, W. W.	Edmond
Sherman, Henry James	Tulsa
Slater, Mrs. Tephia F.	Anadarko
Smith, Cal	Grand Prairie, Texas
Staggs, Alvin	Blair
Stephens, Dorthy	Oklahoma City
Stonum, Paul	Anadarko
Stonum, Sarah	Anadarko
Supernaw, Kugee	Skiatook
Tucker, Lee	Elkhart, Kansas
Turnbull, Jan E.	Oklahoma City
Williams, Dr. Ward	Lawton
Zajic, Al	Oklahoma City

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

January 30, 1976 to April 29, 1976

Ames, Eugene L.	San Antonio, Texas
Cloud, James W.	Oklahoma City
Youngheim, Stanley	El Reno

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

he Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory ewspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, lay 27, 1893.

he major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in klahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, ctures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma gathering these materials.

he Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, utumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly ticles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, id bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor id the Publications Committee.

embership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The uarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unss otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence lating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical ociety Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article VI, Section 5—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma* shall publish the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Society; and shall pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history, including necrologies, reviews, reprints of journals and reports and other activities of the Society. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

VOLUME LIV NUMBER 4 WINTER 1976–1977

the chronicles OF OKLAHOMA

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Published quarterly by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

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W. D. Finney, 1st Vice President
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Jack Wettengel, Executive Director
Historical Building, Oklahoma City

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Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher
Harry L. Deupree, Oklahoma City
W. E. McIntosh, Tulsa
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee

Term Expiring in January, 1978

W. D. Finney, Fort Cobb
Jordan Reaves, Oklahoma City
James D. Morrison, Durant
John E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City
Q. B. Boydstun, Fort Gibson

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O. B. Campbell, Vinita
E. Moses Frye, Stillwater
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Nolen Fuqua, Duncan
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Bob Foresman, Tulsa
Miss Genevieve Seger, Geary
Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt, Oklahoma City

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Mrs. Mark R. Everett, Oklahoma City
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H. Merle Woods, El Reno
George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
A. M. Gibson, Norman

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for reveiw, and all editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma is published quarterly in spring, summer, fall, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

Annual membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is $5.00 and each member receives *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* free. The subscription rate for institutions and libraries is $6.00 a year. Single numbers of *The Chronicles* are available for most years and the price will be supplied on request. In addition business memberships are available at $25.00 per year; corporate memberships with annual dues of $100.00; and life memberships priced at $100.00. Subscriptions, change of address, membership applications, orders for current issues of *The Chronicles*, and non-current back issues should be sent to the Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

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the
chronicles
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VOLUME LIV *Winter, 1976–1977* NUMBER 4

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THE COVER *Caw-Taa-Waa-Be-Ta* or The Snagled Tooth, a Chippewa Chief, as he appeared in James Lewis' *Aboriginal Port-Folio* first published by George Lehman and Peter Duval of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1835 and 1836. Predating the more famous Thomas McKenney and James Hall collection of lithographs, Lewis' work offers a graphic portrayal of several Indian tribes which later settled in Oklahoma. A sampling of Lewis' lithographs are preserved in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GOVERNOR LEE CRUCE AND LAW ENFORCMENT, 1911–1915

*By Orben J. Casey**

When Oklahoma's second governor, Lee Cruce, took his oath of office on January 9, 1911, Oklahomans already knew his attitude toward one serious state problem—law enforcement. "All laws are made to be obeyed," he had told the voters in his two campaigns for governor.[1] And with obvious reference to the constitutional amendment prohibiting intoxicating liquors he had said, "If the enforcement of any law is obnoxious or hurtful to the people, they have their remedy in its repeal."[2]

Despite the efforts of Oklahoma's first governor, Charles N. Haskell, Governor Cruce had inherited an urgent need for impartial law enforcement in the three-year-old state.[3] Hardly had the Cruce term begun when reports of probition and gambling violations reached him from all over the state.[4] "City Wide Open Declares Mayor," a *Tulsa Daily World* headline cried. The accompanying story accused bootleggers of arranging the absence of witnesses from court proceedings.[5] In Oklahoma City, laxity of local officials had caused Governor Haskell for a time to assign both the state enforcement attorney and the attorney general to enforcement duties there.[6] And throughout the state there was trouble with the prizefighting laws which—

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*The author has adopted this article from his Master of Arts thesis, "Governor Lee Cruce and His 'Righteous Crusade," prepared at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. This article follows "Governor Lee Cruce, White Supremacy and Capital Punishment," by the same author and published in Vol. LII, No. 4 (Winter, 1974–1975).

1 *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), November 18, 1909; *Daily Ardmoreite* (Ardmore), July 23, 1906, January 17, 1907. A tall, angular attorney and more recently an Ardmore, Oklahoma banker, Cruce had lost to Charles N. Haskell by a narrow margin in the state's first Democratic primary in 1907. He won the governor's office three years later by defeating Democrat William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray and Republican Joseph McNeal.

2 *Daily Oklahoman*, November 18, 1909.

3 Jimmie Lewis Franklin, *Born Sober: Prohibition in Oklahoma, 1907–1959* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 36–49.

4 Reverend Wiley Smith to Lee Cruce, May 15, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File, Oklahoma State Department of Libraries, Division of Archives and Records, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

5 *Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa), February 10, 1911.

6 Albert McRill, *And Satan Came Also* (Oklahoma City: Britton Publishing Company, 1955), p. 141.

next to prohibition—were the most difficult to enforce.[7] "Oklahoma is becoming a resort" for prizefighters, a Claremore, Oklahoma, minister wrote Cruce.[8]

Some thought the courtly, sedate Lee Cruce was ill-equipped to administer the affairs of a raw, new state. Among the doubtful was the editor of the *Tulsa Daily World*, who editorialized frankly, "Lee Cruce, we are fearful, is too good a man to be governor of Oklahoma at this time."[9] Probably few outside the forty-seven-year-old governor's close friends foresaw the independence and tenacity that would characterize an administration now remembered for its attention to law enforcement, capital punishment policy, opposition to partisan politics and insistence on honesty and economy in government.

In the area of law enforcement Governor Cruce devoted most of his time to prohibition, gambling, prizefighting and Sabbath breaking laws. Prohibition had been adopted by the people as an amendment simultaneously with approval of the state constitution in 1907.[10] The remaining three statutes had been inherited from Oklahoma Territory legislation.[11] But—as former Governor Haskell could verify—enforcement of these laws suffered greatly from public indifference and corrupt or lax public officials.

Cruce recognized the enforcement problem and searched for a solution. "I presume there is no one in the State who has sought to find out more about his Constitutional powers than have I," he told a constituent.[12] The constitution charged him with enforcement of the law but—in his opinion—it failed to provide him with the power to require local officials to perform their law enforcement duties.[13] He concluded there were only three enforcement options open to him—his special prohibition officer, the attorney general and the National Guard. However, the attorney general was handicapped by lack of funds for special projects. And—heeding the attorney general's advice—Cruce resorted to the National Guard only when local officials asked for assistance or when he believed they were guilty of failing to enforce the law or were incapable of doing so.[14]

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[7] Cruce to T. E. Sisson, July 13, 1912, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[8] A. P. Stone to Cruce, February 28, 1911, *ibid.*

[9] *Tulsa Daily World*, January 12, 1911.

[10] Clinton Orrin Bunn, ed., *Revised Laws of Oklahoma, 1910* (2 vols., St. Paul, Minnesota: The Pioneer Company, 1912), Vol. I, pp. ccxiii–ccxv.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 617–620, 632–633, 596–597.

[12] Cruce to William Taylor, May 21, 1913, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[13] Lee Cruce, *Regular Biennial Message of Governor Lee Cruce to the Legislature of 1913, Oklahoma* (Vinita, Oklahoma: Leader Printing Company, 1913), pp. 20–21.

[14] Attorney General Charles West to Cruce, May 12, 1913, and August 17, 1912, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

He all but discarded another possible statutory alternative—removal of negligent officials by court action—a process he considered cumbersome and ineffective.[15] To simplify that procedure, he asked both the 1911 and 1913 legislatures to grant to the governor the power to remove any local official, who, after appropriate hearing, was found guilty of non-enforcement of state law.[16] However, critics loudly accused him of attempted despotism and that proposal was defeated in both the Third and Fourth Oklahoma legislatures.[17]

Cruce might have used his proposal removal power to good advantage in the case of the courageous town justice of Marietta, Oklahoma, who wrote him shortly after state lawmakers had voted down his recommendation. "Is there any difference," the justice asked, "in who violates the prohibition law, a private citizen or a county official?" He related details of how the county judge, a deputy sheriff and their friends had consumed a quantity of confiscated beer on the bank of a creek, and that the county judge had admitted he "knew that it was beer spelled b-e-e-r . . . . that he did not [care] who knew it. . . ."[18] Cruce could only reply that in view of the legislature's decision, "I am powerless to afford you any relief." Under state law, he said, "The same citizens who elected these county officials should secure their removal."[19]

Throughout the remainder of his term the chief executive remained bitter about the legislature's refusal to grant him the removal power other state governors were finding useful. In one public statement he complained that although seventy-five percent of Oklahoma's homicides were attributable to violation of prohibition and gambling laws, when he recommended corrective legislation the people accused him of seeking "autocratic power."[20]

In October, 1914, a former county attorney informed Cruce that local officials in Cushing, Oklahoma, had succumbed to graft and were allowing the town to run "wide open." "Drunkenness, lewd women, liquor joints

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15 Cruce, *Regular Biennial Message of Governor Lee Cruce to the Legislature of 1913, Oklahoma*, pp. 20–24; Cruce to R. F. Richardson, July 30, 1914, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

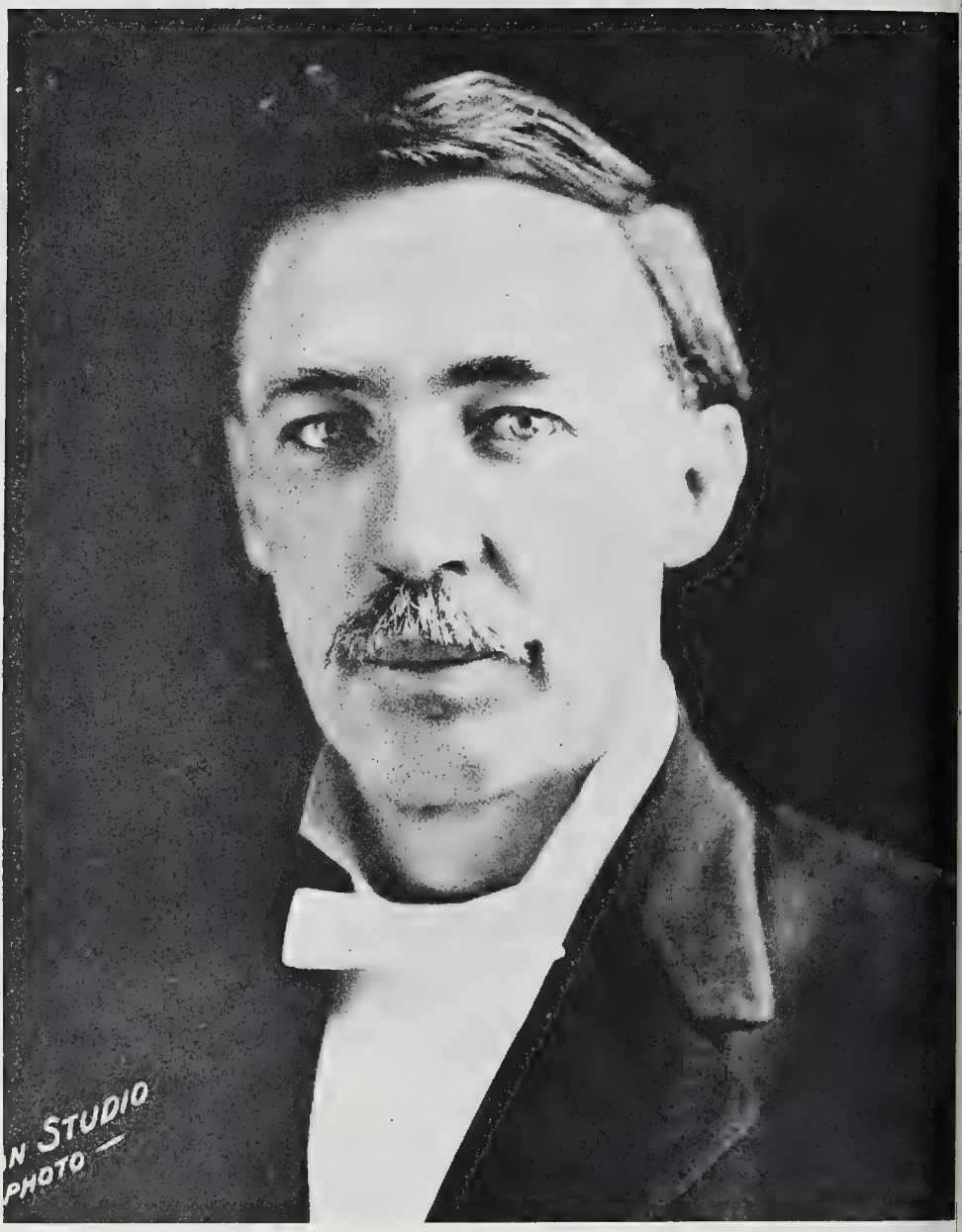
16 State of Oklahoma, *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Third Legislature—Regular Session, State of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Warden Printing Company, 1911), pp. 116, 328–330; Lee Cruce, *Regular Biennial Message of Governor Lee Cruce to the Legislature of 1913, Oklahoma*, pp. 20–24.

17 State of Oklahoma, *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Third Legislature—Regular Session, State of Oklahoma*, pp. 328–30; *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City) December 14, 1912; *Daily Oklahoman*, February 8, 1914.

18 W. F. Morton to Cruce, June 1, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

19 Cruce to Morton, June 2, 1911, *ibid.*

20 *Daily Oklahoman*, February 8, 1914.



Oklahoma Governor Lee Cruce who hoped that his "Special Enforcement Officers" would be able to put a stop to the "drunkenness, lewd women, liquor joints and gambling dens" he believed were flourishing across the state

and gambling dens," flourished, he told the governor.[21] However, Cruce replied that:[22]

> I have tried at every session of the Legislature held since I have been Governor to get an act passed to give to the Governor the power to deal with just such conditions as prevail, but they have persisted in refusing to grant it. Under prevailing laws, the only hope of relief rests with the people. The people elect the local officers and so long as they continue to elect incompetent and dishonest men to office then they may expect lax enforcement of the law.

The one enforcement arm placed directly under the governor's supervision was the "special enforcement officer" authorized by the Third Oklahoma Legislature. The officer had "the power and authority of sheriffs" to enforce prohibition laws only, when local officers neglected their duty.[23] However, only one enforcement officer was authorized for the entire state so his coverage was necessarily limited; nonetheless state citizens lost no time in requesting his assistance, even before the law took effect on June 10, 1911.[24]

The first special enforcement officer was W. E. McLamore, an acquaintance of Cruce from Ardmore, Oklahoma, for over twenty years. McLamore soon became a source of embarrassment for the governor.[25] Less than two months after his appointment a raiding party representing the Civic League of Oklahoma City found him visiting two women in a local roadhouse, where he was said to have in his possession the keys to a room containing "some fifteen or sixteen bottles of beer." After a two-hour hearing the governor ruled that McLamore was "guilty of gross indiscretion and disobedience of orders which had resulted in the destruction of his usefulness as a law enforcement officer."[26]

McLamore's successor was W. J. Caudill of Hobart, Oklahoma, an advocate of prohibition at the Constitutional Convention. He was a unique individual—if one believes outspoken William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray's characterization of him—"A good man and good Character, but he has 'wheels' in his head that run both ways."[27] Nevertheless, Caudill proved to be an

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[21] Wilberforce Jones to Cruce, October 8, 1914, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.
[22] Cruce to Wilberforce Jones, October [10], 1914, *ibid.*
[23] State of Oklahoma, *State of Oklahoma, Session Laws of 1910–1911* (Guthrie: Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1911), p. 165.
[24] Cruce to C. T. Bennett, April 28, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.
[25] *Tulsa Daily World*, August 13, 1911.
[26] *Ibid.*, August 15, 1911.
[27] William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma* (3 vols., Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1945), Vol. II, p. 18.

industrious, scrupulously honest official who quickly learned that the position of enforcement officer was a sensitive one to the bootlegging gentry. Twelve days after his appointment he informed a Granite, Oklahoma, audience that already there "had been three attempts to bribe him."[28]

Caudill roamed the state fearlessly defending prohibition until resigning in April, 1913, when the survival of the enforcement post was being debated in the Fourth Oklahoma Legislature.[29] He noted in his letter of resignation, "I must say, governor that the bootlegger is not the worst person in this state by a good deal.... A good percent of them would not be in the business if it was not for corrupt county and state officials."[30]

As the chief executive pondered increasing requests for aid in prohibition enforcement, he discovered a way of spreading enforcement officer powers into every section of the state. Because that officer had been vested with "the power and authority of sheriffs," he could appoint deputies, whose remuneration and expenses would be provided by interested citizens. Thereafter, the governor arranged to commission as deputies all applicants who supplied proper petitions and recommendations from responsible citizens in their community.[31]

The governor's deputy enforcement officer was, of course, most effective in those communities where sincere men were willing to accept responsibility. But the formality of a deputy's commission was not needed by one such individual—W. E. Harris of Kingfisher, Oklahoma. Harris had applied for a commission but neglected to submit the required recommendations. Meanwhile, he became a preacher and notified the governor to cancel his application because, he said, he now had a commission from the "Great God of all the Earth." Harris explained to Cruce his mode of operation where a bootlegger was "too stubborn" to heed the warning that:[32]

> The Governor of the State means to enforce the Law Without Regards to friends or foes .... I get me 3 or 4 good old Christian people or perhaps another preacher who dont (drink boose) to accompany me and we go in unsuspecting, sang a poem or so, then we bow down & pray for the whole outfit to stop operating, and 8 out of Every 10 joints, they shut up the place [sic].

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[28] *Tulsa Daily World*, September 7, 1911.

[29] State of Oklahoma, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Extraordinary Session of the Fourth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Harlow-Ratliff Printing Company, 1913), pp. 532–534; *Daily Oklahoman*, April 22, 1913.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Tulsa Daily World*, July 2, 1911, quoting *Vinita Leader*; Cruce to Reverend E. M. Sweet, Jr., June 22, 1911 and Cruce to C. C. Brown, August 5, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[32] W. E. Harris to Cruce, October 25, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

The "deputy" method of enforcing prohibition was never as successful as Cruce had hoped. Public-spirited citizens essential to implement the idea were lacking, although some success was attained in certain areas. Harassment by local officials was one deterrent to the enthusiasm of some deputy enforcement officers. In Washington County, Oklahoma, for example, a Law and Order League engaged in a fight to support what the governor termed a "reign of lawlessness."[33] When three deputies—members of the Law and Order League—were arrested by law officers for carrying concealed weapons, the League appealed to Governor Cruce. As he did in all such cases, the governor promised the deputies a full pardon if they were convicted; however, they were found not guilty. By the end of 1911, unlawful conditions in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, had been alleviated due to the Law and Order League and the help of Enforcement Officer Caudill.[34]

But the worst trouble spots for Governor Cruce in Oklahoma were Tulsa and Oklahoma City—probably in that order. Columns of the *Tulsa Daily World* and correspondence received in the governor's office continued to substantiate Tulsa's reputation as a lawless city. The *World* on one occasion editorially complimented two public spirited citizens who journeyed to Oklahoma City to receive their deputy commissions. Upon returning to Tulsa they raided and closed several "East End" roadhouses. The editorial invited others to do likewise—but apparently there was never much interest in the deputy system there.[35]

The situation in Tulsa had not changed more than two years later, when a traveling man implored the governor, "For God sake please do something for Tulsa." Gambling and liquor conditions were worse than he had seen them anywhere in twenty years.[36] When Cruce asked Attorney General Charles West to take action against Tulsa officials, West replied that his office simply did not have the funds needed to support such a difficult assignment.[37] His description of Tulsa in 1913 illustrates many of the problems.[38]

> Tulsa, at present, is the most prosperous town in the state. The presence of the large oil companies, with very large pay rolls, turns loose every Saturday a very large amount of money, all the toots and gamblers and scalawags over the state flock there together. This condition had discouraged officers and many men who wish to do their duty, but really feel it impossible to carry out what they know to be the law.

[33] Cruce to J. K. Green, October 6, 1911, *ibid.*

[34] Cruce to J. R. Charlton, September 25, 1911, W. J. Caudill to Cruce, November 8, 1911, and W. J. Caudill to Cruce, December 11, 1911, *ibid.*

[35] *Tulsa Daily World*, July 18, 1911.

[36] J. Howard Edwards to Cruce, March 28, 1913, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[37] Charles West to Cruce, May 12, 1913, *ibid.*

[38] West to Cruce, May 15, 1913, *ibid.*

Oklahoma Cityans seem to have shared the Tulsans' lack of enthusiasm for a deputy's commission. The chief executive announced he would be pleased to appoint 100,000 good men to see that prohibition was enforced, but by August 18, 1911, there were no more than ten Oklahoma City deputies out of the two hundred in the entire state.[39] According to Oklahoma County Commissioner George Barnett there was one drawback to utilization of the deputy system. He conceded that nine-tenths of Oklahoma's citizens approved it—only because they were unaware of certain illegitimate financial advantages from being in a position to offer protection. There was more "real and quick money in it than anything outside of a private and legitimate money plant," Barnett confided.[40]

The *Daily Oklahoman*—generally an apologist for the governor—finally decided the state enforcement officer was a useless attachment to the state's law enforcement machinery. For a time even the governor concluded that the idea he could enforce prohibition with one salaried employee was "making a joke of law enforcement."[41] In 1913, however, the United States Congress enacted the Webb-Kenyon Bill which placed tighter restrictions on the shipment of liquor in interstate commerce.[42] Encouraged by this helpful legislation the governor decided it was better to have one enforcement officer than none at all.[43]

Cruce successfully vetoed the legislature's attempt to abolish the enforcement office in the regular session of 1913.[44] His veto of the measure a second time in the special session posed a legal question: Could the legislature even consider eliminating the office, as that issue was not within the province of the governor's message calling that body into special session?[45] The legislature disregarded its legal features and passed the bill again over the governor's veto. In 1914 a State Supreme Court decision ruled the enforcement office was legally abolished, because the governor had introduced the subject by calling for legislation to eliminate any unnecessary officers.[46] Thus, Governor Cruce lost the one direct enforcement arm at his disposal.

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[39] *Tulsa Daily World*, July 29, 1911; Cruce to F. M. Stevens, August 18, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[40] *Daily Oklahoman*, February 17, 1913.

[41] *Ibid.*, December 1, 1913; Cruce to A. M. Caldwell, February 7, 1913, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[42] United States Government, *Statutes at Large* (Multi-vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1848 to Present), Vol. XXXVII, pp. 699–700.

[43] *Daily Oklahoman*, February 19, 1913.

[44] *Ibid.*, March 18, 1913.

[45] *Ibid.*, April 22, 1913; State of Oklahoma, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Extraordinary Session of the Fourth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma*, pp. 532–534.

[46] *State ex rel. Pope, Co. Atty., v. Tillotson*, 143 p. 200 (1914); *Daily Oklahoman*, September 23, 1914.

Early in Cruce's term the proponents of prohibition in Texas tried to persuade him to participate in their campaign to duplicate the Oklahoma law; however, Cruce thought it inappropriate for him to take part in another state's affairs.[47] But he did question a statement allegedly made by the Texas governor to the effect that in Oklahoma, "No sooner than you enter a hospitable home than you are invited to have a drink. Instead of a man serving you, the good sweet housewife mixes the toddy and puts the mint in it."[48]

In his rebuttal Governor Cruce strongly resented "The continued slanders and calumnies being heaped upon my state." He went on to declare that Oklahoma citizens generally approved the prohibition law. Then he related his own personal observation that, "I have been in hundreds, yes thousands, of the good homes of Oklahoma and I have yet to enter my first home in which I have ever been invited to take a drink of any sort of intoxicants."[49]

That Oklahoma's staid Governor Cruce had not been offered a drink must have been due to the respect held for him by friends who had invited him into their homes. For—as he was to learn by personal experience—flagrant violation of the prohibition law still prevailed in the capital city itself. Cruce was aware of the problem to some extent in July, 1911, when he asked the commissioners of Oklahoma County for their assistance in County Attorney Sam Hooker's efforts to enforce the liquor laws.[50] One year later, however, the situation in Oklahoma City was forcefully brought to his attention by a letter from Enforcement Officer Caudill.[51]

In Caudill's travels over the state he had encountered frequent reports that Oklahoma City was "running wide open." Finally, accompanied by two deputies, he spent several days looking into law violations in the capital city. They were even worse than had been represented to him—there were "well equipped bootlegging joints, gambling houses and houses of ill fame . . . principally on the main streets in Oklahoma City." Criticizing county and state officials, Caudill advocated "drastic means" without delay to enforce the law and make the city an example for the entire state. He concluded in his letter to the governor:[52]

> In the Book of Books the watchman is placed on the wall, and if he sees the sword or enemy coming and fails to give the alarm, the blood of the people of the city will be required at his hands. In obedience to that Scripture, I am now warning you of the conditions in this city so that I can be relieved of the responsibility that I occupy.

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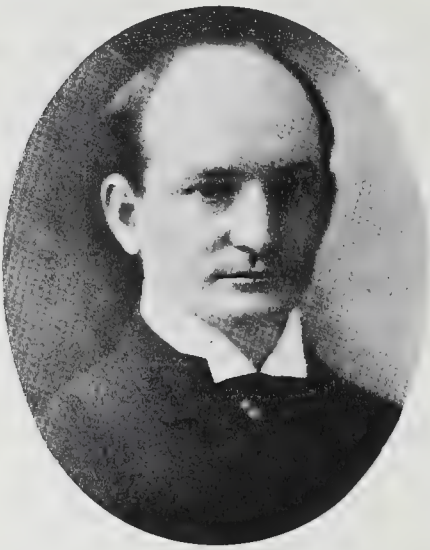
[47] Cruce to J. A. Old, July 13, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.
[48] Reverend G. V. Ridley to Cruce, June 30, 1911, *ibid.*
[49] Cruce to Ridley, July 3, 1911, *ibid.*
[50] Cruce to Board of Oklahoma County Commissioners, July 1, 1911, *ibid.*
[51] W. J. Caudill to Cruce, July 15, 1912, *ibid.*
[52] *Ibid.*



State Attorney General Charles West and Adjutant General Frank M. Canton—both played a role in the effort by Governor Cruce to utilize the National Guard to rid the state of "law-violators in quick order"

The enforcement officer's admonition did not go unheeded. After completing the necessary arrangements with County Attorney Hooker, one month later Oklahoma's dignified governor conducted a night raid on ten gambling and liquor "joints" in downtown Oklahoma City. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported that by the time the raiding party reached the fourth "joint," a crowd of 100 men was cheering them on. The excited onlookers numbered 500 at the tenth place, when "the tall man in a black suit and white necktie and broad-brimmed hat" decided he had seen enough.[53] The city at that time "boasted nearly 200 saloons, so "Ninety and nine places and then some, were not visited," said the *Daily Oklahoman*.[54]

The next morning Governor Cruce prepared to take immediate action. He conferred privately with the assistant attorney general, and then addressed a formal letter to Attorney General Charles West. Referring to the "very deplorable condition of affairs" in Oklahoma City, he asked West to advise him what action could be taken under state law. Cruce preferred to

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[53] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Missouri), newspaper clipping, ca. August 25, 1912, Fred S. Barde File, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[54] *Daily Oklahoman*, August 23, 1912, August 17, 1912.

call out the National Guard, because, he told West, "I am convinced that this town can be rid of practically all of these law-violators in quick order if I could use a local company of State militia for that purpose."[55]

The atorney general hesitated to recommend use of the National Guard, which he believed existed for the purpose of assisting local officials rather than substituting for them. He advised the chief executive to pursue a slower course centered around three objectives, concerned with "Executive pressure" on local officials, "Judicial pressure" to remove wilfully negligent officers by court procedure and "Legislative pressure" aiming toward corrective legislation.[56] In spite of the attorney general's objection to using the military, Cruce ordered Adjutant General Frank M. Canton—encamped with the National Guard at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas—to be prepared for a three-day stopover in Oklahoma City on their return trip home.[57] Four days later, however, he yielded to the attorney general's advice and cancelled the stopover.[58] Having abandoned the idea of utilizing the National Guard in Oklahoma City, Cruce hopefully awaited stronger legislation by the upcoming Fourth Oklahoma Legislature.

Frustration in enforcing prohibition led the governor to a conclusion expressive of the later Oklahoma maxim, that the "drys have their law and the wets have their whiskey," when he wrote:[59]

> I have come to the conclusion that it is the purpose of those who oppose prohibition in Oklahoma to attempt to have our laws fashioned so that they will, on their face, appear to give the result the people desire, yet underneath will be so molded as to make effective enforcement impossible. . . .

Nevertheless, he still believed prohibition was a good law.

The cause of law enforcement acquired renewed vigor in February, 1913, as leaders of more than forty churches in Oklahoma City campaigned from their pulpits against liquor and gambling.[60] The First Methodist Episopal Church invited the governor to its pulpit where he told the congregation:[61]

> The trouble here in Oklahoma is that the activities of the law enforcement element are too spasmodic. You raid joints, pour out the liquor into the sewers and go home and go to sleep. Before you get home the bootlegger is back in the joint with twice as much booze. There are two ways of putting

[55] Cruce to Attorney General West, August 17, 1912, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[56] Attorney General West to Cruce, August 21, 1912, *ibid.*

[57] Cruce to Adjutant General Frank M. Canton, August 22, 1912, *ibid.*

[58] Cruce to Canton, August 26, 1912, *ibid.*

[59] Cruce to Caldwell, February 7, 1913, *ibid.*

[60] *Daily Oklahoman*, February 4, 1913.

[61] *Ibid.*, February 19, 1913.

the bootlegger out of business: law enforcement and by failing to patronize him.

To the governor's dismay—while he battled the legislature on other matters in 1913—lawless forces renewed their efforts to convert the capital city into a wide open community, "without any signs of interference from the police department."[62] At that time, however, he was joined in the Oklahoma City fight by a determined citizens' organization—the Central Hundred. That organization gathered its membership from professional men, business men and the various churches of the city to carry out its ultimate aim—the suppression of all commercial vice in the city.[63]

By October, 1913, the Central Hundred was engaged in a detailed investigation of the background of every law enforcement officer, "from patrolman to the governor."[64] Their work was encouraged by Wilbur Crafts who came to Oklahoma City for a series of lectures in behalf of the International Reform League. "This city is rotten," he informed members of the Chamber of Commerce, "the wickedness of your city is not hidden from the stranger, but is open to him in the gambling houses and houses of ill fame."[65] Confirming the truth of Crafts' accusation, State Representative Ollie Morris sent Governor Cruce a copy of his letter to the *Daily Oklahoman* describing the vice he had observed during the 1913 legislative session. Cruce commented that better "law enforcement will have to prevail in some of the cities of the State or we will ultimately land in a state of anarchy."[66]

A few days later citizens in a public meeting castigated the "city hall bunch," and the Central Hundred launched the first of two unsuccessful attempts to recall the mayor.[67] They alleged he had been "guilty of wilful misconduct and maladministration . . . [had] granted special privileges to gamblers, prostitutes and other criminals . . . ."[68]

Public sentiment now encouraged Governor Cruce to intervene again. He authorized Attorney General West to join with leaders of the Central Hundred and Oklahoma County Sheriff M. C. Binion in a Friday night raid that led to the arrest of 108 men in 3 gambling houses. The attorney

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62 *Ibid.*, January 2, 1913; McRill, *And Satan Came Also*, p. 168.

63 *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City), May 30, 1914.

64 *Daily Oklahoman*, October 1, 1913.

65 *Ibid.*, December 9, 1913. The First Presbyterian Church unanimously approved Crafts' resolution that in deference to prohibition, instead of breaking the customary bottle of champagne at the upcoming launching of the new battleship *Oklahoma*, a white dove should be set free to symbolize "peace and purity." *Ibid.*

66 Cruce to Ollie Morris, December 10, 1913, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

67 McRill, *And Satan Came Also*, p. 158, 160.

68 *Daily Oklahoman*, December 9, 1913.

general explained, "As the local officials are unable to cope with the situation, Governor Cruce has instructed me to put a stop for good and all to bootlegging and gambling in Oklahoma City."[69] Then a candidate to be Oklahoma's next governor, the vigorous attorney general continued to carry out the governor's instructions with reasonable success for a while.[70] No doubt more apparent than real was the setback to Oklahoma City law enforcement that occurred in March, 1914, during the annual convention of The Panhandle and Southwestern Stockmen's Association. Several days before the event Governor Cruce learned that the arrangements committee planned an "open town" for the visitors' recreation. He immediately warned local officials that he would declare martial law to prevent such a bold disregard of state law. On opening day he addressed the convention, completely unaware of what was planned for the cattlemen's "Smoker"—later described in the *Daily Oklahoman* and subsequently reprinted and embellished by newspapers throughout the state. [71]

While 3,000 cattlemen and guests consumed 10,000 bottles of illegal beer, "Queenie," a Chicago strip tease dancer, had performed her act—leaving nothing for the imagination of her hilarious audience. As the story spread, the irate governor—spurred on by equally disturbed constituents—insisted on legal action against the promoters, who were local business men. The county attorney pleaded lack of funds to pursue the investigation but Cruce furnished money from his own contingency fund to hire a detective. Three business men were arrested and charged in Justice of the Peace Court with "procuring indecent exposure," but there the case died. Thus, the amusing "Queenie" episode ended—except for any puritanical recruits it enlisted for the ongoing campaign against Oklahoma City vice.[72]

The governor's well publicized efforts to enforce prohibition and gambling was encouraging to the supporters of another Oklahoma statute—the one prohibiting Sabbath breaking—included in the category of "Crimes Against Religion and Conscience." Those who sought the governor's help were not disappointed. He affirmed being "opposed to all forms of Sabbath desecration."[73] The Sabbath breaking law forbade "useless and serious interruptions of the repose and religious liberty of the community," as well as

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[69] *Ibid.*, February 7, 1914.

[70] McRill, *And Satan Came Also*, p. 160.

[71] Cruce to W. L. Thurmond, August 19, 1914, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File; *Oklahoma City Times*, March 4, 1914.

[72] Cruce to Thurmond, August 18, 1914, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File; *Harlow's Weekly*, May 30, 1914; Albert McRill, *And Satan Came Also*, pp. 160–64; Roy P. Stewart, *Born Grown: An Oklahoma City History* (Oklahoma City: Fidelity Bank, National Association, 1974), pp. 177–78. Governor Cruce's role has not previously been published.

[73] Cruce to William H. Shank, May 22, 1914, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

"Servile labor, except works of necessity or charity," or engaging in "Trades, manufactures and mechanical employments."[74] Before its revision in 1910, Sabbath sporting events were also forbidden.[75]

The 1910 revision had not pleased a vocal portion of the people, as attested by the governor's Sabbath law correspondence protesting the playing of baseball on Sunday. For example, The Women's Christian Temperance Union in Bristow, Oklahoma, asked the governor's advice as to how they could stop Sunday baseball games within six miles of town.[76] Also, the Caddo Baptist Association passed a resolution indicting Sunday baseball for "breeding in the minds of the people a heartless disregard for the Holy Sabbath day," and urged a more forceful law to prevent it.[77] The postmaster at Legate, Oklahoma, informed Governor Cruce that, "when a boy takes Base Ball [sp] fever he is unfitted for everything useful," and asked for legislation to stop baseball playing—at least on Sunday.[78]

The chief executive advised his correspondents that a local ordinance was the most practical means of stopping desecration of the Sabbath. However, at the same time he encouraged them to make their opinions known to the legislature.[79] His repeated advice that local ordinances were the answer may have had something to do with the abundance of "blue laws" that appeared around the state. Even Tulsa experimented with these reform measures in March, 1912, and the *Tulsa Daily World* lauded this effort as the "greatest 'cleanup' campaign ever conducted in any city in Oklahoma or elsewhere."[80]

Legislation to expand the Sabbath law was proposed in the regular session of the Fourth Oklahoma Legislature, but it met defeat after being amended to provide local option in municipalities having a population of more than 2,000. Rumors spoke of a secret fund raised by interested Oklahoma Cityans to assure the bill's defeat by placing money in strategic places.[81] Following failure in the regular session, Governor Cruce responded to exhortations from all over the state and again recommended the bill to the legislature in special session.[82] His message to that body referred to the "lame laws" for

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[74] Bunn, ed., *Revised Laws of Oklahoma, 1910*, Vol. I, pp. 596–97, Secs. 2404–2413.

[75] Henry G. Snyder, *The Compiled Laws of Oklahoma, 1909* (Kansas City, Missouri; Pipes-Reed Book Company, 1909), Chapter 25, Article IV, Section 2063.

[76] Mrs. R. S. House to Cruce, August 11, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[77] C. W. Morrison to Cruce, October 3, 1911, *ibid.*

[78] F. L. McShan to Cruce, July 8, 1911, *ibid.*

[79] Cruce to Mrs. R. S. House, August 12, 1911, Cruce to Shank, *ibid.*

[80] *Tulsa Daily World*, March 5, 1912.

[81] *Daily Oklahoman*, March 18, 1913.

[82] Cruce to C. E. Castle, March 26, 1913, and E. D. Cameron to Cruce, March 18, 1913, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

Sunday observance and suggested that the list of forbidden activities should be lengthened to provide for "a decent observance of the Sabbath."[83]

The bill's supporters hoped to close theaters as well as prohibit public sports on Sunday but those features were eliminated from the measure in its final form. As amended, it prevented shooting, horse racing, gaming and the sale of most commodities except foodstuffs on the Sabbath day.[84]

Governor Cruce regretted hat "the Legislature did not see fit to pass a better Sabbath law."[85] His opinion was shared by numerous advocates of a strong law. However, one dissenting voice among the clergy was the pastor of Oklahoma City's First Unitarian Church. His public statement reflects much of today's attitude toward "moral" laws:[86]

> The governor and many people are praying for religious legislation. To enact such, is evidence that Oklahoma belongs to no free country and our citizenship is in no free state. Let us trust humanity, develop character and stand with Jesus and Paul, for a free day for worship and pleasure.

Three months before his term ended the chief executive answered the appeal of local ministers and dispatched Adjutant General Canton of the National Guard to McAlester, Oklahoma, to stop a "roping contest," that had been in progress for three days. During that time seven men and nine steers had been injured and three of the steers had to be put to death. Promoters contemplated extending the contest through Sunday which the ministers contended would be "an open violation of the Sabbath." The roping stopped without incident when Canton arrived.[87]

Governor Cruce had already become accustomed to using the National Guard to enforce the prizefighting law, which except for prohibition was his most difficult law enforcement problem.[88] On the other hand, it was the easiest law to enforce, Cruce said, because "offenders always give notice in advance that they are going to violate the law."[89]

Oklahoma law at that time prohibited "any ring or prize fight or any other premeditated fight or contention; however, encouraged by fight fans, promotors and law officers frequently cooperated to circumvent the law.[90]

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[83] State of Oklahoma, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Extraordinary Session of the Fourth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma*, pp. 50–51.

[84] State of Oklahoma, *State of Oklahoma, Session Laws of 1913* (Guthrie: Cooperative Publishing Company, 1913), p. 456.

[85] Cruce to J. V. Waters, June 17, 1914, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[86] *Daily Oklahoman*, April 7, 1913.

[87] *Ibid.*, October 5, 1914; McAlester News-Capital (McAlester) October 2, 3 and 5, 1914.

[88] Cruce to T. E. Sisson, July 13, 1912, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[89] Cruce to S. B. Freeling, March 21, 1913, *ibid.*

[90] Bunn, ed., *Revised Laws of Oklahoma, 1910*, Vol. 1, p. 632.

Some members of the Oklahoma State Militia, which Governor Cruce used several times to end prizefighting in the state

It was common practice, first, to organize a local "Athletic Club" supposedly to promote the physical welfare of its members. The next step was to promote "sparring matches" between two proficient boxers—whether local or imported—to demonstrate scientific boxing skills. While masquerading as "sparring matches," these events soon evolved into "knock down" fights attracting paying audiences. Dissatisfied with lukewarm enforcement by local authorities, anti-pugilistic citizens soon began to petition the governor for assistance.[91]

On at least five occasions Governor Cruce employed his powers as head of the National Guard to suppress prizefighting.[92] He first mobilized the militia, commanded by Adjutant General Canton, for that purpose on July 4, 1911. An extensive advertising campaign had heralded a fourth of July "boxing contest" to take place in the Tulsa vicinity between Oklahoma's "White Hope," Carl Morris, and one Jim Flynn from outside the state.

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[91] Cruce, *Regular Biennial Message of Governor Lee Cruce to the Legislature of 1913, Oklahoma*, pp. 6–8.

[92] Guy Harold Parkhurst, "Uses and Legal Questions of Martial Law in Oklahoma," Master of Arts thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1935, pp. 104–112.

Prominent Tulsa civic leaders supported the match because of the financial gain to the community, but church leaders petitioned the governor in protest. The promoters then decided to substitute Sapulpa, Oklahoma, as the site for the bout. When word of change in location reached Cruce, he admonished both the county attorney and sheriff of Creek County to see that the prizefighting law was enforced.[93]

On the day before the "contest" was to take place Cruce was still uncertain whether an attempt would be made to proceed with the fight on July 4, as scheduled. Further, he had been told of a possibility it would be moved to "just across the line from Tulsa in Osage County." As a precaution he sent Canton to the Tulsa area, instructing him to move in secrecy and see "that the fight does not occur in Tulsa or any other portion of Oklahoma where you can possibly exercise jurisdiction."[94]

Cruce tenacity prevailed—the bout was cancelled. The "boxers" were next heard from in New York City where their pugilistic prowess was exhibited "in a ring slippery with human blood."[95] The *Tulsa Daily World* said that the governor's insistence on enforcing the law,[96]

> caused a queer sensation—an unfamiliar sensation in Oklahoma. But we do not doubt but a vast majority of the citizens keenly enjoy it. Now that the governor has set such a fine example we trust other and lesser officials will follow it.

An example of non-enforcement of the prizefight statutes took place in Oklahoma City in early 1913. Promoters persuaded District Judge George Clark to issue an order restraining Sheriff M. C. Binion from interfering with a boxing program to be held in the city auditorium. Their plans were relayed to Governor Cruce by County Attorney D. K. Pope and the governor once again turned to Adjutant General Canton. While the crowd—including a group of legislators—awaited the start of the evening's program, Canton marched into the building at the head of a detachment of the National Guard. Invited by the management to speak from the ring, Canton criticized the state's prizefighting statutes as being inadequate and recommended a more practical law regulating boxing technique. He closed his

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[93] Cruce to Theodore Berryhill, June 10, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File; Cruce, *Regular Biennial Message of Governor Lee Cruce to the Legislature of 1913, Oklahoma*, pp. 8–9.

[94] Cruce to Canton, July 3, 1911, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[95] Cruce, *Regular Biennial Message of Governor Lee Cruce to the Legislature of 1913, Oklahoma*, p. 9.

[96] *Tulsa Daily World*, July 6, 1911.

talk with the pronouncement, that "this contest tonight positively cannot take place." The crowd departed in an orderly manner.[97]

Law enforcement in the prizefighting cases was, of course, afflicted with the same underlying handicap that discouraged enforcement of the other "moral" laws—public indifference. Governor Cruce understood this and stated his position well in reply to a petition submitted to him by a group of fans in favor of boxing matches in McAlester:[98]

> The surprising thing to me, however, is that so many of the best people of the State would take such an indifferent view of the enforcement of the laws they are not in sympathy with. I don't believe the proper conditions will ever prevail in Oklahoma until we have brought our population, and especially the good citizens of the State, to a realization of the fact that every law should be enforced, no matter whether we think the law is a wise one or not.

Cruce's opposition to gambling—one of the statutory "Crimes Against Public Decency and Morality"—caused him to become the first Oklahoma governor to declare martial law.[99] His aversion to gambling had been clearly set out in his *Biennial Message* of 1913. The activities of the professional gambler, he had said, were more dangerous to the aims of good government than those of the common thief or robber. He explained that while the thief or robber is avoided by respectable citizens, such is not the case with gamblers:[100]

> They preserve a degree of semi-respectability; they frequently move among good people; they dress extravagantly; they toil not; they reap where others have sown, and, with all, lead such a life as to tempt irresistibly thousands and tens of thousands of the flower of the young manhood of the Nation to follow in their wake.

He included some public officials among gambling supporters who argued that revenue from fines—"a license to violate the law"—was needed to sustain local government. He accused other misguided individuals of rationalizing gambling as a part of an "open town" policy necessary for city growth. To such arguments Cruce retorted, "Blasted hopes, blighted homes and ruined lives can find no recompense in brick and mortar, and if we are to build here a State worthy of preservation, we should learn early in

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97 *Daily Oklahoman*, February 6, 1913.

98 Cruce to Tom Hale, July 1, 1912, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

99 Bunn, ed., *Revised Laws of Oklahoma, 1910*, Vol. 1, pp. 617–20, Secs. 2498–2511; *Harlow's Weekly*, April 18, 1914.

100 Cruce, *Regular Biennial Message of Governor Lee Cruce to the Legislature of 1913 Oklahoma*, p. 11.

its molding that human character is infinitely more valuable and sacred than gold and silver."[101]

Calling on the members of the Fourth Oklahoma Legislature to strengthen the gambling laws, he pointed to one important area heretofore untouched in gambling legislation—race track gambling. He rebuked those who maintained that local and state fairs could not be properly financed without revenue from horse races and the gambling associated with them. Then he shared his personal impressions:[102]

> I have had occasion myself to attend some of the races in Oklahoma, and there to my humiliation and to the humiliation of Oklahoma, I have seen women coming from some of the best homes in Oklahoma,—I have seen boys and girls yet in short trousers and short dresses betting their money upon the outcome of a horse race with the same careless abandon as the confirmed gambler; and this form of gambling is justified by some of the best people of the state . . . . When conditions prevail, such as are to be seen daily at the race courses in Oklahoma, it is time that the law should stretch fourth its hand and stay the course of those whose end is surely despair, and whose contribution to government must tend towards the destruction of the highest governmental ideals.

Governor Cruce had been encouraged to take a firm stand against race track betting by S. T. Bisbee, an editorial writer for the *Daily Oklahoman*. Bisbee informed him that retail merchants were experiencing difficulty in collecting accounts owed by their credit customers. The reason—the exorbitant amount of money—$560,000 in June, 1912, channeled into the pockets of "horsemen and the bookmakers." Bisbee also told the governor that the racing was "not straight."[103] That opinion was shared by Cruce as well as *Harlow's Weekly*, who published a series of articles condemning "Oklahoma's Pampered Gambling Game."[104]

Gambling legislation recommended by the chief executive was finally passed in the special session of the Fourth Oklahoma Legislature and with various amendments is still on the statute books. Two separate bills were involved: "House Bill Number Fifty-one" increasing the penalty for operating all types of gambling devices, and "Senate Bill Number Fifty"—whose important feature was the race track enactment.[105] But the course of these

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[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.

[102] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

[103] S. T. Bisbee to Cruce, August 10, 1912, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

[104] Cruce to Bisbee, August 13, 1912, *ibid.*; *Harlow's Weekly*, December 28, 1912, and February 1, 1913.

[105] State of Oklahoma, *State of Oklahoma, Session Laws of 1913*, pp. 281–285, 414–416.

measures through the legislature was not smooth. Bisbee of the *Oklahoman* told Cruce he had heard "money is being used to keep the race track bill from getting out of committee."[106] Other reports mentioned a "slush fund" of between $5,000 and $25,000 provided by gambling interests.[107] However, a legislative committee appointed to investigate the rumors was unable to find evidence that such a fund had existed.[108]

Gamblers attempted to retain attorney A. C. Cruce, the governor's brother, on a contingent fee basis to persuade the governor to veto the race track bill. However, the governor's brother declined the assignment because he "was positive that no influence could keep the governor from signing the bill."[109]

The legislation against gambling embraced in "Senate Bill Number Fifty" approved by the governor on May 13, 1913, was considered to be "the most stringent of any state in the Union," by the *Daily Oklahoman*.[110] Both that bill and "House Bill Number Fifty-one" were passed without the emergency clause; hence, the gambling lobby was able to perfect petitions under the referendum provision of Oklahoma's constitution, to require approval by a vote of the people.[111] As "State Questions Numbers Sixty-one and Sixty-two" the gambling legislation was sustained by popular vote in the primary election of August 4, 1914.[112] Victory over the gambling interests was satisfying to Governor Cruce. In the whirl of the 1914 general election campaign he over-enthusiastically proclaimed the new gambling laws to be "dearer to the people of Oklahoma than the saving of taxes."[113]

Although the gambling laws when enacted by the legislature were ineffective until later approval by the people in August, 1914, Cruce determined in the interim to carry out the intent of the new laws. Therefore, when the Oklahoma State Fair Association proposed to continue horse racing and betting as usual at the 1913 State Fair, he sought the help of Attorney General West.[114] West believed that gambling could be pre-

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106 Bisbee to Cruce, March 7, 1912, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

107 *Harlow's Weekly*, April 19, 1913.

108 State of Oklahoma, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Extraordinary Session of the Fourth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma*, pp. 682–83.

109 *Harlow's Weekly*, April 19, 1913.

110 *Daily Oklahoman*, May 16, 1913.

111 *Ibid.*, November 12, 1913.

112 Basil R. Wilson, comp., *Directory and Manual of the State of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: State Election Board, 1967), p. 233; Cruce to County Attorneys, September 19, 1914, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

113 *Daily Oklahoman*, October 11, 1914.

114 Cruce to West, September 22, 1913, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

vented as constituting a "common nuisance."[115] The governor was not required to rely on that premise, however, because the next day he elicited a promise from fair officials that gambling would not be permitted.[116] Nevertheless, the Oklahoma county sheriff and deputies were present during the fair to see that the promise was kept.

A similar intent to carry on race track gambling in Muskogee, Oklahoma, was also prevented—but gambling interests in Tulsa were more stubborn. Cruce had already publicly announced he would use the National Guard whenever and wherever it was required to stop race track gambling.[117] But Tulsa race track officials who had planned a spring horse racing event disregarded the governor's warning. District Judge L. M. Poe of Tulsa relayed the promoters' intentions to Governor Cruce, and he lost no time in notifying the attorney general to prepare legal action.[118] He also ordered Adjutant General Canton to attend the opening day of the races.[119]

The starter's pistol shot sounded with gambling in full swing. Canton obtained an injunction from Judge Poe to stop the gambling but the promoters disregarded the order.[120] After a day of open gambling the Adjutant General readied two National Guard companies for active duty. Meanwhile, the Racing Association had obtained through the Superior Court an order restraining use of the militia, but Canton's reaction was firm. "I will pay no attention to court orders," he said, "Governor Cruce is my commander."[121] Knowing that betting would take place as long as the races continued, Canton announced, "The races are over."[122]

In spite of the Adjutant General's forewarning, the races began as usual the next afternoon. The five volleys fired by two militiamen over the heads of ten nervous jockeys probably inspired new records as the horses raced around the track. After the first race was over, Canton announced that the guardsmen had orders to "shoot to kill" all who participated in the second race. This threat finally closed the proceedings.[123]

Rumors persisted that the sheriff and 500 deputies would confront the National Guard the next day and force a continuation of the races. However, the head of the race association finally declared the events were at an end.

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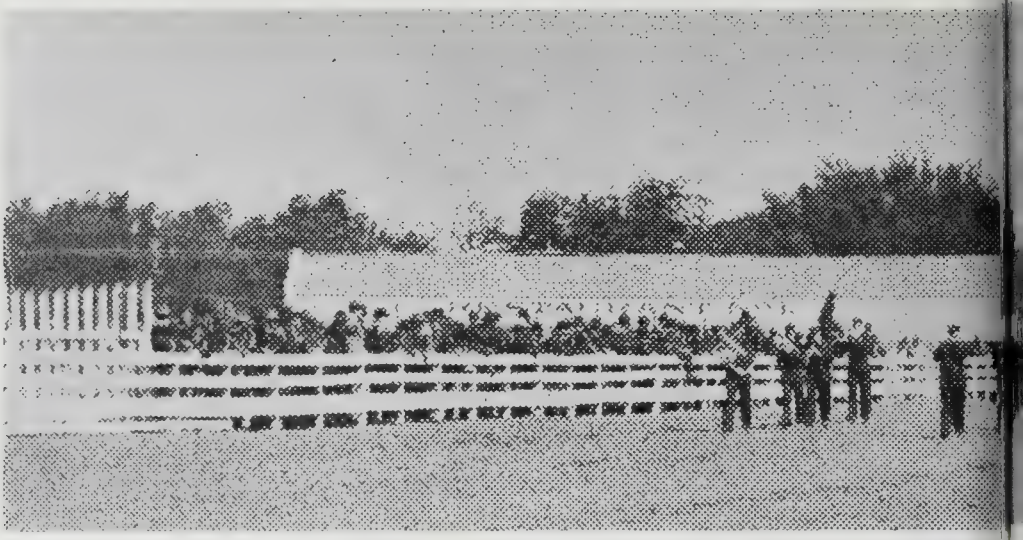
115 West to Cruce, September 22, 1913, *ibid.*
116 Cruce to West, September 23, 1913, *ibid.*
117 *Daily Oklahoman*, March 18, 1914.
118 Cruce to West, April 10, 1914, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.
119 Cruce to C. J. Davenport, April 16, 1914, *ibid.*
120 *Daily Oklahoman*, April 15, 1914.
121 *Ibid.*, April 14, 16, 1914.
122 *Ibid.*, April 15, 1914.
123 *Ibid.*, April 16, 1914.



At the same time he announced the filing of a damage suit against Governor Cruce and Adjutant General Canton.[124] That suit—demanding $39,000 damages—was tried in Oklahoma City the following year. The court decided Cruce was justified in his actions as Tulsa authorities had shown no "serious intention of enforcing the law," or of complying with Judge Poe's injunction.[125]

In addition to summoning the National Guard, Governor Cruce had declared martial law, thus gaining the dubious distinction of being the first Oklahoma governor to take that action.[126] The *Tulsa Daily World*'s reaction to the race track episode was immediate and unmistakable:[127]

> So far as Governor Cruce is concerned, he is a disgrace to the office he holds. He is a disgrace to the citizenship of the state which elected him. He is a disgrace to everything and every condition of things which existed since his induction into office.

Resorting to the National Guard was unnecessary, the *World* insisted, and the governor had "libeled the citizenship of Tulsa, the financial and intellectual center of Oklahoma." Moreover, the reputation of the state had been irreparably damaged by unfavorable publicity such as a *Los Angeles Times* extra that flashed the headline "Governor Cruce Incites Riot at

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[124] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1914, *Harlow's Weekly*, April 18, 1914.
[125] *Daily Oklahoman*, June 12, 1915.
[126] Parkhurst, "Uses and Legal Questions of Martial Law in Oklahoma," p. 116.
[127] *Harlow's Weekly*, May 2, 1914, quoting *Tulsa Daily World*.

One of the several race tracks around Oklahoma during Cruce's administration that the governor attempted to close—once the National Guard fired over the jockeys' heads to frighten the horses and stop the race

Tulsa." The *World* also called attention to the *Toronto Canada Globe*'s headline, "Oklahoma Governor Goes Crazy and Causes Loss of Life at Tulsa Race Track."[128]

The governor did not suppress his inclination to reply in kind to the *World*'s denunciations. His long letter to Eugene Lorton of the *World* predicted: "In spite of its newspapers, in spite of its gamblers, in spite of its bootleggers, in spite of its imported Mexican thugs, the good people of Tulsa in its contest against vice and crime will win a decisive victory." Pridefully calling attention to the expressions of approval he had received from "thousands of good people living in Tulsa," the governor congratulated himself with, "If I had your approval I would feel that I was not doing my duty."[129]

The *World*—according to *Harlow's Weekly*—had always favored an "open town" policy and its attack on the governor was "almost humorous."[130] The *Daily Oklahoman* also supported Cruce but thought he had "erred in treating the *Tulsa World* editorial seriously," and went on to say, "The contention of the *World* is so ridiculous that it is difficult to believe it was put forth in good faith."[131] If the governor had a legal basis for his action—the *Oklahoman* said—it must have rested on the premise that race track gambling constituted "a nuisance or something of that sort which Hoyle taboos."[132]

128 *Ibid.*
129 *Daily Oklahoman*, April 18, 1914.
130 *Harlow's Weekly*, April 18, 1914.
131 *Daily Oklahoman*, April 20, 1914.
132 *Ibid.*

Aside from legal reasons, one may speculate that a combination of the following traits or circumstances provoked the governor to declare martial law and call out the National Guard. This included his dislike for gambling; public sentiment in his favor; impatience with gambling interests, who had fought his proposed legislation and financed the referendum petitions; and an accumulation of dissatisfaction with Tulsa officials' failure to join in his efforts to enforce prohibition, gambling and prizefighting.

By the end of May, 1914, *Harlow's Weekly* could report that the "moral element" was making headway throughout the state, and thanks to the Central Hundred and Governor Cruce through Attorney General West, organized gambling and bootlegging were at a standstill in Oklahoma City.[133] Moral regeneration of the capital city also appeared to be making steady progress as evangelist Lincoln McConnell closed a seven-week tabernacle revival that attracted "standing room only" crowds of as many as 10,000 people.[134] When Governor Cruce was introduced at one of the services a cheering, whistling congregation of thousands exhorted him to speak. He proceeded to preach a short sermon on what Christianity could accomplish in behalf of law enforcement in Oklahoma City and the state:[135]

> As a man I am interested in the progress of Christianity and the success of this meeting; as governor of the state I am more interested, because I realize the value of it in the enforcement of the laws in the city and state . . . . I want to say that if there were more Christians in Oklahoma City who would take a firmer stand in the enforcement of our laws, policemen would be more eager to go after bootleggers and gamblers—and if all policemen were Christians we wouldn't have so many bootleggers and gamblers.

His four-year term was nearing its end in 1914 and Cruce believed that definite moral improvements had taken place in Oklahoma. "During the past twelve months," he said in his Thanksgiving Day message, "the people of the state have advanced to a higher plane of Christian living and modern enlightment." Continuing he declared that "by a majority vote certain laws have been made a part of our code, making Oklahoma a more desirable place in which to live, and giving hope and encouragement to those who long for the coming of a better day."[136]

But what really had been the impact of the Cruce law enforcement crusade? Complaints of lax enforcement still came to the governor as his term

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133 *Harlow's Weekly*, May 30, 1914.
134 *Daily Oklahoman*, May 18, 1914.
135 *Ibid.*, April 20, 1914.
136 *Ibid.*, November 12, 1914.

drew to a close. Disregard of prohibition and gambling laws continued apace in the major problem areas—Tulsa and Oklahoma City. Responding to the request of the 2,000 people attending an indignation mass meeting in Tulsa, Cruce sent Adjutant General Canton to that city in July, 1914, to investigate conditions responsible for the slaying of two United States Deputy Marshals by a bootlegger. Canton reported county and state officials still were not enforcing the prohibition and gambling laws.[137]

In Oklahoma City, in spite of the work of the Central Hundred—and the governor's aid and encouragement—liquor and gambling violations were worse than at any time in the city's history. Perhaps groundwork had been laid for major reform that occurred a little more than a year after Cruce left office—but that effort lasted only two years.[138] A few days before the Cruce term expired a member of the Oklahoma legislature from Hugo, Oklahoma—an aspirant for the speakership of the Oklahoma House of Representatives—was arrested for violation of the liquor laws.[139]

The Cruce fight for law enforcement was—as he himself had said—primarily a battle against the public indifference that breeds laxity and corruption. Indeed, his experience with law enforcement verifies the truth of the maxim that, "the public gets as good a government as it deserves."

And what has been the fate of the laws to which Lee Cruce devoted so much of his time? Prohibition was repealed at the polls by a vote of 396,845 to 314,380 in 1959.[140] State lawmakers repealed the prizefighting statutes in 1959 and enacted comprehensive boxing control legislation in 1971.[141] Public dissatisfaction with a strict Sabbath law brought about a 1949 amendment allowing the sale of "necessities" on Sunday.[142] Difficulty of interpreting the term "necessities" has for all practical purposes nullified the Sunday laws.[143] "Open" gambling is, of course, not tolerated, but public apathy discourages strict enforcement of a gambling statute that labels as a misdeameanor the betting on, or playing of, "any games whatsoever" for anything of value.[144] A legislative referendum that would have amended the

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137 *Ibid.*, July 24, 25, 28, 1914; R. F. Richardson to Cruce, July 28, 1914, Cruce to Richardson, July 30, 1914, and Cruce to J. C. Burton, September 10, 1914, Governor Lee Cruce Administrative File.

138 McRill, *And Satan Came Also*, pp. 167–75.

139 *Daily Oklahoman*, December 31, 1914.

140 Wilson, comp., *Directory and Manual of the State of Oklahoma*, p. 258.

141 State of Oklahoma, *Session Laws of Oklahoma, 1959* (Guthrie: Cooperative Publishing Company, 1959), Ch. 55a, p. 112; State of Oklahoma, *Oklahoma Statutes*, 1971 (4 vols., St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Company, 1971), Vol. 1, Title 3A, Sections 1–35.

142 State of Oklahoma, *Session Laws of 1949* (Guthrie: Cooperative Publishing Company, 1949), p. 204, Sec. 1.

143 *Daily Oklahoman* editorial, July 23, 1970.

144 State of Oklahoma, *Oklahoma Statutes, 1971*, Vol. 2, Title, Section 942.

gambling statutes to allow horse racing and pari-mutuel wagering was defeated by a vote of 405,882 to 342,689 in August, 1974. Tulsa County—where Governor Cruce had declared martial law and called out the National Guard to stop race track gambling—favored the referendum by a vote of 53,589 to 41,830.[145]

Surely the Cruce public image was not helped by a campaign to enforce four laws that have proven to be so controversial that two have since been repealed, one is ineffecive and the fourth—gambling—does not receive full support in all is ramifications. And Lee Cruce had other public relations problems. With his controversial capital punishment policy, insistence on honesty and economy in government and his refusal to "play politics," he had made enemies on all sides.[146] Thus, when his term ended, Oklahomans were content to let him retire to his hometown of Ardmore, Oklahoma, and he never again held public office.

At the height of the Cruce effort to enforce prizefighting laws the editor of the *Coweta Times* extended the governor a word of encouragement, when he wrote: "This stand will cost Mr. Cruce the well wishes of thousands of [sport fans] . . . but he will gain the plaudits of lawabiding people and the consciousness of having done his duty as the state's chief executive in the face of almost unlimited protests and strong opposition.[147]

Unfortunately, the latter portion of the Coweta editor's appraisal sets forth what may have been the only true satisfaction Governor Lee Cruce derived from his earnest attempts at law enforcement—"the consciousness of having done his duty."

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145 Vote tally sheet, "Special Election—State Question 498, Legislative Referendum No. 201—Regular Primary 8–27–74," State Election Board, State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

146 The Cruce capital punishment policy is discussed in Orben J. Casey, "Governor Lee Cruce, White Supremacy and Capital Punishment, 1911–1915," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII, Winter 1974–1975, pp. 456–475.

147 *Tulsa Daily World*, June 25, 1911, quoting *Coweta Times*.

SOUTHWESTERN NORMAL SCHOOL: THE FOUNDING OF AN INSTITUTION

*By James H. Thomas and Jeffry A. Hurt**

As is the case with the establishment of most institutions, the location of Southwestern State Normal School at Weatherford, Oklahoma, was determined by a combination of skillful negotiations, political intrigue and state lobbyists. But in the case of Southwestern, hardy frontiersmen fighting for an element of culture in a land that was still wild and untamed added a quality of Romanticism to the struggle. The people of southwestern Oklahoma fought for a school as they had fought for everything else—with unwavering determinism.

The rapid population increase in western Oklahoma, following the land rush of 1892, created many problems that were unique to the American frontier. The dozens of towns and hundreds of homesteads that sprang up practically overnight brought thousands of school-aged children to the area. Schools were erected, but there was an insufficient number of qualified teachers available to offer an adequate educational program. The State Department of Public Instruction attempted to train public school teachers with two-week workshops but failed to make a sizable improvement in the quality or quantity of teachers in western Oklahoma. However, in 1901, the Territorial Legislature of Oklahoma responded to the situation by authorizing establishment of a normal school in southwestern Oklahoma to train teachers.[1]

The state legislature knew that the normal would provide an economic boom to any community selected as a building site. Therefore, the town chosen would be required to furnish a forty acre tract within one mile of the city limits of the town and to provide $5,000 for building fence, planting trees and beautifying the campus.[2] This was a large amount of both land and money for the fledgling towns to acquire. However, several towns responded enthusiastically, and soon fierce rivalries developed for the school's location.

Granite and Mangum in Greer County, Cordell in Washita County, Weatherford in Custer County and El Reno in Canadian County contended

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[1] Melvin Frank Fiegel, "A History of Southwestern State College, 1903–1953," Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1968, pp. 3–4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The original structure which housed Southwestern Normal School before it was destroyed by fire in 1939

for the honor of building the first normal school in southwestern Oklahoma. El Reno, the largest of the communities, with a 1900 population of 3,383 was never seriously considered, presumably because it was not in southwestern Oklahoma.[3] This argument was also used against Weatherford, but apparently to no avail. Ultimately the struggle involved the two smallest communities, Weatherford and Granite, and the rivalry grew to bitter proportions.

In accordance with the law passed by the legislature, Governor C. M. Barnes had appointed a five-man committee to select a site for the new school. Original plans had been for the school to be completed by the fall of 1902, but intense competition and politics forced delays. Also, the committee that was chosen in May, 1901, did not make its selection before President William McKinley appointed a new territorial governor, William M. Jenkins.

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[3] United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (11 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), Vol. III, p. 441.

The committee appointed by Barnes had been inactive, but most indications seemed to be in favor of Weatherford as its choice for the school site. But in August, Governor Jenkins revived Granite's hopes by appointing a new committee to make the selection, without having informed the Barnes appointees of their dismissal. Weatherford boosters soon realized the implications of this ploy, and within the week, the *Custer County Republican* condemned Jenkins' actions. The editor charged that Jenkins deliberately appointed a new committee that would not select Weatherford.

Determined not to lose the normal school, Weatherford supporters raised $10,000 to pay for any future legal action that would be needed to oppose the new board's decision. During the final weeks of August it became apparent that the new governor's appointees would select Granite, and that the old committee favored Weatherford. *The Granite Enterprise* charged that the Barnes group had been swayed by alcoholic refreshments while riding to Weatherford on the Choctaw Railroad, therefore nullifying any decision made by the group.[4]

On September 19, the Jenkins committee officially announced that their choice for the school's location was Granite. The Weatherford supporters ignored the committee's report and filed a deed setting aside forty acres of land at the north edge of the city limits for the school. The Barnes committee finally made their decision, selecting Weatherford as the designated site. Thus, both Weatherford and Granite were officially chosen as the location for the normal school by two separate committees, both of which were still officially active. Governor Jenkins rejected the Barnes committee's decision and began arbitration for construction of the school at Granite. However, Weatherford boosters filed an injunction in the District Court of Oklahoma County to halt construction of the school in Granite. George T. Webster was retained as legal council and made a prediction that Weatherford would ultimately gain a victory.[5]

The Granite community fought a verbal and legal battle to retain the decision of the Jenkins board. The local newspaper suggested that its readers ignore the injunction, and smugly predicted that when "it reaches the higher court it will last about as long as a grasshopper in a blizzard."[6] However, the District Court of Oklahoma County issued a permanent injunction in April, 1902. The court not only prevented the construction of the school in Granite, but also contended that the Barnes committee was the legal

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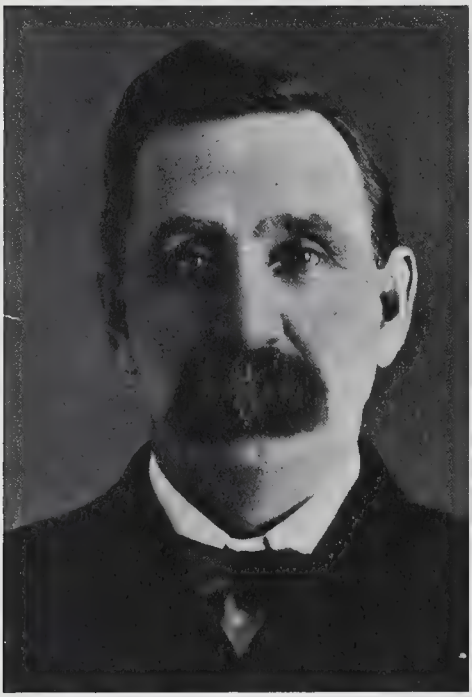
[4] *Granite Enterprise* (Granite), August 29, 1901.
[5] Fiegel, "A History of Southwestern State College, 1903–1953."
[6] *Ibid.*



James R. Campbell, first president of Southwestern Normal School

agent for the selection of the school site. Moreover, when the case was appealed, the Oklahoma Supreme Court upheld the lower court's verdict, and in October, 1902, Weatherford claimed victory.[7]

However, the Granite supporters did not give up. They prepared to campaign against the normal school bill in hopes of having it repealed during the legislative session of 1903. The next month, Weatherford sent a group to Guthrie, territorial capital of Oklahoma, to obtain permission to start construction of the school. The Board of Education promised that funds would be made available and that classes could start in the fall of 1903. In addition, the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the members of the Board of Education visited and approved the proposed school site at Weatherford.

Granite's last ditch effort to stop the normal school at Weatherford came in the form of a bill that would repeal the Normal School Act entirely and divide the funds set aside for it among the existing schools of the territory. The Territorial Council narrowly defeated the bill by a vote of seven to six, and Weatherford's victory was final.

The town that was to house the normal school was not the ideal college town. When the news of the October court victory arrived, the citizens of Weatherford celebrated by firing shotguns and pistols into the air and constructing a huge all night bonfire which consumed several of the town's buildings.[8] The citizens of Weatherford, as with all other western Oklahoma towns, were for the most part hardy, industrious folk with little education or culture, used to a rough existence. However, the remainder of the population composed of transients seeking work, fugitives escaping from the law of the organized states and confirmed roamers looking for a hand-

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[8] *History of Custer and Washita Counties, Oklahoma* (Clinton, Oklahoma: *Clinton Daily News*, 1937), n.p.

Aerial view of the school, which was constructed on a hill to provide a commanding view of the countryside

out gave Weatherford a national reputation. In 1898, when the founder of the Anheuser Busch Company, Adolphus Busch, decided to see the West where it was "wildest and wooliest," he chose to spend a week in Weatherford.[9] Saloons, dance halls and brothels thrived, and many forms of violence, including gun fights, were not out of the ordinary. However, the proposed normal infected the citizens of Weatherford with a new civic responsibility; and before the school was well established, most of the deterimental characteristics were eradicated.

The building of the school began with the laying of the first cornerstone on July 4, 1903.[10] A local contractor and farmer, Henry Vandenburg, began work on the building and projected that the building would be completed in December of that year.[11] The building was to contain its own electric, water and sewer systems, as those in the town were either too inefficient or not in existence at the time. When completed, the handsome red brick building was

[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*

not only an excellent example of modern architecture but also a self-contained educational institution. The seventeen classrooms, auditorium, reception room, library, music rooms and science laboratories provided adequate facilities for the students and faculty.

When September arrived, students came to enroll in the new school, but the building was still far from complete. Undaunted, President James Campbell provided classroom space for his faculty of twelve and his student body of 113 in a church and several abandoned saloons.[12] The twelve faculty members who, according to Vice-President and Instructor of Education and Drawing, Austin E. Wilbur, were the "pluckiest group I have ever known," seemed to adjust to the adverse conditions.[13] Apparently, the administration had fewer problems adjusting to the conditions.[14]

Finally, the Normal school building was completed two months behind schedule. On February 23, 1904, amid considerable pomp, the building was officially occupied, and Southwestern Normal School became an institution. As was envisioned by the original supporters, the school in Weatherford sat atop a hill with a commanding view of the surrounding countryside. It was an imposing building with a beautiful view, and the community was proud of its impressive addition. Almost immediately, the influx of students and teachers made an impact on the community. The school became as much a focal point of the community as the saloons and gun fights had five years before.

The school grew slowly but steadily in both enrollment and stature. In 1908, it was necessary for the Oklahoma legislature to appropriate $100,000 to build a new building for the school. The enrollment had grown to 501 and the faculty had increased to 22.[15] Apparently, the new building was needed more than even the most farsighted official could foretell, because by 1910, when the building was completed, the school's enrollment had more than doubled. In spite of the changes wrought by the new school, pioneer spirit and pride remained in the town. The expansion of the school's physical plant had rekindled the public spirit and another all night celebration, including a huge bonfire, filled Weatherford's streets.

Subsequent changes, high points and low points, enriched Southwestern's heritage. In December, 1919, the school became a college, expanding their

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12 *Ibid.*

13 Austin Elgin Wilbur, "Reminiscences of Southwestern Normal School, 1903–1908," Library, Southwestern Oklahoma State University, Weatherford, Oklahoma.

14 *Ibid.*

15 Fiegel, "A History of Southwestern State College, 1903–1953," pp. 46, 51.

The original building of the school being destroyed by fire during the night of July 27–28, 1939

curriculum to include a four-year degree. For the first time, graduates of Southwestern could earn a bachelor's degree. Increased enrollment and added curriculum brought about the need for new buildings, and the school added a library, a gymnasium, more classrooms and dormitories. The school's lowest point, at least in terms of morale, must have come on July 27, 1939, when the original building that Weatherford had fought so hard to gain, then being used as the administration building, was destroyed by fire.

But Southwestern survived and grew, and in the years since has become one of the major institutions in Oklahoma, and is regarded as a national leader in some areas of study. Southwestern Normal School, now officially titled Southwestern Oklahoma State University, has been one of the major reasons for Weatherford's continual prosperity. Those that fought so hard for the school at the turn of the century could not have known that Weatherford's future would be in question. Weatherford once prospered as a terminal for the Choctaw Railroad. However, when the terminal moved to Texas, Weatherford would surely have faded to a whistlestop had it not been for the normal school. The ironies of history prevail—Southwestern University, owing its existence to a dedicated citizenry, repaid its debt by giving the community economic stability.

CRAWFORD SEMINARY POST OFFICE

*By George H. Shirk**

Recent research has revealed the possibility that a new name may be added to the list of Indian Territory post offices that once were in operation in the area now comprising Oklahoma. Several months ago David L. Jarrett of New York, a philatelist much interested in covers and postmarks of the various territories, mentioned to me that he had a cover postmarked "Crawford Seminary, Quapaw Nation" that he thought to be from Indian Territory yet the post office was not included on any published list.[1] Commenting that even though Post Office Department records showed the office to be in Missouri, he believed in fact, it was located west of Missouri in Indian Territory.

Crawford Seminary was a well known Methodist education institution among the Quapaws.[2] It was established in 1843 and named for T. Hartley Crawford, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The school opened on March 27 of that year with nine students and was operated on the "manual-labor plan." Its first location was in present Ottawa County on the east bank of Spring River approximately two miles south of the Kansas line and five miles west of Missouri. The exact location of the original site has been given as in the Southwest Quarter of Section 22-T29N-R24E.[3]

To afford a "better situation" in April, 1848, the school moved five miles upstream from the first location, and for 1848 the school's average attendance was twenty-four pupils, with only six of them girls. The new site was "perhaps" in present Cherokee County, Kansas.[4] However, no one had ever noted that it was also the location of a post office.

After receipt of the Jarrett inquiry, I checked an 1854 *Gazetteer of the United States* which listed all post offices as of May 31, 1851, and found an office named Crawford Seminary located in "Quapaw County," Missouri.[5] The same listing appeared in 1856 *Post Office Directory*.[6] Interest quickly

*The author is currently President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and has published numerous books and articles dealing with Oklahoma history including *Oklahoma Place Names* currently in its second edition.

[1] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 179.

[2] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Education Among the Quapaws, 1829–1875," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (Spring, 1947), p. 15.

[3] E. H. Kelley, "The Trail in Ottawa County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1953), p. 329.

[4] Louise Barry, *The Beginning of the West* (Topeka, Kansas State Historical Society, 1972), p. 742.

[5] John Hayward, *A Gazetteer of the United States of America* (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Company, 1854), p. 826.

[6] D. D. T. Leech, *Post Office Directory* (New York, n.p., 1856), p. 101.

heightened when it was recognized that there was no county named Quapaw in all of Missouri. Where then was the post office of Crawford Seminary located? If the location of the Crawford Seminary post office was actually one and the same as the educational institution of the same name, and if the location of the school at the time the post office was established were south of the Kansas line, we must add another name to our list of Indian Territory offices.

Uncertainty heightened when I noted that Bob Baughman, the authority on Kansas post offices, placed the location of the office near and east of present Baxter Springs, Kansas.[7]

While in Washington, D.C. in January, 1976, time permitted for me to search the records of the Post Office Department now in the National Archives. Although there are detailed records in this post office, whether its location was north or south of the present Oklahoma-Kansas boundary is not answered.

The original orders of the Postmaster General were consulted and it was found that on August 22, 1848, a post office of that name was established with Samuel G. Patterson as postmaster. Reverend Patterson was the founder and superintendent of the Seminary, which circumstance confirms that the post office and the school were at the same place. The location in the order was given as "Quapaw Country." There is indeed a difference between "county" and "country." With that circumstance as the clue, the detailed records then maintained of the post office route contractors help confirm the location.

The postmaster appointment records reflect that the post office of Crawford Seminary had a number of different postmasters:

Postmaster	*Date of Appointment*
Samuel G. Patterson	August 22, 1848
William A. Morrow	July 6, 1852
Jay L. French	October 29, 1853
Andrew I. Dorn	August 25, 1857
Miss Henrietta A. Mandell	October 12, 1857
James Killebrew	July 4, 1861
Herbert F. Sheldon	August 7, 1862

The institution closed in mid-February, 1852, as Reverend Patterson "left the Indian county without making any arrangements for a successor."[8] This date closely coincides with the appointment of a new postmaster to succeed Patterson.

Although it would be clear that the office was not in operation from the

[7] Robert W. Baughman, *Kansas Post Offices* (Topeka, n.p., 1961), pp. 31, 156.

[8] Barry, *The Beginning of the West*, p. 1065.

Left-hand column shows compensation of Postmaster. Right-hand one, net revenue of Office to Department.

Putnam County.

Ayersville	Isaac T. Holland	$10.00	$8.00
Chariton Mills	Thomas Hargrave	9.29	6.39
Hartford	Enos T. Bonney	48.50	42.09
Newtown	Philip Johnson	9.44	6.33
St. John	N. Meek Hawthorne	38.00	22.00
Unionville	Daniel A. Thatcher	21.00	12.00
West Liberty	Josiah Harbert	——	——
Shoneytown	Benjamin Musgrove	——	——

Quapaw County.

Crawford Seminary	Jay L. French	10.52	8.77

Ralls County.

Cincinnati	Thomas H. B. Coontz	10.27	6.04
Hydesburgh	Joshua Mitchell	14.00	1.00
Lick Creek	James Brown	29.31	19.80
Madisonville	Harrison P. Haley	47.84	23.55
New London (c. h.)	Samuel Smith	108.14	93.54
Pigeon Creek	William Forman	29.62	6.71
Saline	Daniel B. Kendrick	12.00	3.00
Sidney	John Wilson	4.00	8.00
Saverton	S. J. O. Tompkins	——	——

Randolph County.

Huntsville	Terry Bradley	804.92	289.42
Milton	Franklin Davis	46.59	32.81
Penney's	John H. Penney	5.72	2.91
Roanoke	William Wayland	131.52	35.79
Smithland	Reuben Watts	19.15	11.69

Ray County.

Camden	LaFayette S. Manefee	78.88	89.96
Crab Orchard	Clayton Jacobs	57.60	33.01
Knoxville	John C. Tiffin	54.11	32.33
Millville	George A. Mason	32.00	17.00
Otsego	William Cox	11.80	7.77
Prospect Hill	William Sullenger	28.62	16.66
Richmond (c. h.)	Daniel Bransletter	283.77	258.18
Tinney's Grove	John Brown	13.22	7.17

Reynolds County.

Alamode	Henry L. Legate	4.64	8.33
Centreville	James Crownover	14.50	9.00
Lesterville	Marshall Parks	13.94	10.06
Logan's Creek	Thomas Barnes	12.11	7.99
Munger's Mill	Marvin Munger	5.29	4.15

Ripley County.

Doniphan (c. h.)	Joseph Thannisch	37.78	16.11
Gatewood	Paulser W. Smelser	2.00	1.50
Little Black	William Lucy	3.00	1.50
Martinsburg	John F. Martin	7.61	9.17
Mill Creek	Amos Ponder	7.35	4.98
Pike Creek	James Snider	3.29	2.24
Van Buren	William Coleman	4.46	2.88

St. Charles County.

Augusta	Diedrich Baare	60.53	37.88
Cotteville	Rezen A. Tagart	74.59	41.84
Femme Osage	Hermann H. Knippenberg	64.59	27.08
Flint Hill	Valentine Knupp	94.07	47.67
Hamburg	William King	23.78	11.92
Hickory Grove	William A. Kabler	81.52	44.35
Missouriton	Gordon H. Wallace	17.27	5.74
Naylor's Store	James Naylor	74.56	10.53
Saint Charles (c. h.)	Wm. M. Christy	511.57	456.99
Wellsburgh	Francis Darnes	38.46	22.19

St. Clair County.

Chalk Level	William L. Browning	——	——
Hoyle's Creek	Abram Miller	——	——
Howard's Mills	B. O. Weidemyer	19.39	13.07
Jenkins' Bridge	Edmund Nance	3.33	1.31
Monagan	John Reed	10.40	4.42
Oscola	Charles H. Yeater	157.71	190.83
Saint Peters	August Radel	——	——
Weaubleau	John Simms	3.50	2.50

St. Francois County.

Big River Mills	William Goff	$46.60	$24.75
Farmington (c. h.)	Valentine C. Peers	222.43	278.19
Iron Mountain	John G. Scott	147.04	58.56
Kinkead	Samuel Kinkead	35.67	7.62
Silver Spring	Edward Daly	23.18	12.62

St. Genevieve County.

Avon	George W. Griffith	26.94	14.83
Plank Road	Joseph E. Sauer	15.00	9.00
St. Genevieve (c. h.)	Eugene Guibourd	194.70	129.76
Saint Marys	Augustus Griffith	32.19	14.95

St. Louis County.

Allenton	John T. Brown	40.15	18.90
Bellemonte	Robert A. Walton	23.92	5.15
Bremen	Gustavus Hoffman	169.63	81.26
Bridgeton	Joseph H. Garrett	67.81	25.06
Bonhomme	James A. Cummings	16.24	5.08
Carondelet	John Festor	96.00	24.00
Central	Martin Lepere	20.18	12.85
Creve Cœur	Washington Ross	18.68	5.47
Ellisville	Daniel Andrae	30.07	12.65
Fee Fee	James S. Quisenberry	36.77	10.89
Fenton	Samuel T. Vandover	18.00	9.00
Florisant	Delford Benton	91.81	48.70
Fox Creek	James Shields	36.36	15.45
Glencoe	Charles W. Bushey	——	——
Kirkwood	Green Harrison	36.00	12.00
Manchester	William F. Berry	75.43	40.51
Mattese	Henry Erb	5.98	8.49
Rock Hill	William Shields	85.76	44.21
Saint Louis (c. h.)	David H. Armstrong	2000.00	35,867.33
Sappington	Caleb S. Purkitt	16.08	5.55
Waltonham	George Hume	21.78	9.52

Saline County.

Arrow Rock	Samuel J. Herron	242.90	282.87
Brownsville	Thomas Farrell	40.72	28.21
Bryan	Isaac Neff	16.88	5.24
Cambridge	Burr E. Powell	79.44	61.85
Cow Creek	John Brown	20.50	6.96
Crow Creek	Thos. R. E. Harvey	——	——
Elm Wood	Moses Woodfin	61.93	37.97
Hazle Grove	David N. Jones	7.95	4.38
Jonesboro'	Charles Q. Lewis	9.00	3.00
Marshall (c. h.)	Michael Flynn	157.64	136.31
Miami	Franklin S. Robertson	172.26	76.99
Petra	James Jones	39.58	21.90
Ridge Prairie	Thomas F. Melvin	47.89	9.00
South Grove	Paschal E. Maupin	——	——

Schuyler County.

Cherry Grove	Seth W. Hathaway	12.07	6.46
Green Top	I. W. Gattin	13.11	7.70
Inkerman	Peter Deardorff	——	——
Lancaster (c. h.)	John M. Weatherford	149.55	117.43
Pedee	William V. Rippey	3.00	1.00

Scotland County.

Arbela	Morgan Tucker	4.51	1.94
Etna	Andrew Hunt	12.00	4.00
Laura	Elias W. Barbee	——	——
Memphis	John A. Childers	208.94	178.64
Middle Fables	Robert A. Bryant	34.69	22.55
Pleasant Retreat	John C. Collins	19.19	14.55
Prospect Grove	Joseph Miller	12.70	9.65
Sand Hill	James H. Keach	41.42	22.60
Wyaconda	William Troth	29.69	16.46

Scott County.

Benton (c. h.)	Felix G. Allen	58.33	65.53
Commerce	Noah C. Johnson	35.76	15.33
Cypress	Charles H. Kew	14.96	8.75
Hunt's Landing	Samuel J. Ward	8.00	2.00
Pleasant Plains	Samuel E. McMullin	——	——

Seneca County.

Loonieville	James Puckit	4.79	8.15

Post Office Directory entry which places Crawford Seminary in Quapaw County, Missouri"

departure of Reverend Patterson until the date of the appointment of Morrow, postal department records give no clear indication that the office did not maintain continual operation until the order of the Postmaster General discontinuing the office on December 29, 1863. The fact that the office was discontinued in 1863 is an interesting circumstance, for if the office were in Indian Territory, this would be the only example of an order of the Post-

master General discontinuing an Indian Territory post office during the war years, as no such orders were entered from 1861 until the blanket orders of June and July, 1866 discontinuing a number of antebellum offices.[9] On the other hand, if the office were in Kansas, the area remained under northern control, thus permitting a Federal post office to continue in operation throughout the period until December, 1863.

The contractor route records for the four year contract period 1846–1850 contain the entry "Crawford Seminary, Quapaw Country." The office was supplied by route "12 miles and back once a week" from Grand Falls, Missouri. Formal contract for the route was signed on January 23, 1849 with Christian Hurst at an annual remuneration of "net proceeds limited to $40 per year." On April 20, 1849 an entry was made on the route record that "P. M. Crawford Seminary reports that service began December 18, 1848." Thus, although the office was established by the Postmaster General the preceding August, it was not until December that actual service was instituted.

The similar record book for the contract period 1850–1854 shows Crawford Seminary to be located on Route 4975. Service, as before, was from Grand Falls on a route again entered as "12 miles and back once a week." On September 3, 1850 contract was signed with Chrispen Hurst at "net proceeds limited to $48 per year from July 1, 1850." Whether Chrispen and Christian were in fact one and the same must remain an uncertainty, but in all events the inflation of the times is reflected in the increase from $40.00 to $48.00 annually for the same service.

Following the expiration in 1854 of the contract period the Crawford Seminary post office was served by Contract Route Number 8973. An agreement was entered into April 29, 1854 with Madison Ritchie with his remuneration shown as "$150 xxx." The entry is uncertain unless the symbols are intended to mean per annum. Route 8973 connected Neosho with Crawford Seminary with intermediate stops at Cedar Creek and Grand Falls. The mileage was shown as eight miles to Cedar Creek from Neosho, nine additional miles to Grand Falls and ten miles from Grand Falls to Crawford Seminary. Service left Neosho each Thursday at 9:00 a.m. and arrived at Crawford Seminary at 6:00 p.m. on the same day; and departed Crawford Seminary the next morning at 9:00 a.m. and returned to Neosho at 6:00 p.m. on Friday.

Cedar Creek, then located in Newton County, is no longer a town although a Cedar Creek cemetery and a Cedar Creek school survive. It was

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[9] Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, p. 236.

located in Section 21–T26N–R32W; and to that location on a modern map, the mileage from Neosho is correct. Grand Falls, also in Newton County and which likewise has disappeared as a town, was in Section 28–T27N–R33W, on the road between Joplin and Racine, and four miles east and two miles north of the northeast corner of Oklahoma.[10] Using a modern map the distance of nine miles from Cedar Creek to Grand Falls as shown on Route 8973 is valid. Even more important however, and a fact that tends to confirm the actual location of the post office to be the same as the school is that the east bank of Spring River and measuring from either the original or the second site of the Seminary is in fact ten miles west of Grand Falls.

When post office routes in Kansas were advertised for bid it was determined to establish a route serving Crawford Seminary from the north. Route 15241 was established from Fort Scott, Kansas, sixty miles in length to Crawford Seminary, which location in the advertisement was shown as "Quapaw Nation, Mo." Bidders were required to "state the distance and propose a schedule." The successful bidder was Alfred Hornbeck and contract with him was signed October 10, 1855, at an annual remuneration of $648. The approved schedule provided for departure from Fort Scott on each Saturday at 6:00 a.m. arriving at Crawford Seminary on Sunday by 2:00 p.m.; departure the same day at 3:00 p.m.; and returning to Fort Scott Tuesday by 10:00 a.m. There is no indication in the records of Route 15241 how long it continued in operation.

When the Missouri contracts were again up for bidding the route from Neosho to Crawford Seminary was designated as Number 10613. Contract was signed on April 24, 1858 with John H. Price for an annual remuneration of $146. The route again was by way of Cedar Creek and Grand Falls, and the mileage shown between each office is the same as earlier Route 8973. The only other entry in connection with Route 10613 is under date of April 21, 1859, showing the contract was "transferred to Stephen D. Sutton of Neosho, Mo. from 1st April 1859." Across the top of the page for this route is the entry "discontinued by order of December 21, 1861."

Unless there was continued service from Fort Scott, on which the records are silent, it appears that formal contract service to and from the Crawford Seminary post office did not continue beyond December, 1861. Whether or not during the two year period subsequent thereto until the date of the formal order of the Postmaster General the office in fact continued, with the postmaster securing local contract service is uncertain, but as Sheldon was appointed postmaster in August, 1862, the presumption would be that the office was then in operation.

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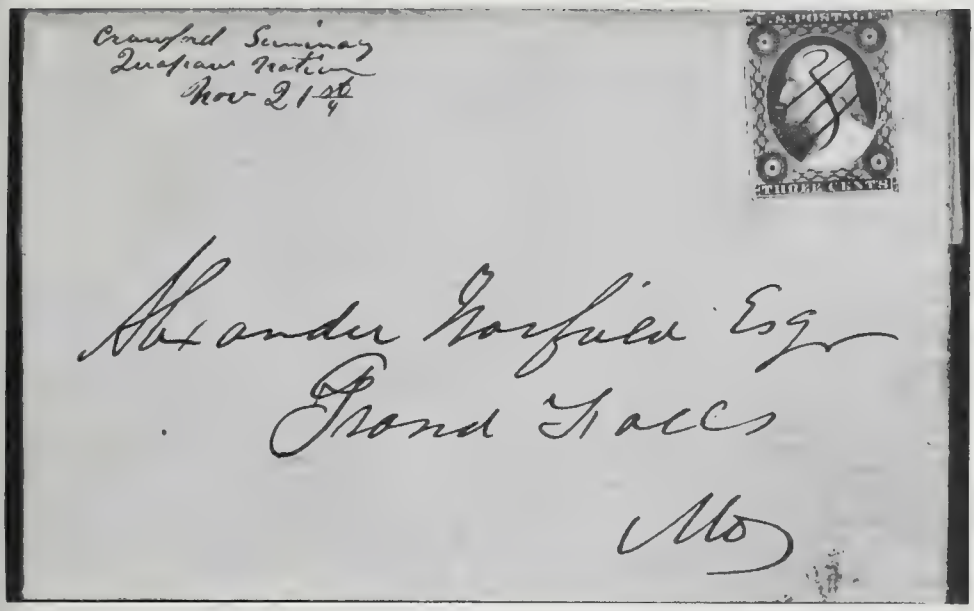
[10] James L. Wilson to George H. Shirk, February 13, 1976, author's personal collection.



Letter mailed from Crawford Seminary, Quapaw Nation in present-day Oklahoma (From the collection of David L. Jarrett)

In the early 1850s the Postmaster General retired the then existing master Record of Postmaster Appointments, and opened a new and fresh register for the State of Missouri. All of the then existing offices were entered alphabetically by county in the new volume. It was of great interest to me to note in its proper alphabetical place appeared a page with the heading "Quapaw Country," although all of the other pages were headed by a county name. Crawford Seminary was the only post office under the heading. Inexplicably, someone subsequently with a heavy pen marked through the "r" of the word with several strokes, making it appear as though the word were intended to be "county."

Unfortunately, the uncertainty remains. The distance of sixty miles from Fort Scott is too far, considering the meanders of the road, to pin-point the location of Crawford Seminary; and even more exasperating, both sites, one in Indian Territory and the other in Kansas, are on an arc the same distance from Grand Falls. It is my own conclusion however, that the post office was more probably north of the Indian Territory boundary.

Notwithstanding the valiant effort on the part of some unknown clerk in Washington to create another county in Missouri and thus move a post office established to serve the Quapaw Nation across the line into Missouri, now 125 years later the uncertainty created by his complete ignorance of geography remains. We yet are unable to know with certainty that the Crawford Seminary post office, existing from 1848 until 1863, was located in what is now Oklahoma.

THE WILDERNESS LEGACY OF JAMES OTTO LEWIS

*By Janet Campbell and Kenny A. Franks**

Protected from the elements by a small canopy over his canoe, the artist James Otto Lewis readied his supplies and prepared to step ashore—undoubtedly awed by the scene. Accompanying Commissioners Thomas Loraine McKenney, Superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., and Lewis Cass, the Governor of Michigan Territory, Lewis and a small entourage of government officials approached the council grounds at La Petite Butte des Morts on the Fox River with an air of confidence. Agreeing that "a more beautiful position could not be found," the party watched the American flag ripple in the breeze atop the "little hill of death," in present-day Wisconsin, which commanded the river for several miles and for which the treaty was to be named. This time, however, there were no troops or regimental band to burst forth with strains of *Yankee Doodle* and *Hail Columbia*, as had greeted the representatives at the Fond du Lac treaty council ten months before. Only the thunder of a cannon salute broke the silence of the wilderness and signaled the more than one thousand representatives of the Winnebago, Chippewa, Menominee and other tribes assembled that the council had begun.[1]

Here on presidential orders to obtain "information of the country between the lakes and the Mississippi[River]," in addition to "the condition and disposition of the Indian tribes which are scattered over" the region, the commissioners proceeded with the business at hand. McKenney, the principal negotiator, soon finished preliminary introductions and made what was by now a familiar nod to Lewis; but the artist—no doubt fascinated by the pageantry and colorful Indian attire—had already begun to sketch.[2]

Under the patronage of his friend, Cass, Lewis had been selected as the official artist to accompany the commissioners to a number of major Indian councils held in the Northwest Territory. A bit performer in the treaty scenarios used by the government at strategic points along the frontier, Lewis was occasionally called upon to witness the signing of the various documents; however, his primary role was clear—to capture on canvas the

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[1] Thomas L. McKenney, *Memoirs, Official and Personal; with Sketches of Travels Among the Northern and Southern Indians; Embracing a War Excursion, and Descriptions of Scenes Along the Western Borders* (2 Vols., New York: Paine and Burgess, 1846), Vol. I, pp. 66, 81–82. Hereafter cited as *Memoirs.*

[2] James Barbour to Thomas L. McKenney, March 28, 1827, *ibid.*, p. 60.

James Otto Lewis' painting of the government commissioners landing at the council grounds at La Petite Butte des Morts on the Fox River

colorful and interesting participants who were "attired in their best apparel, ornamented and painted after the most approved Indian fashion." This unique collection of rare Americana—one of the first important pictorial records of American Indian life—ultimately proved of special interest to the people of Oklahoma, in that portions of the majority of these tribes later moved to Indian Territory. Today, a number of Oklahomans are proud descendants of the great men who gathered at the councils to "hear what their fathers had to say" and negotiate with the commissioners. Perhaps some watched in fascination as Lewis sketched with strict fidelity the dress of various members of the delegations. Despite his efforts, however, Lewis has received little recognition for his paintings; indeed, his creations have been overshadowed by the more famous Thomas McKenney–James Hall collection. Yet, ironically, the McKenney–Hall series depended on many of Lewis's works, painted at the scene, for its more romanticized rendition of the early Indian leaders of America.[3]

Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on February 3, 1799, Lewis was descended from a highly respected German family. His father, John Andreas Philip Ludewig, had emigrated to Philadelphia in 1784, and later anglicized the family name to Lewis. The early life of Lewis coincided with one of the most turbulent periods in American history. He enlisted in the army while in his early teens and fought in the War of 1812, later moving

[3] McKenney, *Memoirs*, p. 82; John Francis McDermott, "The J. O. Lewis Port Folio," *Minnesota History*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), p. 20.

west to the frontier. Having received some early training in Philadelphia, he worked as an engraver in St. Louis, Missouri, for a short period of time before settling in Detroit in the early 1820s. There he married Sophia Pelletier, the granddaughter of one of Detroit's founding fathers, and painted portraits, engraved and did copperplate printing until about 1833.[4]

In 1823, the young artist produced a portrait of The Prophet, Tecumseh's brother, during the prominent Shawnee's visit to Detroit. His work caught the eye of Cass, who forwarded the portrait to McKenney the following year, along with a letter suggesting that the Indian Bureau provide a fund of $200 in order to paint other Indian leaders who might visit the city in the future. Enthusiastically agreeing, McKenney authorized the employment of Lewis to accompany Cass as he traveled throughout the Northwest Territory on official business.[5]

As the ominous cloud of Indian removal lowered about the War Department, Congress and the White House, Lewis accompanied Cass, McKenney and William Clark—Superintendent of Indians in the West—to a number of historic treaty councils held in the great unsettled area on the western frontier between 1825 and 1830. Using members of the Ojibwa or Chippewa, Menominee, Iowa, Sioux, Winnebago, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Miami and Sauk and Fox tribes as subjects, Lewis painted the portraits of many of the Indian participants and was directly involved in two important agreements—the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1825 and the Treaty of Fond du Lac in 1826. Original sketches were also made by the artist at other treaty sessions at La Petite Butte des Morts and Green Bay, in present-day Wisconsin; Fort Wayne and Mississinewa, in Indiana; and other points on the frontier from 1825 to 1827. In most instances, the actual work of painting was completed in Detroit and then forwarded to Charles Bird King in Washington to be copied for the McKenney collection.[6]

McKenney's idea for an Indian portrait gallery was conceived during the winter of 1821–1822, when a large delegation of Pawnee, Sauk, Fox, Menominee, Miami, Sioux and Chippewa Indians visited President James Monroe in Washington. McKenney served as Superintendent of the Indian Trade Bureau from 1816 until 1822, and was head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs between 1824 and 1830. While in this capacity, he requested that

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[4] The New York Historical Society, *Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 397; "James Otto Lewis," Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan.

[5] James D. Horan, *The McKenney–Hall Portrait Gallery of American Indians* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 64.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 65; Charles J. Kappler, comp., *Indian Treaties, 1778–1883* (New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1972), pp. 250–255, 268–271.

missionaries, Indian agents and superintendents preserve in the archives of the government "whatever of the aboriginal man can be rescued from the destruction which awaits his race." Intent on preserving the images of these distinguished visitors for "curious" future generations of Americans, McKenney seized the opportunity to commission the artist King to paint twenty-five portraits of that delegation. A portion of these paintings formed the nucleus of his famous gallery.[7]

Thus, supplemented by a continuous flow of paintings and watercolor sketches submitted by Lewis, the collection enjoyed a steady growth until 1828, when a congressional committee investigating government expenditures charged McKenney with wasting over $3,000 on "portraits of these wretches." McKenney was accustomed to monitoring the sensitive barometer of political intrigue, however, and simply waited out the storm. Meanwhile, he continued to give King commissions for Indian portraits, and visitors to the War Department building on Seventeenth and Pennsylvania Avenue, near the White House, were treated to his exhibit as well as an enthusiastic story about each painting.[8]

After an abrupt dismissal by President Andrew Jackson in 1830, McKenney began to pursue a dream—to publish a folio series containing colored lithographs of the Indian portraits which hung in his former office in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, accompanied by an extensive text. To accomplish this goal, McKenney attempted to persuade longtime friend, Jared Sparks, of Philadelphia—editor of *The North American Review*, one of the nation's foremost literary journals, and later president of Harvard—to become his coauthor, but was unsuccessful.[9]

Reluctantly accepting Spark's refusal, McKenney turned to James Hall, a former judge and founder of *The Illinois Monthly Magazine*, one of the first literary periodicals published in that state. A politician, biographer, editor and publisher, the flamboyant Hall agreed to write the text based on data supplied by McKenney, who had already researched and compiled much of the necessary information.[10]

Lithographs were at their zenith in popularity during the 1820s and 1830s—before the advent of photography—and in 1835, a prototype of McKenney–Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, illustrated by George Lehman and Peter Duval, was prepared to attract subscribers. McKenney decided to further publicize and stimulate sales of the forthcoming series by placing copies of the original government collection on exhibit

[7] Horan, *The McKenney–Hall Portrait Gallery of American Indians*, p. 61.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 105–106.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 107–108.

in Philadelphia for comparison by the public. Declaring that "Visitors to the gallery will see on comparing the likeness of this Specimen No. with the portraits with what fidelity the portraits are lithographed," McKenney explained that the portraits were copied by Henry Inman from the "celebrated collection in the War Department in Washington, most of which were taken from life by King of that city."[11]

Inasmuch as he had supplied many of the original sketches from which King had based his own illustrations, Lewis, smarting with resentment, bitterly opposed the planned publication. In order to call attention to his own work and to capitalize on the success of such a venture by being first on the market, Lewis announced the publication of his own *Aboriginal Port-Folio* in 1835. McKenney was stunned. Nonetheless, Lewis continued his preparation and rationalized that even if his work should prove inferior, it was at least "the first attempt" at such portraiture in this country—a riposte to McKenney's highly publicized project. Thus, the last monthly installment of the Lewis *Port-Folio* appeared in print nearly a year prior to the famous McKenney–Hall work.[12]

Hastily published in ten separate parts in Philadelphia between May, 1835, and February, 1836, rare copies reveal no title page or text, only a flimsy blue paper cover with the bust of an Indian in the center of the page. The back cover contained excerpts from New York and Philadelphia newspapers and a letter of commendation from Cass. The first three parts published also carried "advertisements" or statements signed by Lewis regarding plans for future publications and related the inconveniences suffered by the artist while traveling in the wilderness. Announcing plans for an eleventh issue, Lewis proposed to present a "Historical and Biographical Description of the Indians" compiled from notes he had taken during his "perambulations among them" to be distributed free; however, there is no evidence that it was ever published. Each issue contained eight plates and sold at the subscription price of $2.00.[13]

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 358. Henry Inman, born near Utica, New York in 1801, ultimately became one of the nation's eminent portrait artists. McKenney received permission from Cass, appointed Secretary of War in 1831, to have the original collection copied by Inman, from which lithographs could be made at leisure. The Inman collection is now housed in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[12] Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Philadelphia In The Romantic Age of Lithography* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1958), pp. 30–33. From Inman's copies, the McKenney-Hall *History of the Indian Tribes of North America with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs* was first published by "Keys & Biddle" of Philadelphia in December, 1836. In 1858, a year before McKenney's death in New York City, the original King portraits were transferred to the Smithsonian Institution and remained on exhibit in the art gallery of the building until they were destroyed by fire on January 15, 1865.

[13] McDermott "The J. O. Lewis Port Folio," *Minnesota History*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, p. 20.

On trimmed stock measuring approximately twelve by nineteen inches, the colored lithographs by "Lehman & Duval" of Philadelphia were considered inferior and shoddy. Curiously enough, Duval—the outstanding Philadelphia lithographer of his day, credited with developing the chromolithograph process—engraved some of the superb plates for the first as well as a subsequent edition of the McKenney–Hall series published in 1844.[14]

It was long assumed by authorities that not more than nine parts were ever published, as seventy-two plates were all that could be located, but a complete set of eighty plates does exist in the Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the Indiana Historical Society in Indianapolis, Indiana. John Francis McDermott, who conducted a special study of Midwest artists and illustrators in 1947, has stated "Any Library having even an incomplete set of the lithographs must regard it as a special treasure."[15]

Hence, the Lewis *Port-Folio* remains the first illustration of many of the Indian leaders later made famous by the McKenney–Hall edition and was "a valuable contribution" according to Henry Schoolcraft, the celebrated ethnologist and explorer who accompanied McKenney, Lewis and Cass on several expeditions during the early part of the nineteenth century.[16]

Although King gained a formidable international reputation for his portraits of the Indian leaders who ventured to the city of Washington and into the confines of King's comfortable studio, Lewis, the man who painted them "on the spot" as a member of the actual treaty delegations, lived in comparative obscurity until his death in New York City in 1858. Yet, a survey of Lewis's paintings leaves little doubt that his were competent studies of the colorful chiefs and warriors who attended those historic councils and portray an accurate feeling of the subject, his manner and dress; in contrast to the more romanticized versions produced in King's studio.[17]

The following are examples of Lewis's portrayal of the Indians of the Old Northwest Territory as they appeared when they stepped out of the wilderness at Fond du Lac, La Petite Butte des Morts and Prairie du Chien to treat with the commissioners and were recorded for posterity. They are reproduced from lithographs in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society.[18]

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[14] Horan, *The McKenney–Hall Portrait Gallery of American Indians*, p. 108.

[15] McDermott, "The J. O. Lewis Port Folio," *Minnesota History*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, pp. 20–21.

[16] Horan, *The McKenney–Hall Portrait Gallery of American Indians*, p. 108.

[17] McDermott, "The J. O. Lewis Port Folio," *Minnesota History*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, p. 21.

[18] Records indicate that the Lewis lithographs were acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society from Mr. W. P. Campbell, ca. 1933.

CHIPPEWA

At-Te-Conse, or Young Rein Deer. The location and date of the painting of this Chippewa Indian is not known. The illustration was featured in Part Nine of the artist's *Aboriginal Port-Folio* (Philadelphia: Lehman and Duval), published in January, 1836.

The Chippewa—the word being a corruption of Ojibwa—originally came from the East, but by the mid-seventeenth century, were living along the shores of Lake Superior inhabited by the Sioux. Although bitter enemies for over a century, both tribes signed the Treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1825, settling their old differences and initiating a succession of treaties spanning the next twenty-five years, during which most of the tribes in the Northwest Territory, one after another, ceded their ancestral hunting grounds to the whites. Today in Oklahoma, descendants of those bands of Chippewa who were allied with the Ottawa live in Ottawa County; another group, identified with the Potawatomi in Kansas, live in Pottawatomie County; and descendants of those bands of Chippewa who joined the Munsee or "Christian Indians" in Kansas and settled in the Cherokee Nation under contract with the Cherokees in 1867, live throughout the northeastern part of the state.

A Chippeway Chief

POTAWATOMI

Pe-Che-Co, a Potawatomi Chief, painted at Mississinewa, Indiana in 1827. The illustration was featured in Part Seven of the artist's *Aboriginal Port-Folio* (Philadelphia: Lehman and Duval), published in November, 1835.

Originally one, in the traditions of all three tribes, the Potawatomi, Ojibwa [Chippewa] and Ottawa were joined in a loose confederacy known to the white traders as the Three Fires. Although they formerly inhabited the upper shores of Lake Huron, by 1700, the Potawatomi had moved southward and were located on the St. Joseph River in Michigan and near the site of Chicago, Illinois. In 1833, the united Potawatomi—together with the Ojibwa [Chippewa] and Ottawa—ceded 5,000,000 acres of land to the United States. As a result, most of the Potawatomi were living west of the Mississippi by 1840. Today, Oklahomans of Potawatomi descent live near Shawnee, Tecumseh, Maud and Wanette in Pottawatomi County and near Lexington in Cleveland County. Members of this Oklahoma tribal group are known as "Citizen Potawatomi."

PE-O-CHE-CO

A Potowattomie Chief

Painted at the Treaty of Mississinewa 1826 by J. O. Lewis

OTTAWÅ

Entitled "A Celebrated Ottawa Chief," the subject was painted at Fort Wayne, Indiana in 1827. The illustration was featured in Part Six of the artist's *Aboriginal Port-Folio* (Philadelphia: Lehman and Duval), published in October, 1835.

Their name meaning "to trade," the Ottawas were principally known as intertribal traders who bought provisions from one tribe and exchanged them with another. The early French explorers of the seventeenth century were soon followed by licensed traders who enrolled the Ottawas in fur trade, winning them to an alliance with the French. In 1831, three bands of the tribe ceded their lands in Ohio to the United States and were granted a reservation of 74,000 acres in what is now Kansas. Although they resisted early removal efforts, in 1836 the Ottawas migrated to the vicinity of the present site of Ottawa, Kansas. During the Civil War, a contract was made with the Shawnee for the purchase of a tract on their reservation in Indian Territory, later confirmed in the Omnibus Treaty in 1867. As a result, a portion of the Ottawas moved to a reserve of over 14,850 acres bounded by the Neosho River on the west, and lying south and east of the present site of Miami, in Ottawa County, where their descendants now reside.

A Celebrated Ottawa Chief

IOWA

Mauck-Coo-Maun, a "Celebrated Ioway Chief," painted at Prairie du Chien in 1825. The illustration was featured in Part Six of the artist's *Aboriginal Port-Folio* (Philadelphia: Lehman and Duval), published in October, 1835.

Early French records place the Iowa, pronounced "Ioway," near the mouth of the Blue Earth River, in Minnesota. Renown for their pipes made from the red pipestone quarries, they began treaty relations with the United States as early as 1815. After ceding their lands in 1824, the Iowa shared a large reservation with the Sauk and Fox in Kansas until 1876, when small bands—bitterly opposed to impeding allotment—sought homes in Indian Territory on the reservation of the Sauk and Fox. They were moved to Indian Territory by executive order in 1883. In May, 1890, the Iowa were allotted lands in severalty in Indian Territory, most of which were located in the Cimarron Valley near Perkins; a few were in the vicinity of the "Old Iowa Village" near Fallis in Lincoln County. Surplus Iowa lands were opened to white settlement by presidential proclamation on September 22, 1891.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RAILROADS IN THE OKLAHOMA PANHANDLE

*By Fred Floyd**

With more evidence of piety than a grasp of economic geography, a lady of a past generation illustrated the providence of God by pointing out that everywhere there was an important city God had provided a navigable river. With no less evidence of piety, but certainly with more economic realism, Edward E. Dale called attention to the fact that the movement for settlement westward into the region once designated as the "Great American Desert" was checked at the limits of possible river transportation, and had to await the coming of the railroad. In fact, the railroad was to be a major factor in transforming this "desert" into the "Great Plains."

But in the beginning of this push westward, railroad construction seemed to evade that part of the "Southern Great Plains" known as "No Man's Land"—presently the Oklahoma Panhandle. Settlers came into the region, however, in anticipation of the coming of the "iron horse." Here they changed "No Man's Land" into the abortive Cimarron Territory and eventually into "Old Beaver County."[1] Because the Cherokee Outlet was between it and the six counties of the "Unassigned Lands," it became a non-contiguous seventh county of the original Oklahoma Territory which, in 1890, was created by the Organic Act of Congress.[2] This arrangement had come after a frustrating struggle for some kind of political status.

This non-contiguous status now seems to have been prophetic of later economic frustrations. Even after the Cherokee Outlet was opened for settlement, and thus became a part of Oklahoma Territory, the problem

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[1] E. E. Brown, "No Man's Land," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1926), pp. 89–99. Also, R. C. Tate, "The Trail of Fences and Farms, Towns and Railroads Mark the Passing of 'No Man's Land,'" *Oklahoma Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Guthrie Cooperative Publishing Company, 1930), pp. 690–693; C. C. Rister, *No Man's Land* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1948), pp. 140–152.

[2] The Organic Act described the area included in Oklahoma Territory as "that part of the United States known as Indian Territory except that part occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes and the Indian tribes within the Quapaw Indian Agency and except the unoccupied part of the Cherokee Outlet, together with that portion of the United States known as the Public Land Strip. . . ." George Rainey in *No Man's Land* (Guthrie: Cooperative Publishing Company, 1937), p. 214 said: "Congress had denominated the region as the seventh county of Oklahoma Territory notwithstanding the fact that the nearest point of old No Man's Land to the section known as Old Oklahoma was nearly twenty-five miles. Until the opening of the Cherokee Outlet in the fall of 1893, Oklahoma Territory was two separate sections."

of Old Beaver County's economic isolation continued and the region shifted its emphasis to efforts at economic ties by working for the construction of railroads. But in these efforts the residents also met with frustrations. Those in Beaver County—the eastern part—and Cimarron County—western—always went all out for any proposition that any prospective railroad might offer. In each area their efforts met with a long series of disappointments before they achieved their goal. The control area—Texas County—was more fortunate for it was on the route of the Rock Island Railroad's plan for a transcontinental line.

Legal problems were to prove one of the major obstacles to railroad construction in the region. Territorial status first posed obstructions. In 1898 one writer pointed out that while "large crops might be produced in a territory" they could not bring financial advantage to the producers because of limitations which this imposed on financial concerns, including railroads, which would not be imposed after it became a state.[3]

But statehood for Oklahoma seemed to augment, rather than relieve the legal problem. The Constitutional Convention was to do its work during that period in United States history which has earned for itself the name of "the Progressive Movement." One of this movement's major targets was railroad abuses. This convention's membership was aggressively a part of that movement. While it was in session one northwest Oklahoma editor observed: "The attitude of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention . . . on the subject of railroad operation has been made the basis for the exertion of influences in financial circles as a result of which money for railroad construction is not as easy to secure as it was a few months ago. . . ."[4] The Convention's adoption of Section 9 of Article IX came as no surprise to those of the Panhandle who were working to get railroads into the region. This, one of a series of negatives, said:[5]

> Neither shall any railroad company, transportation company, or transmission company, organized under the laws of this state, consolidate by private or judicial sales, or otherwise with any railroad company, transportation company, or transmission company organized under the laws of any other state, or of the United States.

The Convention's action concerning this anti-railroad provision marked the beginning of a six-year struggle for its repeal; and the railroad coveting residents of the Panhandle assumed an aggressive role among the leaders

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[3] H. H. Howard, "Territorial Disabilities," *McMaster's Magazine*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (February, 1898), pp. 399–408.

[4] *Hooker Advance* (Hooker) April 12, 1907.

[5] S. K. Corden and W. B. Richards, comps., *The Oklahoma Redbook* (Oklahoma City: Democrat Printers, 1912), pp. 40–120.

in the fight. In 1909, the *Beaver Herald* stressed the fact that railroad construction had been retarded by the "State Constitution." The editor cited as an example that a study of the problem by the John W. Gates financial interests had caused them to abandon plans for railroad investments in Oklahoma.[6] The editor at Hooker, Oklahoma, made it an issue involving partisan politics:[7]

> In regard to railroad building in Oklahoma which the Democrats would have us believe has been making such rapid strides compared with other states lately, we wish to call to the attention of the public a statement of the amount of trackage laid in Oklahoma during the past year. According to reports which have been submitted by the railroad companies themselves the total trackage . . . is 2.8 miles. . . . How does this mileage . . . compare with the needs of the people? . . . The people of Northwest Oklahoma who need railroads so badly cannot afford to keep Section 9 of Article 9 in the Constitution.

A citizen of Oklahoma City joined the residents of the Panhandle in their fight for the repeal of the offensive article. Blaming it for the failure of two proposals for a road from the central city to that region, he said:[8]

> Each of these organizations has spent a considerable amount of money in surveys, profiles, blue prints, field notes, prospectus, and other data necessary for such a project. About the time that one or both of them were ready to commence active operations along came twin calamities so far as railroad building was concerned, viz: Statehood and the panic of 1907. . . . I have no doubt that you are aware that railroad building in this state has been awaiting some action on Section 9 of Article 9 of the Constitution.

In spite of repeated failures the leaders in the Panhandle kept up their fight. After a proposed amendment to this section had passed successfully through the state legislature it was defeated by a referendum in April, 1911.[9] But the defeat seemed to have challenged the Beaver City editor to a more determined fight. By early 1912 he blamed "our own people" who "have done so much hurt." Specifically mentioning Section 9 of Article IX he continued: "Three times the people have tried to get the article amended through elections; but each time . . . a majority showed up against the amendment. This was easily accomplished by the party in power manipulating the ropes in such a way as to prevent any danger of there being a majority in favor of the amendment."[10]

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[6] *Beaver Herald* (Beaver), August 5, 1909.
[7] *Hooker Advance*, May 10, 1910.
[8] *Ibid.*, May 6, 1911.
[9] *Beaver Herald*, May 4, 1911.
[10] *Ibid.*, January 11, 1912.

G. A. Henshaw, a member of the Oklahoma Corporation Commission, shared the Beaver editor's feelings. He went so far as to accuse "the people living on the trunk lines" of opposing "the amendment for fear the outlying districts of the State will secure railroads and develop towns and draw some of the business from them."[11] As he continued his pre-amendment campaign he asserted that if it should succeed, "in my judgement," a railroad through Beaver "will be built within the next eighteen months."[12]

After repeated failures the champions of the proposed amendment won in the referendum of August 5, 1913. This removed the great obstacle by providing:[13]

> Upon consent of the Corporation Commission in writing first had and obtained, any foreign or domestic railroad, transportation or transmission company or corporation may lease, sell, or otherwise dispose of its property and franchises to, or may lease, buy or otherwise acquire property and franchises of any like company or corporation, provided that the legislature may impose additional limitations upon the rights of any railroad company or transmission company to consolidate.

The first actual construction of any railroad in the area came as a result of a Kansas law rather than efforts of settlers and was to continue across the Panhandle with evidently no regard for territorial legal limitations. By 1888 the Rock Island Railroad has extended its line from Kansas City, Kansas, westward to Liberal, Kansas. At that time there were but few residents that far west in what continued to be known as "No Man's Land," but would soon be officially designated as Beaver County.[14] This route was to serve the cattle interests of the Texas Panhandle and eastern New Mexico as well as "No Man's Land." Fear of diseased Texas cattle made the Kansas Legislature enact a law which prohibited the loading of these herds in the state. The railroad solved this problem by extending its line "seven miles" into the region which is now Texas County, Oklahoma. This was the area's only mileage until 1901 when that line resumed construction southwestward across the Oklahoma and Texas panhandles and into New Mexico.[15] The railroad's serving that region was a minor incidental, for its major purpose was to be a part of a great transcontinental system.

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[11] *Forgan Enterprise* (Forgan) July 31, 1913.

[12] *Beaver Herald*, July 31, 1913.

[13] Corden and Richards, *The Oklahoma Redbook*, pp. 40–120.

[14] The original Beaver County, sometimes called "Old Beaver County"—the Oklahoma Panhandle—included what is now Beaver, Texas and Cimarron counties.

[15] Laura V. Hamner, "Shade's Well," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (Spring 1953), pp. 34–40.

Early efforts at railroad construction in the Panhandle of Oklahoma

As a part of the Rock Island Railroads centennial observance *The El Reno Daily Tribune* called this extension "an epic of railroad building of that day." Its "average of some two and a half miles a day" under conditions of "something less than satisfactory" made it the "fastest track laying job of the time."[16] A contemporary news story reported enthusiastically that it had "laid track twenty miles into Beaver County. . . ."[17]

This first line across the Panhandle brought results which were accepted with mixed emotions. All the residents welcomed it; but it meant the end of some villages which its route could not include. For the fortunately located ones, it meant prosperity. These included Tyrone, Hooker, Sanford—soon to be known as Guymon—Goodwell and Texhoma. The line missed Hardesty by about eighteen miles, so that town became almost a "deserted village" until it was revived in 1929 by the building of another Rock Island line. Since 1890 the community had been able to sustain *The Hardesty Herald*; but among those who left it for Guymon was the *Herald*'s editor—R. B. Quinn, who moved with his paper which then became *The Guymon Herald*.[18]

The activities of the Hooker community were illustrative of the optimism which the coming of the railroad could bring to a Panhandle community fortunate enough to be located on its line. In the third issue of the local

[16] *El Reno Tribune* (El Reno), October 5, 1952.
[17] *Kingfisher Free Press* (Kingfisher), February 28, 1901.
[18] Rainey, *No Man's Land*, p. 223.

newspaper there appeared a story about the Chicago Town Company. This item included a list of the town's advantages: "Grass Finest Softest . . . Freshest Purest Air . . . On the main line of the Rock Island Railroad From Chicago to the Coast." It urged prospective land purchasers to take advantage of present prices "because lots now being sold at $15 to $125 will be worth $500 to $1500 upon the day of the grand opening."[19] This effort was very successful; and two issues later the same paper could boast:[20]

> The fact that the fame of Hooker and its business opportunities and nearness to government land has spread all over the east and is drawing a large share of the people who are seeking homes in the west was demonstrated to the satisfaction of the most skeptical Thursday. The regular Rock Island train came in two sections to accommodate the crowd. . . .
> Fully sixty people from Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and the surrounding states came in either to look after property already secured or to get hold of a peice before the best has been taken.

Another railroad proposal made Hooker's prospects look even brighter. The next issue told of the confirmation of a several month old rumor which "has caused much excitement here and real estate has taken a decided rise in price." The rumor claimed that a surveying party of the Enid and Denver Railroad had been observed "about thirty miles east of here making a bee-line for Hooker." This enabled the enthusiastic writer to see the possibilities of Hooker becoming a "division station of the Rock Island and will probably be one of the Enid and Denver." Such an advantage would make that town the "most important center in this section and, of course, the county seat of Beaver County."[21]

One week later the paper had changed the name of the prospective railroad to the Oklahoma City and Northwestern Railroad and made it a branch of the Rock Island. The survey had ended temporarily at Hooker but it was to run the full length of Beaver County. "After stopping at Hooker the surveyors went back to run a preliminary survey through Beaver City at the request of the Commercial Club."[22]

The fact that a railroad had crossed the region caused expressions of optimism throughout the territory. From the "Cherokee Outlet" came an expression of satisfaction because "51 miles of the Rock Island's southern extension" was through a "big wheat field and the crop promises to be the largest ever grown in the short grass country."[23]

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[19] *Hooker Advance*, March 4, 1904.
[20] *Ibid.*, March 18, 1904.
[21] *Ibid.*, March 25, 1904.
[22] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1904.
[23] *Alva Review* (Alva), May 23, 1901.

For the next quarter of a century there was to be no further railroad building in this central part of the Panhandle; and it was in this period that Beaver and Cimarron counties carried on an unrelenting and eventually successful fight for a railroad. But in 1929 the Rock Island constructed a 154 mile spur from Liberal, Kansas, across Texas County and into the Texas Panhandle and Amarillo, Texas. This was the year when the "era of unending prosperity" came to an abrupt end. It was also when we regarded this section as the "breadbasket of the world." Because this project came in the "era of unending prosperity" the Kansas City *Star* forgot caution and predicted an enormous increase in the number of acres which would be broken for farming and that in five years this land would be producing 40,000,000 bushels of wheat.[24] Five years later the Panhandle was suffering from Dust Bowl conditions and was able to produce only a small fraction of the predicted 40,000,000 bushels. One significant result of the construction of this line was that "Old Hardesty . . . was revived on another site."[25]

Although the Rock Island was doing great things for Texas County, it was unable to satisfy the restlessness of those aggressive residents of the eastern part, which was to retain the name of Beaver County.[26] Before it extended its line to the "seven miles" southwest of Liberal, it was too far away for the "horse and buggy days"—especially because this included hauling freight in wagons. Residents wanted a railroad to the town of Beaver. In 1894 the editor gave expression to his impatience by using a news item about a Rock Island engineer who became "tired of his job at Buckling and refused to continue his run." The writer got in his propaganda blow by adding: "With all the good the Rock Island is to this country it might as well abandon the Liberal extension. In the future the bulk of the freight billed for Beaver will come over the Santa Fe via Englewood."[27]

But hauling goods to and from stations on the Rock Island or from Englewood on the Santa Fe did not relieve the discontent in the Beaver and Boise City areas. In describing the wagon route, C. C. Rister said:[28]

> Perhaps freight wagons used it most. . . . The regular freighting price was one cent a mile for one hundred pounds. A sack of flour would cost fifty cents a mile for one hundred pounds, fifty cents extra freighted to Englewood, and seventy-five cents to Gate City in No Man's Land. The rates were still higher on perishable goods.

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24 Clipping, McCarty Historical Collection, Amarillo, Texas.

25 George Rainey, *No Man's Land*, p. 220.

26 In 1907 the Constitutional Convention divided "Old Beaver County"—the Panhandle into Cimarron County in the west, Texas County in the center and Beaver County in the east.

27 *Beaver County Democrat* (Beaver), July 26, 1894.

28 Rister, *No Man's Land*, pp. 55–56.

Prior to the completion of a railroad, wagons such as these were the most convenient method of travel in the Panhandle

T. W. Horn, of the Clear Lake community, expressed the thinking of the region when he asked: "Who built Liberal, Kansas?" and answering that "the farmers of Beaver County did more than their share." He then continued:[29]

> Who built Englewood, Kansas? Six years ago . . . it was a small blot on the map. . . . Today she is one of the great markets of and for Beaver County. Six years ago what was Shatlock in Ellis County? A little one-horse shipping place. Because Beaver County put it on its feet . . . by its being the place where tens of thousands of dollars worth of broom and kaffir were . . . shipped east and west.

Severe weather conditions joined the economic problems to further augment the discontent. In January of 1912, with temperatures dropping to "18 below" coal could not be hauled from the railroad towns. As a result the price of coal at Beaver jumped to $40.00 per ton. The shortage became so serious that the county offices had to be closed and the coal supply distributed to keep the people from freezing.[30] In February a blizzard struck at Boise City and left it almost completely isolated for over ten days. When the food supply was approaching exhaustion an "organized expedition" went on sleds to Texhoma, Oklahoma, "and returned a week later with about one fourth of a load."

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[29] *Beaver Herald*, August 24, 1911.
[30] *Ibid.*, January 18, 1912.

With his four-horse team, J. A. Margo attempted to haul "a ton and a half of coal from Clayton, New Mexico." The team became so exhausted that he had to dump most of this precious cargo to be able to reach his home.[31] In the winter of 1918–1919 a blizzard struck which left Boise City without mail service for a month and completely isolated for twenty-one days. During that time "it took a relief expedition eleven days to make a fifty-seven-mile trip to Texhoma and return with 2,000 pounds of flour.[32]

Also there was dissatisfaction with the area's weak economic ties with the rest of the territory and eventually the state. In announcing the prospects of an east-west line of the Frisco Railroad, a Panhandle editor added: "This is good news to our people who have been waiting and watching for the building of this line. The fact that statehood is at hand makes it all the more necessary that we have connections with the State, and this line can be assured of a good trade as soon as it is built."[33]

In 1911 Dr. J. M. Kerns, general manager of the proposed Beaver Valley and Northwestern Railroad, expressed the hope of the people of that region when he said:[34]

> The people of Oklahoma City and the central part of the State . . . do not realize the vastness of the northwestern counties. . . . The central counties up there that have no railroad facilities have a greater area than the combined area of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Enormous crops are raised and the products of hundreds of thousands of acres are shipped to the North and East. In many cases it is necessary for the farmers to haul their grain a distance of forty miles to a shipping point.

As late as 1929 there was evidence of restlessness because of this economic isolation from the rest of the state. The reaction of one editor to Oklahoma maps which showed "the three counties . . . clipped off and shunted down into a corner like an afterthought," was expressed by his raising the question as to "how long Oklahoma cities will allow Kansas to get away with 99 percent of the trade from this vast area." This was true because of a "lack of transportation eastward" which was "keeping many dollars flowing north and east that should be going south and east."[35]

In the fight for the amendment to Section 9, Article IX, of Oklahoma's Constitution one Panhandle editor almost made it appear to be an issue of the Pan-

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[31] *No Man's Land*, p. 231.

[32] C. B. Lewis, "The Development of Cimarron County," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, 1939, pp. 70–71.

[33] *Hooker Advance*, August 17, 1906.

[34] *Beaver Herald*, January 19, 1911.

[35] *The Cimarron News* (Boise City), July 19, 1929.

handle versus the rest of the state. He denounced a candidate for the State Senate who was opposing the proposed amendment because he wanted to "support the interests of the entire State as against those of the favored few." To the candidate's defense of his position the editor answered:[36]

> We would like to inquire of Mr. Cleeton what we have been "favored" with. If there is a portion of the State that has been neglected it is this portion. We are unable to get most of the legislation which we have gone after because of the fact that we are isolated from the State, and are not considered as very important factors when it comes to State affairs. . . . The great hope of the people of this part of the State has been an east-west railroad.

After asserting that "we are doing mighty well in Beaver City," State Representative A. W. Tooley returned to the hope of the region—a railroad. This would make his city the "metropolis of the northwest." Then he picked up the region's desire for economic ties with the state by saying: "We want a railroad to Oklahoma City worse than any other thing I can think of and it would be as good for Oklahoma City as for us."[37]

Business interests of the central area shared in this desire for more effective economic ties with the state. As early as 1902 the *Daily Oklahoman* was pleading for a railroad from Oklahoma City to the northwestern part of the territory because "many millions of trade" was being lost to the territory. Ten years later the same paper complained: "We have permitted ourselves to be almost strangled in so far as this desirable trade is concerned. In addition the people of that part of the State wish to trade with Oklahoma City."[38]

In 1909, John Fields recognized this problem of the isolation of Oklahoma City from the state's farmers, including those of the Panhandle. He asserted that the year before his protest, the central city's "trade with the rest of the state amounted to something like $30,000,000" in spite of the fact that crop production amounted to about $200,000,000. The additional $170,000,000 "went to Kansas City, Missouri; St. Joseph, Missouri; Wichita, Kansas; and Fort Worth, Texas with the trainloads of fat cattle and hogs that brought less than net return to their producers because of Oklahoma City's failure to provide a market."[39]

Perhaps "discontented optimists" is an appropriate characterization of the residents concerning railroad development in the Panhandle. They were discontented with the repeated failure of their plans and efforts; but they were

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[36] *Hooker Advance*, May 13, 1910.

[37] *Beaver Herald*, January 30, 1913.

[38] *Ibid.*, January 30, 1913.

[39] John Fields, "The Relation of Oklahoma City to Oklahoma Farmers," *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, Vol. VIII (May, 1909), pp. 51–52.

able to undertake each new prospect with a spirit of optimism. As early as 1906 the editor at Hooker predicted his town "can boast of at least two main lines through here inside of a year" because "word has been received from a reliable source that dirt will be flying on the . . . [Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad] at Woodward within the next two weeks." Because it was running up the Beaver Valley it would cross the Rock Island at Hooker. The only suggestion of caution on the part of the writer is the fact that he referred to the news as "these rumors."[40]

"How Are Towns Built" is clearly the thinking of a discontented optimist of 1911:[41]

> That question is a pretty serious one just now. We never had so good an opportunity to place the town on a solid growing basis as we have right now. But if the town is made . . . what it can be, we have got to pull together, and plant our dollars where they will do the most good. . . .
>
> We have planted a good many dollars and an immence amount of talk in trying to get a railroad. But we have got no railroad yet, but the efforts that have been made . . . have kept the town from decay. We think the people are willing to plant a lot more dollars to get a railroad and no doubt a railroad would do more for up-building the town than any other one thing.

Three weeks later the same paper had a story about the visit of "C. E. Griffin of Cincinnati, [Ohio]" The visitor saw "transportation facilities" as "the great need of the section," because "too much time is consumed in wagoning the produce to market." The editor revealed his optimism by emphasizing the fact that the visitor concluded by saying that he expects to visit this section again and that he "will be a passenger on a varnished railroad coach passing through Beaver County."[42]

In the same issue, S. D. Shreek, the owner of Orchard Grove Farm in Madison, Beaver County, went on record as an optimist. Said he:[43]

> The tide is sweeping on faster and greater out over the rolling alfalfa Kansas fields; bordering it on the southwest lies a strip of land 40 miles wide and 150 miles long that a few years ago was unclaimed by any state and was known all over the United States as No Man's Land. . . . It is this strip that is the coming country.
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> The main thing that has been a drawback to this country has been the lack of a railroad, but there are two fighting to get into the strip, and in less than a year "No Man's Land" will be the rush of the times and the man who

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40 *Hooker Advance*, August 24, 1906.
41 *Beaver Herald*, August 10, 1911.
42 *Ibid.*, August 31, 1911.
43 *Ibid.*, August 31, 1911.

owns a chunk of "No Man's Land" will have a little gold mine to draw from when he needs some change.

A news story in the same issue reported that the "Wichita Falls Railway" had signed "contracts for equipment" which included "10,000 tons" for the road. The report continued:[44]

> The Wichita Falls railway has already about 136 miles . . . in operation between Wichita Falls and Elk City. . . . The greater part of the grade from Elk City . . . to Woodward . . . has been built. . . . It is rumored that there will be several new contracts let this week for grading on this side of Woodward. . . . From *The Liberal Democrat* glean the following: "The following letter was received from Frank Kell . . . of the Wichita Falls Route: '. . . We have our line located at the present time to Fort Supply, about 18 miles northwest of Woodward, Oklahoma. Out terminus has not yet been definitely located in Beaver County.' "

On Columbus Day there was more good news for Beaver County residents. By that time the surveyors had already run "a line from Gate to the Beaver Valley" and were expected to "reach Beaver the last of the week." At this point, however, fact superseded hope as the editor continued: "We have no definite information . . . at this time, but we are prepared to say this much, the W. F. and N. W. will be built through Beaver County and keep an eye on Beaver. . . . It will be up to us to get busy and wake up though, remember that."[45]

Again hope was deferred, for the road was constructed north of Beaver to the new town of Forgan. George Rainey suggests that this was a second blow to Beaver City which had come as a direct result of railroad construction. In that city's early history it had been an important station on the freight wagon route. But the "building of the Fort Worth and Denver Railroad through the Texas Panhandle" had destroyed the freight business. For this new road to miss Beaver City by such a few miles was an added blow.[46] This caused the *Meade*, Kansas, *Globe* to observe:[47]

> The promoters of the railroad would much rather organize a new town than to build through an old town. As a general proposition they can make more money by the sale of lots in a new town than they can get by a bonus from an old established town. The new road will miss Beaver, Oklahoma, about seven miles. . . . It is too bad that the road does not strike Beaver. It is well located for the county seat, and with a railroad would soon grow to goodly proportions.

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[44] *Ibid.*, August 31, 1911.
[45] *Herald Democrat* (Beaver), October 12, 1911.
[46] Raney, *No Man's Land*, pp. 226–227.
[47] *Beaver Herald*, January 18, 1912.

One of the first trains in operation in the Oklahoma Panhandle

In spite of immediate disappointment Beaver City's response was an enthusiastic one because at last there was a railroad in the county. When the first load of wheat left the county by rail the local editor rejoiced because:[48]

> Many of our citizens, some being residents for more than twenty-five years, last week witnessed the first shipping of Beaver County products to market by rail, when shipments were made from Gate and Knowles over the W. F. & N. W. Railroad, now completed to these points and handling business and which will soon extend to Forgan. It certainly is a great sight and a gratifying one to Beaver County residents and producers . . . to be able to see Beaver County railroad hauling off our products and home buyers reaping the benefits of our productions. . . .
>
> Beaver hasn't got a railroad yet but will get one some day, mind that and when we do we'll expect every mother's son . . . within our trade territory to deal here as long as they can get a square deal, and if they don't do it we'll consider them a traitor and a common enemy of their county's interest. We feel the same way about the W. F. & N. W. although it missed us. . . . Not one bushel of Beaver County grain should be shipped out of the county except over Beaver County's railroad. . . .

When the road was completed to Forgan, residents of Beaver City joined those of Forgan to greet the first train and rejoiced because "it means better times and better trade conditions for all of us."[49]

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[48] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1912.

[49] *Ibid.*, September 12, 1912.

Before the road was completed to Forgan but when it was certain that Beaver City would not get the coveted road, the residents of the community started looking for other prospects. In January *The Herald* published a long editorial urging compliance with the terms of the St. Louis, Oklahoma and Pacific Railway so that Beaver might have an east-west line from Alva, Oklahoma, and thereby connecting St. Louis, Missouri, to the coal fields of Des Moines, New Mexico. The terms included the right-of-way across the county and a $100,000 bonus to be paid in three installments as the road extended westward.[50] A news story reported that citizens of Alva had subscribed to a $150,000 bonus. The editorial resulted in a meeting, sponsored by the Beaver Commercial Club, which proved to be "a very enthusiastic one and is only one of the more that will follow . . . incident to the procuring the required bonus and right-of-way for the railway with the building of which Beaver County will have at last reached its goal . . . after years of faithful work and patient waiting for months."[51]

W. B. Bateman, a merchant in the Coma community of Beaver County, argued that he "could give the project $150 and make it back in a year's time" on what he could save on overcharges and loss of goods. Then he appealed to his customers by saying:[52]

> And further I have kept account of wagon freight for the last 21 months, which was 122 loads averaging $9.00 per load, which totals $1098. My customers have acknowledged that I sell my articles as cheap as they could get them at railroad towns. If this is true I can divide that $1098 by 2, leaving $549 that I could have saved if I were doing business in a railroad town.

From the Clear Lake community, T. L. How again joined the Beaver railroad boosters. In a letter to the editor he urged "all who own a quarter or half quarter" to "do their best by their purchase of the bonus notes." He complained of the indifference on the part of the cattlemen; but he insisted that "you who expect to make this country your home or want to sell out, there's no place that I know where you can put $100 or $200 where it will do you so much good."[53]

Encouraged by an enthusiastic news story in the *Daily Oklahoman*, the editor at Beaver came out with a renewed emphasis. Assuming the role of a salesman he said:[54]

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[50] *Ibid.*, January 25, 1912.
[51] *Ibid.*, February 1, 1912.
[52] *Ibid.*, February 22, 1912.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid.*, March 28, 1912.

> This is the project which Beaver County must secure and it is a matter of direct interest to all our people. . . . The road is to be built and it is up to us to do our part or lose. Can we afford to lose? We think not. A home market and the increase in land values alone will repay us for any bonus we may make, to say nothing of the countless other advantages and prosperity which will follow the advent of the road.

As the propaganda efforts for the St. Louis, Oklahoma and Pacific Railroad was reaching its climax, rumors were reaching the Panhandle of another railway prospect. This was the Winnipeg, Salina and Gulf Railroad which was to be constructed "from Salina, Kansas, south to Kiowa, . . . west to Buffalo, . . . Beaver, Guymon, and Boise City, thence to Des Moines, New Mexico." Its demand was "the right-of-way and $75,000 from each county it touched. No money to be paid until the road was in operation." As an inducement for speedy action, the managers of the project promised that, if their proposals were accepted, the surveyors would "be working both east and west out of Guymon sometime in March." The Guymon editor reminded his readers that "Beaver County is active in the interests of this road."[55]

H. Leone Miller, president of the project, was to play a significant role in the railroad news of the Panhandle for the next few years. As early as November, 1910, he was quoted as urging the people of Hooker to "raise up a few thousand dollars to aid in the preliminary work so that there will be no delay in pushing our survey, and we do not wish to make a false motion whatever."[56] In a letter to John C. Denny in early 1912, he urged the need for immediate cooperation in Cimarron County, so that the project might "be ready to work both ways out of Guymon in sixty days."[57] To augment the pressure he added:[58]

> I am informed from Guymon and Beaver City that our proposition has been met with in both counties and two-thirds arranged for in Harper County, so that we are now anxious to hear from you and your people. Owing to the fact that it may be a hard proposition to raise the full amount in cash, we will simply say that if a fair showing is made it will be accepted in Cimarron County.

In a second and still more encouraging letter to Denny he said: "Our plans are first to make the surveys and when the engineers get far enough ahead to know that the line will be accepted, we will put grading parties to work and the laying of ties and steel will follow thirty days after the grade is made." He

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[55] *Ibid.*, February 22, 1912.
[56] *Hooker Advance*, November 18, 1910.
[57] *Beaver Herald*, February 22, 1912.
[58] *Cimarron News*, February 8, 1912.

expressed a further hope that the engineering parties would be able "to begin their work not later than the first of April."[59]

A third letter—this one to the Guymon Commercial Club—promised that work would begin on the surveys in thirty days and "that construction work will undoubtedly follow as fast as right-of-way can be secured."[60]

Evidently the two railroads which were "fighting to get into the strip" were the St. Louis, Oklahoma, and Pacific and the project which Miller was using to prod the three counties into raising a bonus.[61] From a history of these projects it is difficult not to regard such optimism at least as being unrealistic. These projects were never able to come to fruition and eventually they helped to create an attitude of disillusionment and skepticism. C. B. Lewis says that after Miller wrote the two letters which promised to "begin work in thirty days" he "was arrested for using the mail to defraud. Thus, another bubble burst."[62]

The first suggestion of skepticism came as early as 1910 in the Hooker area and was to increase as the people met with more disappointments. The arrest of the promoter of "Texhoma's railroad" for "obtaining money under false pretenses in connection with one of his eastern enterprises" caused one editor to deplore the fact that "it always turns out that strangers who come out here promoting railroads which are such a dead sure thing in the country are about all of this man's class."[63]

In spite of his momentary cynicism, the editor's ambitions for his city to become a railroad center caused a relapse and before the year was over he offered a mild rebuke to those who regarded the Miller "railroad proposition" as "a graft." He urged his skeptical neighbors that it would be "a good idea to try to do something."[64] But the skeptics remained unconvinced; and in just over a year they were able to reconvert him to their thinking. When the St. Louis, Oklahoma and Pacific Railroad asked for a "bonus of $50,000 and a free right-of-way through the county and a few other incidentals,"[65] he revealed his revived skepticism by observing:[66]

> Hooker has had so many paper railroads and chances to dig up a good supply of wherewithall that makes the world go round during the last few years till a mere railroad more or less doesn't make any particular difference.

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59 *Beaver Herald*, March 14, 1912.
60 *Cimarron News*, April 25, 1912.
61 *Beaver Herald*, August 31, 1911.
62 Lewis "The Development of Cimarron County," p. 79.
63 *Hooker Advance*, November 18, 1910.
64 *Ibid.*, November 18, 1910.
65 The *Beaver Herald*'s figure was $100,000.
66 *Hooker Advance*, January 26, 1912.

> If these fellows are really in earnest about this let them begin work on their road and Hooker will come to the rescue in a great big hurry and do the handsome thing too.

The contrast in their reaction to their disillusionment on the part of Beaver residents to that of the Texas County residents is significant. In their efforts the former met with repeated defeat; but they were always ready to start over. In 1912 the local paper gave a review of their efforts and disappointments; but with all of this the writer remained ready to join the boosters of any new project. If the history of their continued efforts did not give convincing evidence that the opposite is more nearly the truth, the following editorial would suggest a note of despair:[67]

> A short sketch of the efforts Beaver City has put forth to induce the building of a railroad, and the money they have raised and spent is given so that all may see and know that it has taken labor and courage, to say nothing of the loyal and generous support of the people.
>
> In 1903 Beaver City at the cost of $600.00 secured the first survey up the Beaver River. In 1905 Beaver spent $1000.00 in trying to get a railroad here, and at that time the prospects looked bright, for $138,000 bonus notes was raised in Beaver County. A money panic defeated this project.
>
> Next came the Tack, of Wichita, project in 1908 and Beaver City spent $1000 cash. This movement merged into the Beaver Valley and Northwestern, and Beaver City spent $12,000 in making 108 miles survey, having the bonds printed and . . . guaranteed by a security company. In working on this plan the people of Beaver signed $85,000 in bonus notes. This plan like its predecessors failed. Beaver City spent $100 in investigating an interurban line to Meade, Kansas. It spent $300 in working on the Wichita Falls and Northwestern; and $100 in starting a spur from Beaver City to the road north and which is still pending.
>
> Thus . . . Beaver City has expended $15,000 towards getting a railroad through Beaver County.
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> Now another railroad has submitted another proposition . . . if Beaver County will give the right-of-way . . . and $100,000 in bonus notes the St. Louis, Oklahoma, and Pacific will build from Alva . . . through Beaver City and on to Des Moines, New Mexico.

While prospects for this project were "at fever heat" a local group obtained a charter for a proposed "Meade, Beaver and Englewood railroad." It was "promoted by the leading men of the towns whose name the road bears." The local editor now found himself in a difficult position. If the St. Louis project did not materialize he would be aggresive for the stub line to Forgan; but if it did do

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[67] *Beaver County Democrat*, February 8, 1912.

A wagon load of railroad ties, newly arrived, at the city limits of Boise City in Cimarron County

so he wanted to encourage the local effort to meet its conditions. In justifying the local project he said: "Ever since the announcement of the W. F. & N. W. that they would not build along the valley route but would pass seven miles to the north our people have been busy with this project." But the new proposal caused some uncomfortable need for rethinking on the part of the local group. If it should materialize it offered "a chance to secure a direct main line from the coal fields to the eastern markets." He, therefore, expressed a hope that "no further work than a survey will be done until it is ascertained whether the bonus can be raised . . . as that road would give us much better service and the shorter road would not be necessary."[68] Again the hoped-for line failed to materialize and Beaver turned its attention to building the spur to Forgan. There was a distinct contrast in the attitudes of the residents in Texas and Beaver counties. A probable explanation for this contrast is that Texas County was on the main line of the Rock Island Railroad and had that needed service, while Beaver was continuing to haul its freight in wagons for a long distance. The less fortunate community was to continue its efforts until it finally succeeded in building the spur to Forgan to be known as the Beaver, Meade and Englewood Railroad.

While Beaver County was doing everything it could to attract a railroad, the area to be known as Cimarron County was in its early stages of settlement.

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[68] *Beaver Herald*, January 25, 1912. When the project did materialize it was to be the Beaver, Meade and Englewood Railroad.

Settlers slowly moved westward to purchase about 300,000 acres of public land. They traveled to the region using the same type of transportation that had been used on the historic Santa Fe Trail which, in the past century, had traversed the area. In their first years they continued to be limited to this method for getting to market; and the nearest shipping point for Boise City was the Rock Island station at Texhoma—fifty-five miles away.[69] Other towns included Goodwell, Guymon and Hooker in Oklahoma; Liberal in Kansas; Trinidad in Colorado; and Clayton in New Mexico. The distance to a railroad was so far that one resident said "he kept sun time 'because he was a heap closer to the sun than to the railroad.'"[70] In 1912 *The Daily Oklahoman* observed that by "the end of the year there will be but one county in Oklahoma without railway mileage and that county is located in the extreme northwest limits of the state."[71]

While the region was still a part of Beaver County, Oklahoma Territory, there were rumors of surveying parties in the area and expressions of hope that the "trains will be running in 90 days." In addition to those which were making similar promises in the Beaver City area there was propaganda activity by the Denver and Gulf Railroad; the Cimarron Valley Railway; and the Santa Fe, Liberal and Englewood Railroad. As C. B. Lewis observed, "the fact that these were paper railroads did not lessen their importance in the eyes of the people of Cimarron County. They were willing to clutch at every straw."[72]

The year 1911 was to be a significant one, for at last the residents shifted from clutching "straws" to more realistic demands and efforts. But even with this shift of emphasis, their disappointments were to continue for another fourteen years. One editor included "good low priced soil" as an important item in his description of the county's opportunities; but he also had to recognize some "faults of the country." He placed "lack of railroads" at the top of his list. He assured his readers, however, that "railroads will come along eventually."[73]

This demand was to meet with temporary encouragement; but "eventually" proved to be the most realistic part of his hope. The next issue of the same newspaper carried a story from Dodge City, Kansas, which noted that the Santa Fe Railroad Board of Directors had authorized "an additional one hundred million dollar bond issue" to be used for "betterments and extensions." The extensions were to include the "building of the Dodge City-Colmar Cutoff."[74] Because Colmar is in northeast New Mexico both geography and topography

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[69] Rainey, *No Man's Land*, pp. 228–229.
[70] Lewis, "The Development of Cimarron County," p. 70.
[71] *Beaver Herald*, February 15, 1912.
[72] Lewis, "The Development of Cimarron County," p. 76.
[73] *The Cimarron News*, November 2, 1911.
[74] *Ibid.*

suggested that this line would be constructed through Cimarron County. "Coming This Way" was the headline of a progress report two weeks later.[75] The extension was building into southwest Kansas; and by November 30, the news was even more encouraging. By this time the proposed line had been named the Dodge City and Cimarron Valley Railroad.

But the year ended without any basis for optimism; and it was mid-1912 before the local editor was even cautiously optimistic. This was based on news that the Santa Fe Railroad had surveyed out of southwestern Kansas and into Cimarron County.[76] Hopes revived because of news from Hutchinson, Kansas, which made the Colmar Cutoff through Clayton "a sure thing."[77] This was followed by a similar story with a Los Angeles dateline, which promised the county a "new Road By August Next Year."[78]

Again even cautious optimism had to shift to realism with the coming of 1913. The first indication of this change was an expression of appreciation for small favors. With the extension of the Santa Fe tracks southwestward "to the state line between Oklahoma and Kansas" Boise City would be "only about fifty miles" from its terminus. The writer was certain that "the people of the county are anxiously awaiting the new road and will meet it with their business before it reaches the county."[79] A gap of one year with no encouraging news was ended by a story in the *Albuquerque Journal* which announced that "the Dodge City-Colmar Cutoff of the Santa Fe will be built from Elkhart, Kansas, to Des Moines, New Mexico, as soon as the frost is out of the ground this spring." The local paper added: "here's hoping the . . . paper knows what it is talking about and that dirt will be flying this side of the state line at an early date."[80]

Dirt was not flying long after the frost was "out of the ground," so the residents began to shift their emphasis to trying to do something directly toward getting a road. A prospective immigrant who had already purchased land in the county offered to "donate $100 to a railroad running within seven miles of my section . . . or more or less according to the nearness. It would seem that every one in the county should be interested in the proposition. Should it meet with favorable results my home will be with you in eighteen months." This provided the needed "spur" to "prick the sides of" the local editor's "intents." He closed his editorial with: "Maybe if we will act like we want a railroad we will get it."[81] This plea was soon followed by an editorial entitled "How Much

[75] *Ibid.*, November 16, 1911.
[76] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1912.
[77] *Ibid.*, September 26, 1912.
[78] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1912.
[79] *Ibid.*, March 13, 1913.
[80] *Ibid.*, March 26, 1914.
[81] *Ibid.*, June 11, 1914.

Will You Give For A Railroad." In this he urged the need for the people of the county "to give . . . in the form of a bonus towards securing the railroad through the county." To place the proper emphasis he added: "Be a booster, it may hasten the coming of a railroad. If we build the grade the railway company should furnish the ties, steel, and cars."[82]

By this time World War I had started and there seems to have been no effort to push the bonus issue until after the fighting had ended. But the editor did not remain silent with his propaganda efforts; and these efforts evidently were an important factor when the campaign was renewed in 1919. In December after the outbreak of hostilities he said: "Boise City is a good town to be . . . 50 miles from a railroad. . . . With a railroad it would be one of the good towns of the southwest within a short time."[83] Early in 1915 he continued this theme by saying: "It is no little job to haul several hundred bushels of grain fifty miles to market. . . . The time that has been spent hauling to market this year would have graded a railroad from Elkhart to Boise City. We have simply got to have that railroad or quit farming so much."[84] By springtime of 1915 it was "still a popular greeting . . . to ask 'Is there any railroad news.' "[85] By midsummer, news that Kansas land on the Dodge City-Elkhart branch of the Santa Fe was selling for $13.00 per acre while as good or better land in Cimarron County was "a slow sale at $3.00 to $10.00 per acre," gave more propaganda material to the railroad boosters.[86]

After almost two years in which this subject was neglected, the *News* returned to it as a major interest. Inspired by the success of the project at Beaver the editor proposed that, if "we cannot bring Mohamet to the mountain, we will bring the mountain to Mohamet."[87] Continuing he urged that, we may go ahead and build a road to the Santa Fe or Rock Island anyway and not wait for some railroad to come along and just miss us. It can be done and with home money, and we will do it whenever the right kind of effort is made."[88]

Two weeks later he was giving additional emphasis to his theme. Said he:[89]

> If every land owner within five miles of the right of way would take stock in a railroad to the amount of one dollar per acre for the land he owns we can build our own railroad from Elkhart to Boise City or from Liberal on the Rock Island. . . . Some of our business men have been thinking of the

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[82] *Ibid.*, July 2, 1914.
[83] *Ibid.*, December 17, 1914.
[84] *Ibid.*, February 25, 1915.
[85] *Ibid.*, April 29, 1915.
[86] *Ibid.*, April 29, 1915 and September 23, 1915.
[87] This was the Beaver, Meade, and Englewood Railroad. See Rainey, *No Man's Land*, pp. 227–228.
[88] *The Cimarron News*, June 14, 1917.
[89] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1917.

COLORADO
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
Denver
Colorado Springs
Pueblo
Kit Carson
Trinidad
La Junta
Rockyford
Lamar
Garden City
Dodge City
Great Bend
Hutchinson
Wichita
Oklahoma City
Enid
Guthrie
Woodward
Guymon
Dalhart
Amarillo
Canadian
Clarendon
Panhandle
Jericho
Vernon
Wichita Falls
Henrietta
Seymour
Archer City
Albuquerque
Santa Fe
Las Vegas
Tucumcari
Santa Rosa
Roswell
Artesia
Carlsbad
Red Bluff
Alamogordo
Russia
Capitan
Carrizozo
Socorro
Belen
Willard
Torrance
Fort Summer
Farwell
Plainview
Floydada
Castro
Ellwood
Lubbock
Slaton
Spur
Roaring Springs
Crosbyton
Quanah
Crowell
Stamford
Abilene
Sweetwater
Big Spring
Midland
Sterling City
Lamesa
Snyder
Colorado
Rotan
Hamlin
Anson
Mineral Wells
Weatherford
Cisco
Stephenville
Tuscola
Crosbyplains
Comanche
Brownwood
San Angelo
Paint Rock
Menard
Brady
Llano
Lometa
Florence
Fredericksburg
Kerrville
Austin
San Marcos
San Antonio
Uvalde
Del Rio
Eagle Pass
Crystal City
Carrizo Springs
Artesia Wells
Laredo
Falfurrias
Rudolph
Harlingen
Fort Stockton
Valentine
Marfa
Sanderson
Van Horn
Sierra Blanca
El Paso
Hurdle
Mogahane
Presidio
Bean
Rio Grande
Pecos
Deming
Las Cruces
Lordsburg
Whitewater
Silver City
Fierro
Lake Valley
Bayard
Hachita
Bermanas
Nutt
Bowie
Clifton
Rimrock
Gallup
Farmington
El Vado
Lumberton
Bonito
Cimarron
Maxon
Yankee
Des Moines
Clifton House
Hebron
Folsom
French
Sixela
Texline
Clayton
Mosquero
Channing
Tucumcari
Amarillo Canyon
Jericho
Clarendon
Magnum
Robert Lee
Snyder
Altus
Frederick
Quanah
Vernon
Crowell
Byers
Lawton
Elk City
Leedey
Watonga
Thomas
Kingfisher
Arapaho
Carmen
Alva
Avard
Longdale
Darrow
Hugoton
Satanta
Meade
Englewood
Belvidere
Medicine Lodge
Anthony
Harper
Stafford
Pratt
Kingman
Arkansas
Sharon Springs
Wakeeney
Russell
Ellsworth
Lyons
McPherson
Salina
Solomon
Minneapolis
Concordia
Clay
Barnard
Colby
Lenora
Stockton
Oberlin
Burr Oak
Belleville
Jamestown
Saint Francis
Limon
Elbert
Castle Rock
Palmer
Brighton
Bennett
Sterling
Julesburg
Sligo
Holyoke
Otis
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Union
Briggsdale
Hungerford
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Fort Collins
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Denver
Aurora
Littleton
Englewood
Morrison
Idaho Springs
Georgetown
Central City
Black Hawk
Empire
Granby
Hot Sulphur Springs
Steamboat Springs
Craig
Meeker
Rangely
Grand Junction
Fruita
Delta
Montrose
Ridgway
Ouray
Telluride
Rico
Dolores
Durango
Mancos
Cortez
Pagosa Springs
Del Norte
Monte Vista
Alamosa
Blanca
Antonito
Lake City
Creede
Crestone
Westcliffe
Wetmore
Cripple Creek
Victor
Colorado City
Manitou
Buena Vista
Salida
Leadville
Minturn
Eagle
Vail
Glenwood Springs
Rifle
Parachute
Grand Jct.
Palisade
Fruita
Loma
Mack
Gateway
Naturita
Nucla
Montezuma
Hesperus
Mancos
Durango
Farmington
Aztec
Bloomfield
Flora Vista
Kirtland
Shiprock
Gallup
Thoreau
Grants
Milan
Bluewater
Laguna
Albuquerque
Los Lunas
Belen
Willard
Mountainair
Estancia
Moriarty
Tijeras
Cedar Crest
Sandia Park
Tijeras
Santa Fe
Lamy
Kennedy
Pecos
Rowe
Las Vegas
Romeroville
Tucumcari
Logan
Newkirk
Santa Rosa
Puerto de Luna
Fort Sumner
Taiban
Melrose
Elida
Roswell
Dexter
Hagerman
Lake Arthur
Artesia
Carlsbad
Loving
Malaga
Hope
Queen
Orla
Red Bluff
Pecos
Girvin
Fort Stockton
Iraan
Sheffield
Ozona
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Sherwood
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Big Lake
Midkiff
Big Spring
Coahoma
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Stanton
Midland
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Penwell
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Andrews
Seminole
Denver City
Plains
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Seagraves
Morton
Levelland
Sundown
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Anton
Smyer
Ropes
Sudan
Lockney
Petersburg
Silverton
Quitaque
Turkey
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Fayetteville
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Prairie View
Hockley
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Houston
Pasadena
Baytown
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Crosby
Channelview
Deer Park
La Porte
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Wickett
Grandfalls
Girvin
Iraan
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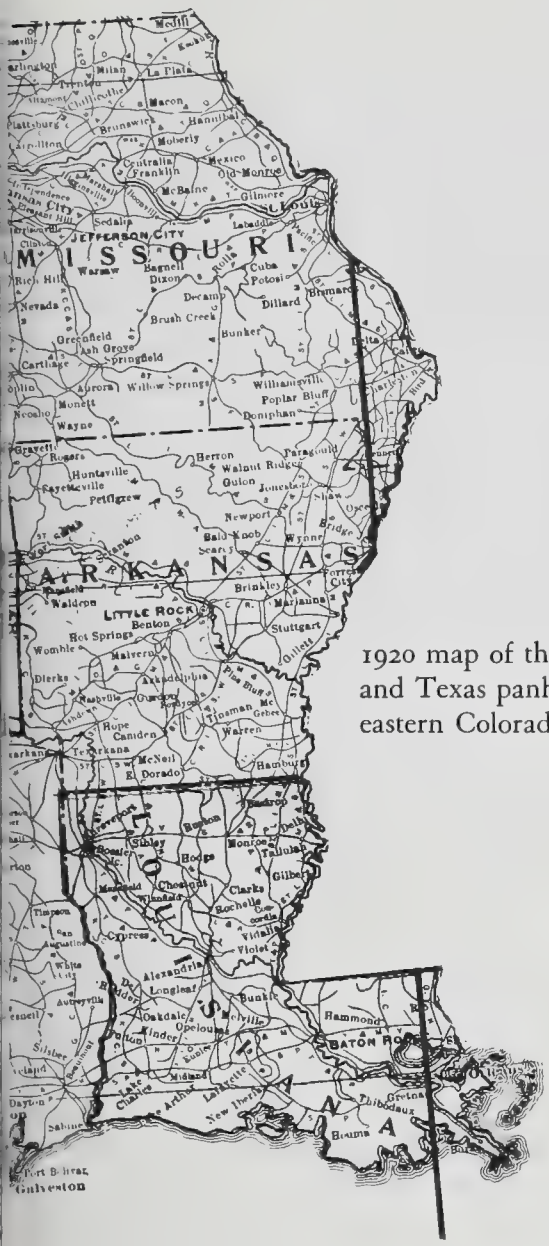

1920 map of the railway network in the Oklahoma and Texas panhandles, southwestern Kansas, southeastern Colorado and northeastern New Mexico

> proposition for a long time and have figured it out to the place where we know it can be done and we will have to list the two towns as rummies and dead ones, which they ain't, if they do not get busy and push the thing over. Boise City will start the ball rolling just as soon as we get properly organized.

In the meantime the United States had become directly involved in World War I, and the local demand for a railroad dropped in its priority rating. From July, 1917 to February, 1919, therefore, the issue remained dormant. But soon after the armistice the new year opened with at least subtle attempts to revive the issue. A local news story did not mention the need for a railroad, but it did express disgust with the mail service out of Texhoma which "has been rotten for three years." A later editorial complained: "The mail service of the Texhoma line is still absolutely bum and has not been in here since last Saturday."[90]

The new year, 1919, started hopefully for the railroad boosters. The Cimarron County Commercial Club was organized on January 31. It "means to live up to its name and support and assist any worthy undertaking that will benefit the county or any part of it."[91] "They Talked Railroad" was its immediate topic. Leaders of the Willowbar Farm Council "presented the proposition of the people of the county building their own railroad out to some railroad line already established." The group reviewed the proposition of a bonus to the Santa Fe Railroad to get it to extend its line; but the consensus was that "the only hope was for the people that would be the most benefitted to build it themselves."[92]

In spite of its high priority on the Commercial Club's items of interest, progress toward getting the desired railroad continued to be discouraging. By mid-spring the nearest approach to good news was that the "Club had been rearing for a railroad and the idea they are working on now has every promise of landing one in due season."[93]

The "due season" was not to be realized until after six more years of struggle.[94] But the local champions did not relax their efforts and continued to renew their courage with every new promise. They were encouraged by a story from Hugoton, Kansas, that resumption of construction southwestward out of Elkhart, Kansas, would begin within six months after Santa Fe officials should regain control of the road from the Federal government on January 1, 1920.[95] To the local group this left but "little question that the Santa Fe will

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[90] *Ibid.*, January 2, 1919 and January 30, 1919.

[91] *Ibid.*, February 6, 1919.

[92] *Ibid.*, March 6, 1919.

[93] *Ibid.*, April 10, 1919.

[94] Lewis, "The Development of Cimarron Territory," pp. 70–90.

[95] During World War I the railroads were operated by the United States Government.

resume its original program of building to Colmar . . . and that the line will ultimately become a part of the main line."[96]

Within two weeks they were not quite so optimistic; but certainly they were not willing to relax their efforts. Because a road was "not in sight after twelve years of praying" it was time to "change our prayers." They could get a railroad if they "would go after it by offering them a free right-of-way and a bonus besides."[97] Launching "a campaign to get a railroad in two years" the boosters worked "to obtain pledges of free right-of-way and of 50¢ per acre from all landowners within ten miles of the road to raise a bonus as inducements to the Santa Fe."[98] Their immediate success certainly bolstered their morale. They circulated "a bonus subscription paper" which, within only a few hours effort, netted "over $20,000 by the . . . citizens of Boise City." An enthusiastic hope was that they would be able "to double that amount when all have a chance to sign the paper."[99] During the drive a booster editorial called anyone who opposed it as having "a stone age mind."[100]

Changing the objective, however, did not solve their problem. Early the next year there was a not very enthusiastic story of a proposed road from Oklahoma City to Des Moines, New Mexico, via Waynoka, Buffalo, Beaver, Guymon and Boise City.[101] This proved to be another "paper railroad;" but the railroad champions refused to give up. In May, 1921 the Chamber of Commerce sent a large delegation to Dalhart, Texas, to a meeting with "a number of railroad officials" of a proposed road which was to be built "from Austin, Texas, north through Wichita Falls, Amarillo, Dalhart, Boise City, Springfield, La Junta, and on to Denver." The delegation went because the "people of our county are interested in a railroad whether it comes from the north, south, east, or west."[102]

After this story there was a lapse of more than two years before there was another revival of hope; and this was accompanied by a note of extreme caution.

The *Denver Post* came out this week with an article purporting to have authentic information about the Santa Fe Railway building an extension of the Cimarron Valley Railroad from Elkhart to Des Moines, New Mexico. The newspaper declared:[103]

It seems altogether likely that there is some foundation for the revival of

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[96] *The Cimarron News*, September 4, 1919.
[97] *Ibid.*, September 18, 1919.
[98] *Ibid.*, September 25, 1919.
[99] *Ibid.*, November 27, 1919.
[100] *Ibid.*, December 4, 1919.
[101] *Ibid.*, February 19, 1920.
[102] *Ibid.*, May 26, 1921.
[103] *Ibid.*, September 27, 1923.

> the propaganda, because it is a well known fact the road will be carried on as soon as it seems feasible. . . . However, if the road is built on soon, no one seems to know anything definite and authentic. That the extension will be built before long seems to be the trend of opinion and a good guess.

There was another gap of more than a year with no basis for hope; but the champions of the cause refused to resign to any sense of despair and continued with their aggressive efforts. After suggesting the many assets of the county an editorial added: "All these resources combine in bringing a railroad to Boise City and the people of Cimarron County should organize and cooperate in pushing along the work. . . . The people of this section can't prosper and come into their own when the rest of the country don't know what we have got here and that we only lack railroad facilties to transport what we produce."[104]

It was in this period that the county found an effective leader in the person of its young county agent—William E. Baker—who eventually was to earn for himself the affectionate sobriquet of "Uncle Billie" Baker. His meticulous report for April, 1924 gave the amount of produce shipped "from points outside the county." In this he joined the railroad propagandists by stressing the fact that it cost the producer "30¢ per hundredweight" to get this to the market or a total of $725,875. If markets were in a reasonable distance it would cost "10¢ per hundredweight" or $254,125, a saving of $470,125. The report went further and placed emphasis on the economic hardships imposed on local residents because of the continued decrease in the price of things they had to sell and the relative increase in the cost of things they had to buy. He concluded that relief could come either by the building of a railroad through the county or moving to a more favorable locality.[105]

The Baker report was most effective. In mid-November, "high officials" of the Santa Fe Railroad "spent the greater part of the forenoon Saturday conferring with the county agent in his office. . . . The questionaire sent out last winter and from which the statistics were compiled by him certainly paid for the time and labor used in compiling them. . . ." These officials made this study "wholly in the interest of the proposed extension of the A. T. & S. F. Company through the county."[106]

This visit marked the beginning of a realistic hope. A week before Christmas the news at last had "something more than a promotional paper railroad." Santa Fe officials were ready to extend the Elkhart branch at least to Boise City. They asked for no bonus but merely for the county to obtain the right-of-

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[104] *Ibid.*, November 20, 1924.
[105] *Ibid.*, April 17, 1924.
[106] *Ibid.*, November 20, 1924.

way.[107] The news story was followed by an editorial entitled "This Is The Proposition Boys. It Is Up To You."

The "Boys" quickly accepted the challenge. The Cimarron County Railroad Committee, with E. B. McMahan as its president, sent out letters urging land owners to join in a plan of voluntary assessments based on the amount of land of each prospective donor. The response was encouraging. One land owner wrote from Iowa that he was "heartily in favor of the land owners securing the right-of-way for the railroad in Cimarron County." He promised to send a check for "10 cents per acre" if his 800 acres were "in the fifteen miles radius."[108] Another sent a "check for $48.00, being 10 cents per acre . . . to be used by the Railroad Committee."[109]

In response to a half page notice of a "Railroad Meeting—Boise City—January 10th—Come" there were "about five hundred citizens from various parts of the county" who attended the rally. "Two hundred and nine persons signed the contract which was turned over to the representatives of the Santa Fe." Encouraged by this response, but remaining realistic, the boosters warned that the work was "only half done." They stressed the fact that: "Before the contract can be considered fulfilled, or active constructive building put underway . . . it will be necessary to secure sufficient pledges from the citizens of the county to take care of the expenses of securing the right-of-way."[110] Soon the Railroad Committee had the county "blocked out" with six blocks and "six cars working the county to get these pledges signed up." In urging one hundred percent cooperation the local editor said: "Don't let the boys have to run you down. . . . Come in, one and all Saturday, January 24, 1925, and say 'Where is one of those pledges. . . . I don't want it said my neighbor signed and I didn't, when I'll get the same benefits he does.' This road, if we can put it over, will raise your land value more than (10¢) per acre. . . ."[111] The response around Boise City was most encouraging. Many of the farmers went so far as to donate the right-of way; but C. B. Lewis has pointed out that the farmers who lived near Elkhart, Kansas, were, at best, unconcerned about the extension. While the average cost for the right-of-way was $10.00 per acre the price near Elkhart ranged from $18.00 to over $31.00.[112]

When it was obvious that their efforts were proving effective the supporters of the railroad continued to urge that "we . . . get our shoulder to the wheel and meet the railroad halfway." In doing so they declared that: "This county has

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107 *Ibid.*, December 18, 1924.
108 *Ibid.*, January 8, 1925.
109 *Ibid.*, January 15, 1925.
110 *Ibid.*
111 *Ibid.*, January 22, 1925.
112 Lewis, "The Development of Cimarron Territory," p. 84.

It was not until the 1920s that the vast expanse of the Oklahoma Panhandle was united by railroads

proven . . . that we have a good county," and "has shown what Cimarron can do when we work together. Boost!"[113]

Almost five years later, after the railroad had become a part of the Cimarron way of life, a news story revealed the county continued to remember his effective leadership. When the Santa Fe Railroad was preparing an application for the construction of "an extension and one entirely new line" it requested "William E. Baker . . . to prepare figures showing the development that has taken place in this county since the extension of the line to Felt." This information was filed with the legal department of the railroad. Among the items revealed in the report was that the acreage in cultivation had increased from 60,000 to 300,000.[114]

By midsummer of 1925 actual construction was under way. The *Guymon Tribune* reported that "the rails are within five or six miles of the town and are being put down at the rate of a mile or more each day."[115] At that time plans were for the celebration at the Cimarron County Fair in October. "The second day of that month was to be a memorable one for the champions of a railroad into Cimarron County, for on that day the first train arrived in Boise City."[116] On November 15, the extension was completed to Felt—southwest of Boise

113 *The Cimarron News*, February 5, 1925.
114 *Ibid.*, October 25, 1929.
115 *The Beaver Herald Democrat*, August 20, 1925.
116 Lewis, "The Development of Cimarron Territory," p. 85.

City—and on that date "the Santa Fe took full charge of the completed road."[117] By February 15 the new road had hauled 50 cars to Boise City and had shipped "115 carloads consisting of 85 cars of cattle, 17 cars of broom corn and the remainder was small grain."[118]

Getting a railroad through Boise City marks the end of the frustrating struggle and the beginning of rapid railway development. Possibly the only exciting thing left was the taking of the legal steps to collect the pledges for the funds used in the purchase of the right-of-way, "in the amount of $3960.50, three years past due, and which has been carried by the Santa Fe Company."[119] By October, 1929, this problem had been cleared.[120]

Meanwhile railroad construction continued. About the only struggle involved issues of no particular interest to the residents of the county. In 1926 "a delegation of Clayton [New Mexico] business men went to Felt," Oklahoma to meet with Santa Fe officials. At this conference they urged "the extension of the line through Clayton."[121] But for another two years there were no visible results of this meeting. By that time the little Beaver, Meade and Englewood Railway had outgrown its original purpose of merely serving Beaver City and was pushing westward. There were indications that eventually it might extend to Clayton and that the road was about to become a part of the Rock Island or the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad. The *News* suspected that the Santa Fe Railroad's decision to extend its Cimarron County line westward to Des Moines, New Mexico, was a result of this threatened completion. But Santa Fe plans did not materialize for another four years. In May, 1930, pressure from Clayton, New Mexico, got a promise of action from W. B. Story, president of the railroad. The Interstate Commerce Commission granted a permit which stipulated that "work on the extension west from Felt must start before January 31.[122] Under the leadership of E. B. McMahon, the local railroad committee did its part by obtaining the right-of-way, and construction work was completed in time for "train service from Boise City to Colmar, New Mexico," to be "inaugurated in November of 1931."[123]

The construction of the line from Amarillo, Texas, to Las Animas, Colorado, met with no serious problem south of Boise City; but the opposite was true of the work through Baca County, Colorado. Late in May of 1930 there were encouraging reports of the work of the Boise City Chamber of Commerce in obtaining the needed right-of-way contracts. Some land owners were donating

117 *Ibid.*, p. 86.
118 *Ibid.*, p. 86; *The Cimarron News*, February 19, 1926.
119 *Ibid.*, September 28, 1926.
120 Lewis, "The Development of Cimarron County," p. 87.
121 *The Cimarron News*, April 2, 1926.
122 *The Boise City News* (Boise City), October 17, 1930.
123 Lewis, "The Development of Cimarron County," p. 89.

the needed land. Pledges to make the land purchases ranged from $25.00 to one for $1000. By the end of the month they were "operating from Boise City as a base" and were "finishing the permanent work southeast along the line."[124] By June 6 "only two signatures of local residents" were "needed to make the locally owned land 100 per cent complete;" and "fifteen carloads of steel was hauled in the first of this week."[125]

While rapid progress was being made on the southern part of the Amarillo-Las Animas line, the fight between Pritchet and Springfield—two Baca County, Colorado, towns—caused a delay in Santa Fe plans for that region. The original route was through Prichet; but Springfield, the county seat, appealed to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Springfield won but the dispute led to a delay in Santa Fe plans and before construction was begun the "Great Depression" had worsened. Hope was revived in 1933 by the initiation of New Deal projects; and finally by 1936 actual construction began "and by February 1937 the line was in operation."[126]

In the meantime the Beaver, Meade and Englewood Railroad had pushed its extension westward from Forgan westward through Hooker and by 1930 was seeking right-of-way to Keys in the eastern part of the county. As usual Cimarron railroad boosters were successful in their efforts and construction was quickly completed to this town—a junction with the east-west line of the Santa Fe route. Thus, by 1937 the county that twelve years before had met with many discouragements in trying to get just any railroad now had line extending from Kansas City, Missouri, to Colmar, New Mexico, and from Amarillo, Texas—with connections—to Denver, and the third to Wichita Falls, Texas.

It was a long generation from the beginning of Old Beaver County's discontent with its transportation system in 1894 to the completion of the Amarillo-Los Animas line of the Santa Fe in 1937. It was a generation of pioneers who did not know how to "give up" on any project it saw fit to undertake. By the latter date the region had two lines of the Rock Island through Texas County; the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad which had absorbed both the Wichita Falls and Northwestern Railway and the Beaver, Meade and Englewood Railroad was serving the three counties; and the Santa Fe had crossing lines in Cimarron County. The efforts of a generation had been rewarded. The three counties were to witness a prosperity that had been the dream of the pioneers as they worked to make the term "No Man's Land" a part of their heroic history.

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124 *The Cimarron News*, May 30, 1930.
125 *Ibid.*, June 6, 1930.
126 Lewis, "The Development of No Man's Land," p. 89.

THE MOSQUITO DANCE

*By Charlotte Heth**

The Mosquito Dance that survives today in northeastern Oklahoma may be one of the last reminders of Natchez Indian culture. John R. Swanton mentions the dance *ogiyiha obanga* in a list of Creek dances, and comments that "the women played jokes on the male dancers by pricking them with pins."[1] A newspaper interview conducted with Victor Riste, a linguist working in 1931 with the last two Natchez speakers in Oklahoma, Watt Sam and Nancy Raven, adds a few more insights:[2]

> At the corn dances which often last two or three days, the elders have found out that the men often grow sleepy and cease to dance about 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning.
>
> Each morning when the leader of the dance notices the ardor of the warriors to slacken, he softly calls the women of the tribe to him. All the women dance around the fire, humming softly for a short while, then with a wild, shrill ululation leave the fire and run through camp jabbing every sleeper they can find with a sharp pointed stick.
>
> The sleepers instantly awaken and continue the dance.

Archie Sam, a Natchez-Cherokee and a nephew of Watt Sam, with whom both Swanton and Riste worked, provided the following description together with the song as learned from his father, White Tobacco Sam:[3]

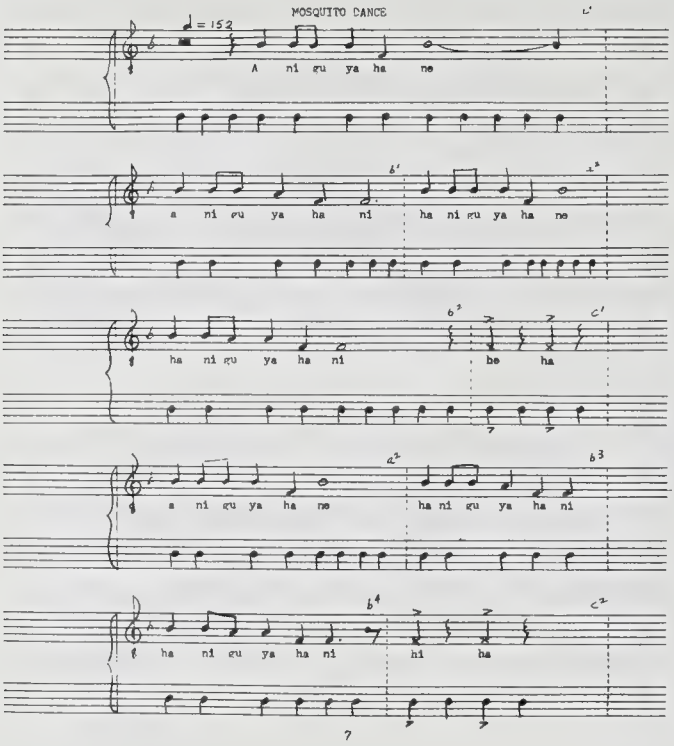
> One of the unique things that they did, when they would dance three or four nights straight, by the third or fourth night everybody is getting tired out. They have a tendency to take a nap, and some of them are laying out there asleep. So the ceremonial priest asks the singer to sing the Mosquito Dance. . . . When he sings, all the women have come to the grounds with their straight pins. Before the invention of the pin, they would come with thorn stickers. . . . All the women know what it, the Mosquito Dance, is, and they start dancing real light around the fire. When the singer gives a tap on the drum, the women punch whoever is sleeping with their pins. So that's how they turn out to be a mosquito, and they wake everybody up. Everyone stirs around, and they continue on the rest of the night till early in the morning. It serves a purpose. It has a meaning. The ability to stay

*The author received her Doctor of Philosophy degree in Ethnomusicology from the University of California at Los Angeles. She is currently a Professor of Music of the Native American Indian at the University of California at Los Angeles. The research for this study was made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

[1] John R. Swanton, "Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin Number Forty-two* (1929), p. 534.

[2] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* (Muskogee), October 18, 1931.

[3] Interview, Archie Sam, September 7, 1973.


MOSQUITO DANCE
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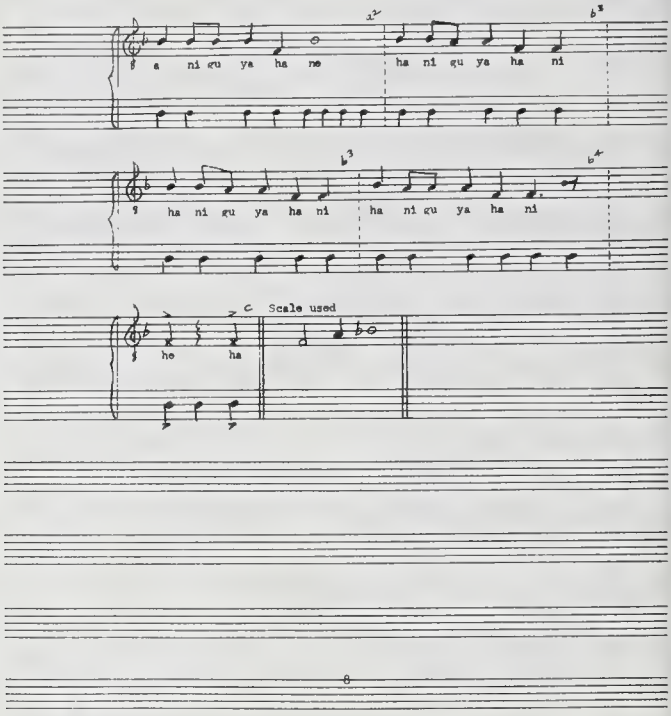
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awake and dance all night as an act of worship is considered beneficial to the individual and to the group.

The dance is done today at the *Tsalagi Abihka* ceremonial ground not solely to awaken people, but to keep the dance alive. Located near Braggs, Oklahoma, on land inherited by the Sam family, this ground was revived in 1969 under the name *Natchez Abihka* as a "practice ground." It has been called by other names in addition to the two given above: Medicine Spring, Sulphur Springs and *Nuwoti* the Cherokee word for medicine. Robert Thomas names Sulphur Springs as the Fire from which Cherokee ceremonial practices emanated during the Redbird Smith movement when the Cherokees were "under the Notchee rule."[4] The members are devoted to keeping the old dances and traditions alive. Most are descendants of former members, and many have Natchez blood. When the ground is "strong enough," that is when there are enough men to hold offices, play ball, lead songs, make medicine and do the work they plan to reopen the "real ground," a quarter of a mile away.

William Smith, Cherokee leader of the ground named after his father, Stokes Smith, stated that the Mosquito Dance was sometimes performed at Stokes' after midnight during a stomp dance to "liven things up."

A possible variant of the Mosquito Dance was described and sung by Willie Jumper, a Cherokee-Natchez and a distant relative of the Sams, as the Horse Fly Dance. In his version, pins or stickers were used to simulate the bite of the horse fly. He also believed it to be functional as a device for women to awaken male laggards. He was somewhat unsure of the title; so it may indeed be another mosquito dance.

None of the published sources on music of the Southeastern tribes gives a mosquito dance, and only Swanton has a mosquito story from the Natchez speaker.[5] Riste recorded the mosquito story as told by Watt Sam on a disc in 1931 and reported it to the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* as follows:[6]

> Watt told of a hunter who went into the woods and suddenly heard a noise. A mosquito suddenly dashed at the brave, and the Indian just had time to hurl himself behind a tree when the mosquito struck it, piercing the trunk with his sting.
>
> The Indian then bent down the beak, so it could not be withdrawn then rounded the tree and killed the gigantic insect. He broke off the wings too, so that the old men would have something to fan themselves with and

[4] Robert K. Thomas, "The Origin and Development of the Redbird Smith Movement," Master of Arts Thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, 1953, pp. 163–164.

[5] Swanton, "Religious Belief and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin Number Forty-two*, pp. 1, 262.

[6] *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, December 6, 1931.

started home. He gets home, tells the story and asked where the wings are.'Oh, the sun came out and the wings fell to dust,' he said.

This he said 'expresses the whole contempt of the Indians for a liar and is the point of the entire story.'

This account agrees in content with Swanton's version. The ending comment on the Indians' contempt for liars was not given by Swanton. Most traditional Indians of the area today still put a high value on truth and the keeping of promises.

Whether the dance is connected with the story is subject to speculation. Both have a joking character and are didactic to some extent. Perhaps the dance is designed to remind a person of the story.

The transcription of the Mosquito Dance song was made from a personal recording taken September 7, 1973. To accompany his singing, Archie Sam used a water drum made from a crockery butter churn covered with rubber innertubing held down by a metal hoop. He encircled the drum with his left arm and beat it with a carved wooden drumstick held in his right hand.

There are three sections in the song, each ended by the shouted refrain, "he ho," or "hi ho," accented by the drum. It is in these phrases that the women stick the men with their pins. At other times the women are using a running step, dancing counter-clockwise around the sacred fire. The song is repeated four times as the dancers move counterclockwise awakening men in each of the four "beds" or clan houses. The form can be illustrated by labeling the phrases, as indicated by dotted lines in the transcription as follows:

$$a^1\ a^1\ a^2\ b^2\ c^1$$
$$a^2\ b^3\ b^4\ c^2$$
$$a^2\ b^3\ b^3\ b^4\ c^1$$

The variations within the phrases are limited to either the lengthening or shortening the final pitch, or to changing the pitch of the second and/or third syllable of a phrase to its lower neighbor. Without the ending variations, the isorhythmic figure

would completely dominate the piece. Because an unusual three pitch scale with a half step between "B^b" and "A" is used, changing the pitch of the second or third syllable is important for the sake of variety.

Although undulating and descending melodic patterns are common throughout Southeastern Indian songs, the patterns in this song may carry imitative connotations. Mosquitoes in flight make a humming sound at a

high pitch which drops when they attempt to land. If they are scared away, their wings beat faster, and the high-pitched hum resumes. When they finally do bite, the humming has stopped altogether, as in the refrain when the women stick the men to awaken them. During the song the women are humming along with the singer in imitation of the mosquito; so perhaps this conjecture is not too far-fetched. Of course, the melodic tendencies described above occur in many pieces of music that are not imitative of insects.

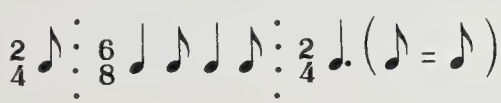
The meter can be described as $\frac{4}{4}+\frac{x}{4}$ with x as variable. The $\frac{5}{4}$ of b^3 characterizes the third section.

The text slightly resembles the Muskogee words for "fat mosquito"—*okeyiha nehi*. No translation was given, and the text may indeed be Natchez. The treatment is monosyllabic—one pitch to one syllable.

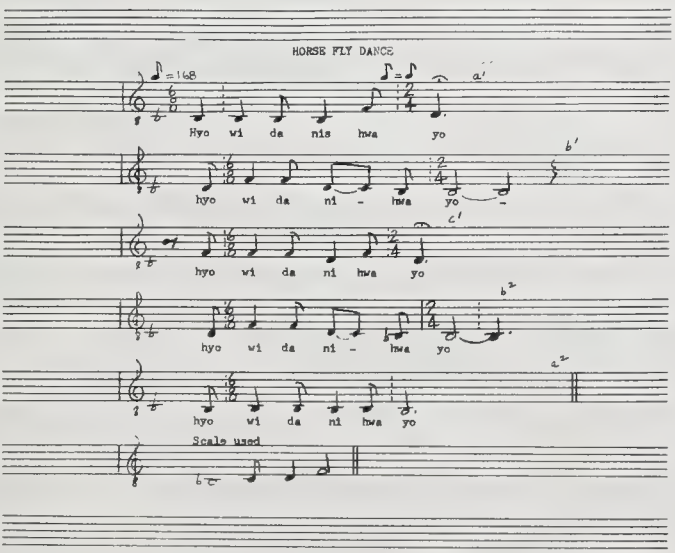
The form of the Horse Fly Dance can be illustrated as:

$$a^1\, b^1\, c^1\, b^2\, a^2$$

Again, the variations are minimal: the lengthening or shortening the beginnings or ends of phrases or changing one pitch in a phrase. A different isorhythmic pattern prevails in this piece:



Dotted bar lines in the transcription were imposed to indicate the metric shift. Phrases are transcribed one to a staff.



The scale used is anhemitonic, no half steps, tetra, common to many Southeastern Indian songs. The number of repetitions was not given.

The text does not use the Cherokee or Muskogee words for horse fly—*damaka*, or *ronolani*—or mosquito—*dosa*, or *okeyiha*. The syllables may be vocables. No translation could be elicited.

Whether the Mosquito Dance is Natchez is immaterial. The singer believed it to be so. The songs recorded by Riste in 1931 that were handed down in the Sam family have remained virtually unchanged. The integrity of this version is above suspicion.

The Horse Fly Dance has doubtful origins. The singer volunteered it in 1974 among a group of animal dance songs. It is reported here because the description matches that of the Mosquito Dance.

American Indian music, as these two songs illustrate, is still a valuable, viable tradition.

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

WESTERN HERITAGE WRANGLER AWARD WINNER

Oklahoma Historical Society President George H. Shirk was honored as the winner of a 1975 Western Heritage Wrangler Award at the Sixteenth Annual Western Heritage Dinner of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center held on Saturday evening, April 24, 1976. He was given a special Trustees' Award by citation reading for service as an outstanding author, lecturer and leader in historical preservation. In responding to the presentation of the Wrangler Award, Shirk made what was billed by the press as the "shortest speech of the evening" by saying that he believed perhaps the award resulted from his following the admonition of the late great Will Rogers who upon being asked why an Indian is never lost, replied "Because he looks back now and then to see where he's been."

HEROISM ON THE WASHITA

Headquarters Indian Territory Expedition
Camp on the Washita River, Sept. 24, 1874

Agitant General U. S. Army,

General—

I deem it but a duty to brave men and faithful solders to bring the notice of the highest military authority an instance of indomitable courage and true heroism on the part of a detacjment from this command with the request that the actors be rewarded, and their faithfulness and bravery recognized by pensions, medals of honor, or in such way as may be deemed most fitting.

On the night of the 10th instant, a party consisting of Sergeant Z. T. Woodhall, Co. "12, Private Peter Rath, Co. "A", John Harrington, Co. "H", and George W. Smaith, Co. "M", 6th Cavalry, and Scouts Amos Chapman and William Dixon, were sent as bearers of dispatches from the camp of this command on McClellan creek, Texas, to Camp Supply, I. T.

At 6 A.M. on the 12th, when approaching the Washita river, they were met and surrounded by a band of about 125 Kiowas and Comanches, who had recently left their agency, and at the first attack four of the six were struck. Prvt. Smith mortally, and three others severly wounded. Although enclosed on all sides and by overwhelming numbers, one of them succeeded, while they were under a severe fire at short range, and while the others with their rifles were keeping the Indians at bay, in digging with his knife and hands a

slight cover. After this had been secured they placed themeselves within it, the wounded walking with brave and painful effort, and Private Smith, tho he had received a mortal wound, sitting upright in the trench, to conceal the crippled condition of their party from the Indians.

From early morning till dark, outnumbered 25 to 1, under an almost constant fire and at such short range that they sometimes used their pistols, retaining the last charge to prevent capture and torture, this little party of five defended their lives and the persons of their dying comrade, without food, and their only drink the rain water that collected in the hollow they had made, mingled with their own blood. There is no doubt that they killed more than double their number, beside those they wounded.

The Indians abandoned the attack at dark on the 12th.

The exposure and distance from the command, which were necessary incidents of their duty, were such that for 36 hours from the first attack their condition could not be known, and not till midnight of the 13th could they receive medical attendance or food, and they were exposed during all this time to an incessant cold storm.

Sargeant Woodhall, Private Harrington and Scout Chapman were seriously wounded, Private Smith died of his wounds on the mrning of the 13th; Prvt. Rath and Scout Dixon were struck but not disabled.

The simple recitel of their deeds and the mention of the oddis against which they fought; how the wounded defended the dying and the dying aided the wounded by exposure to fresh wounds after the power of action was gone; these alone present a scene of coll courage, heroism and self sacrifice which duty, as well as inclination, prompts us to recognize, but which we can not fully honor.

Very Respectfully, your obedient servt.
Nelson A Miles, Colonel and Brevet Major General
U. S. Army, Commanding.

MURIEL H. WRIGHT HERITAGE ENDOWMENT NOMINATIONS

Any member of the Oklahoma Historical Society wishing to nominate an article for the 1976 Muriel H. Wright Heritage Endowment should send their selection to the Publication Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. All nominations will be screened by the Publication Committee of the Board of Directors who will make the final decision. The award will be presented to the author whose contribution to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, best typifies the standards of excellence which Dr. Wright established during her years as editor of the journal.

Only articles appearing in the Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter issues of Volume LIV may be considered and all nominations must be received by this office no later than February 1, 1977.

WE MUST PRESERVE OUR HERITAGE

By George Shirk

Not too many years ago the phrase "sense of purpose" was very popular with intellectuals and it was very fashionable for them to ask one another: "What is our national purpose?" The answer usually came in esoteric or pedantic phrases that really meant little and accomplished even less.

Our Bicentennial year probably for the first time has brought to us everyday folk the real point of the question and a true recognition of the answer.

All of us attach a significance to anniversaries and birthdays. No individual birthday is celebrated without some event, such as blowing out the candles, to symbolize the individual past. No wedding anniversary is celebrated without fond recollections of days gone by. It is no accident that we recall with homage the birthday of our great leaders, such as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, rather than some other date in their life probably in fact more significant. So it is with our national birthday.

One meaning of the Bicentennial is the realization of a need to catalog and to inventory our national resources and to conserve and to protect them for those who are to come. That is a part of our "national purpose."

Preservation of our natural resources, protection of pure and clean air and water and conservation of energy are now recognized by all. But there is another resource, unique and peculiar to our own country, that is equally important. I refer to our national heritage, of which our local identity and history is a part.

That sense of purpose is nourished and kept healthy and vital by a recognition and understanding of our past. Without a heritage we as a community or as a nation would be as aimless and as helpless as an individual would be without a memory.

There is no one who does not rely on his memory as a constant guide through the daily events of life. Yet, such reliance is nothing more than calling to mind previous experiences to decide how to accommodate or react to a present situation. It is no different with us as a community or as a nation. It has often been said, "How can we know where we are going if you do not know where we have been?"

A most important aspect of our unique and treasured national heritage and our local and community identity are those tangible symbols from our past.

They are reminders of the ambitions, dreams, goals and experiences of those who lived out their lives in those more than 730,000 days that have elapsed on this planet since the founding of our nation. Those tangible symbols are as much a part of our heritage as they are any of the other many aspects of our history.

For the first time we now recognize that the more humble and the more modest places are treasures as much as those of over-powering national significance.

In the total fabric of our collective past the Overholser Mansion ranks equally with Mount Vernon, and the site of the Battle of the Washita is as significant as is Gettysburg. In that sense we may attach no less significance to Fort Washita than to Fort Sumtner. The loss of the Baum Building is as significant as was the loss of Louis Sullivan's Stock Exchange Building in Chicago and the destruction of the Colcord Home was no less of a tragedy than was the destruction of the Vanderbilt brown store front in New York.

Now we understand and appreciate these things. Historic preservation is no longer the exclusive domain of "little old ladies in tennis shoes"—I have often wondered if there really were such people as elderly women of diminutive stature wearing tennis shoes. It is now the responsibility of our national and state governments as well as all of us alike.

Perhaps it was merely coincidence that a realization of this vital aspect of our national heritage came to focus at the same time as we are celebrating our Bicentennial. However I think not. I have a belief that somehow they go hand in hand.

In the same manner that our Bicentennial has brought to us a renewed, awakened and revitalized concern and belief in the importance of our unique past and our priceless heritage so also have we turned to positive and effective means and capabilities of doing something about it. We now have the desire and the determination to translate the query "What is our national purpose?" to more than lip service but to a positive dedication to accomplishment. By this we make certain that the conservation and the protection of our heritage is of no less importance than the protection and conservation of our other vital national resources. It is good to believe that this constitutes part of the meaning of our Bicentennial.

YEARS OF STRUGGLE: THE FARM DIARY OF ELMER G. POWERS, 1931–1936. Coedited by H. Roger Grant and L. Edward Purcell. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1976. Pp. xix, 158. Notes. Index.)

A good diary reflecting the daily life and attitudes of American farmers is a rare commodity. This edited version of the journal maintained by Elmer G. Powers from Amaqua Township, Boone County, Iowa, during the harsh depression years, 1931–1936, is such a volume.

Elmer Powers was a third generation farmer of a quarter section of fertile acreage in central Iowa. Specializing in corn, hog and Holstein-Friesian cattle production, he was a man with strong family ties, a community leader who served on the school board and as president of the Farm Bureau, a Republican in politics and an individual firmly sold on the virtues of rural life.

Powers emerges from this diary as a farmer who takes pride in his occupation and his land. He carefully records such routine activities as spring plowing and planting, the cultivation and harvesting of his crops and the tedious and time-consuming task of husking corn. He frets over such occasional problems as an injured horse, turkeys which fail to seek shelter in blizzards or calves born during a cold spell. While cognizant of the value of his tractor and modern equipment for bringing efficiency to his operation, he clings to the past by keeping a team of horses for harrowing, so he can continue to have a feel for the soil.

Unlike some of his neighboring farmers who vented their frustrations over low commodity prices by joining the violent protests of Milo Reno and the Farmers Holiday Association, Powers supported the New Deal agricultural programs. Although a Republican who voted for Herbert Hoover in 1932, he applauded the selection of his friend, Henry A. Wallace, as secretary of agriculture in 1933. When the corn-hog program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration went into effect, Powers served as a county committeeman. The inefficiency of local administrators or the delays in the arrival of payments did not dampen his general approval of most of the government's farm programs.

Indeed government aid saved Powers from bankruptcy during his roughest year, 1936. Saddled with both high mortgage and tax payments, he faced disaster when the combination of two months of blizzard conditions at planting time and a summer drought during growing season resulted in a poor corn crop. Even though he sold some of his implements and hogs and removed his corn from Commodity Credit Corporation storage, he still lacked sufficient cash to meet his obligations. Only the government check prevented the Powers farm from being auctioned by the county tax collector.

The editors have done a fine job. They have taken an elaborate diary from the archives of the Iowa State Historical Society and made it concise and readable. While the notes are quite adequate, their placement at the end of the volume is inconvenient. Nevertheless, this publication is a valuable contribution to the understanding of life on a midwestern farm in the 1930s.

Garry L. Nall
West Texas State University

THE ARIZONA OF JOSEPH PRATT ALLYN: LETTERS FROM A PIONEER JUDGE. Edited by John Nicolson. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974. Pp. xviii, 284. Illustrations. Maps. Epilogue. Bibliography. Index. $8.50.)

Arizona today offers a vast virgin territory for historical research and writing. Several stones are yet unturned, but it is indeed fortunate that John Nicolson, professor of history at Northern Arizona University, has exposed the rocky underside of a solid piece of historical information. A Connecticut Yankee by birth, Joseph Pratt Allyn received an appointment by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863 to become an associate justice in the newly-organized Territory of Arizona. The young judge went west in hope of launching a successful political career and curing his chronic tuberculosis. As Allyn traveled to and through the Arizona Territory, he wrote a significant series of letters to Charles Dudley Warner, editor of the *Hartford Evening Press*. A wealth of historical information is contained in these letters compiled into a single volume by a very able editor.

Nicolson skillfully begins the book by providing the reader a brief, informative sketch of the judge's career and travels in Arizona. Students of the Arizona Territory will find this section of the book most useful, for they will be able to peruse this material quickly and discover if there is information within the book that they would like to examine in detail. Following the editor's overview are the twenty-four letters that Nicolson compiled and annotated. Tremendous insights will be gained by studying the letters of Judge Allyn; indeed, the people and places of Arizona's yesteryears will come alive in Allyn's exciting account. Such figures as Richard McCormick, Charles D. Poston, John Goodwin, King Woolsey, Joseph Reddeford Walker, Bishop John Lamy and George A. Johnson are but a few of the many individuals who play a part in Allyn's fascinating narrative. Fresh knowledge will be gained by reviewing the judge's descriptions of such outposts, settlements and towns as

Fort Whipple, La Paz, Tucson, San Xavier, Tubac, Gila City, Fort Yuma and Callville.

Allyn's Arizona adventures take him to the far reaches of the frontier, and each reader of his letters will discover something new and intriguing that will be of interest to that particular individual. For example, Allyn's accounts of steamboating on the Colorado River rivals that of Martha Summerhayes in her classic work, *Vanished Arizona.* The judge traveled the river from Fort Yuma to the town of Callville—located under the blue waters of Lake Mead today. Allyn found the trip downriver unforgettable as he became "wearied by excitement." The sand-worn scenery was unceasing as he watched "the changes of color and shape with exquisite pleasure." The judge's style flows like the swiftness of the river and animates the imagination with the color that so distinguishes Arizona even today. Nicolson's editing of the judge's letters is marred slightly by his reliance on the works of Bancroft, Granger and Wyllys; also, his over annotation is cumbersome at times. However, this certainly does not overshadow the overall significance of Nicolson's fine contribution to Western Americana.

Cliff Trafzer
Arizona Historical Society

MY YEARS WITH BOB WILLS. By Al Stricklin and Jon McConal. (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1976. Pp. xiv, 153. Illustrations. $8.95.)

Alton Meeks ("Brother" Al) Stricklin was born at Antioch, Johnson County, Texas, in 1908, the youngest of three children. His pioneer father was a "good breakdown fiddle player," and at age five, Al learned to accompany him on the piano. By the time Al was twelve, he had picked up the melodies of many popular songs. But these songs were considered "Jazz" and sinful because they were played in dance halls. Local preachers condemned such music, and to the deeply religious people of the community, dancing was almost as bad as stealing horses.

Al restricted himself to the more acceptable folk songs or sacred music until he finished high school. He worked his way through college by playing at school functions and teaching students to play piano by ear—"improvise and play good full chords with rhythm."

Then came the Depression. Al left school "to help his family survive." During this bleak period, people forgot that "Jazz" music was sinful, and he picked up a few dollars playing for dances.

In 1935, he began playing daily programs with the "Hi-Fliers" at the Fort Worth, Texas, radio station KFJZ. At KFJZ, Bob Wills, "the one-time cotton picker of Texas who rode to fame on his fiddle," walked into Al's life and offered him a job. Al took it. For the next seven years he cast his lot with the Texas Playboys as Wills' leading pianist and "harvested part of the glory that Bob reaped with his music . . . that is still being felt and talked about."

Stricklin and Jon McConal, award-winning journalist from the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, have teamed up to give us an intimate record of how Wills and his musicians lived, laughed, played and cried. The reader can sit down beside Al Stricklin as they journey the highways and dusty back roads in the early morning hours from one stand to the next, feel their bone-weary fatigue, the cold and loneliness, then emerge into the spotlight where they smile despite the hardships and play their hearts out to the audience.

A good legendary life of Bob Wills and His Texas Playboys by the "old piano pounder" who helped create Western Swing music as well as the Bob Wills sound.

Glenn Shirley
Oklahoma State University

INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. Edited by Dwight L. Smith. (Santa Barbara, California: American Bibliographical Center—Clio Press, 1974. Pp. xvii, 453. Index. $40.00.)

Users of *America: History and Life*, a periodical of abstracts in American history published by the American Bibliographical Center—Clio Press, will immediately understand this bibliography, for it is simply a reprinting of the abstracts on Indian subjects that appeared in the periodical from its beginning in 1954 through 1972. The 1,687 abstracts are arranged in useful fashion under four headings: pre-Columbian Indian history, tribal history 1492–1900, general Indian history 1492–1900 and the Indian in the twentieth century. The third section follows a roughly chronological order, while the others are subdivided according to geographical areas and then by tribes. There is a detailed analytical index for locating authors and for cross-references.

The weaknesses and strengths of this bibliography are those of the parent periodical. Although the title of the book is very broad, and the editor in his preface states that the volume constitutes "a bibliographic report on the great bulk of scholarship on the Indian which has appeared in the historical and social sciences periodical literature of the world from 1954 through 1972," in fact the coverage is somewhat limited. Some journals were used from 1954 on, but a great many were not picked up until 1963 or later—abstracts were not

made of articles in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, for example, until 1963. So the volume comes closer to covering *one* decade than two, and even within the period covered, not all pertinent articles were abstracted. Articles have been taken from a great many journals, which are listed at the end of the volume, yet some important studies on Indians, both from these and from other journals, were never abstracted. The abstracts themselves were done by a large group of volunteers—the bibliography lists the names of more than 250 men and women—and they vary in style and completeness. In general, however, they are of high quality, and the summaries they provide of the contents and conclusions of the articles are extremely useful.

There has been a tremendous flood of periodical literature on Indians in recent years. New areas of concern, such as Indians in urban centers and other twentieth century phenomena, and new techniques of research have greatly extended the horizons of Indian studies. This attractively-printed volume helps a good deal in sorting it all out. Although the price seems high for a reprinting of material that is already available in other form and the limitations of its coverage need to be kept in mind, the bibliography will be a valuable tool for all who want to study ethnographic and historical aspects of the Indians in the United States and Canada. An introduction by John C. Ewers supplies an intelligent perspective in which these recent scholarly writings can be viewed.

Francis Paul Prucha
Marquette University

AMERICAN SPORTSMEN AND THE ORIGINS OF CONSERVATION. By John F. Reiger. (New York: Winchester Press, 1975. Pp. 316. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $10.00.)

Although the origins and the development of the conservation movement in America have frequently attracted the attention of historians, the diverse roles of the nation's sportsmen in this movement either have been neglected or denigrated. John F. Reiger seeks to redress this scholarly myopia and to demonstrate that American sports hunters and fishermen made substantial contributions to the growth and evolution of the conservation movement through their attempts in the late nineteenth century to preserve wildlife, protect the timberlands and to develop national parks.

Public awareness of the environmental endeavors of Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot has popularized the erroneous conception that it was the depletion of the nation's forests which first brought conservation issues before

the American public. Yet, Reiger maintains "that the first challenge to the myth of the inexhaustibility that succeeded in arousing a substantial segment of the public was not the dwindling forests, but the disappearance in region after region of game, fish, birds, and mammals."

As American sportsmen increasingly confronted the devastation of commercial market hunters and fishermen and the destruction of wildlife habitat, they began to formulate ideas as to how the nation's fauna should be protected, maintained, and harvested. Their opinions on these matters were expressed in four major sport hunting and fishing periodicals which arose between 1871 and 1881. The *American Sportsmen, Forest and Stream, Field and Stream*, and the *American Angler* spoke out against the abuses which were occurring and sought to develop policies and ideas which would protect the nation's game and habitat. Sportsmen such as George Bird Grinnell, Theodore Roosevelt, John F. Lacy, Gifford Pinchot, George Perkins Marsh, Henry Thoreau and Spencer Fullerton Baird assumed prominent roles in articulating plans and procedures for preserving natural resources.

George Bird Grinnell was particularly instrumental in creating an environment in which the ideas for conserving the nation's resources could flourish. His position as editor of *Forest and Stream*, in the establishment of the Audubon Society and the Boone and Crockett Club, in winning popular support for Yellowstone Park, and his influence upon Theodore Roosevelt clearly indicate a larger role than is normally accorded him in the growth of American conservation policies.

Reiger's careful study is complemented by judiciously selected photographs illustrating the history of American sport and conservation. While at times perhaps too polemical, the work not only delineates the contributions of American sportsmen to the development of the nation's conservation policies but also indicates the need for a reassessment, and possible revision, of existing conservation historiography.

Phillip D. Thomas
Wichita State University

PLAINS INDIAN MYTHOLOGY. By Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975. Pp. xiii, 194. Photographs. Map. Bibliography. $7.95.)

In this sequel to *American Indian Mythology*, Alice Marriott and Carol Rachlin have again concentrated on Plains Indian oral literature. Here the emphasis is predominantly on the tribes of the Southern Plains, which the authors "know best" and have worked with the longest. Part of the great attraction of the

Plains Indian culture is that it is "the only Indian culture in North America of which we have a complete written history, for it could not have existed without the white man's horses and trade goods." Much of this material, the author's claim, came to them first hand.

The thirty-one stories are divided among four sections: creation myths, how and why stories, "Horseback Days" and "Freedom's Ending," along with a short epilogue on the plains today. There are stories passed orally from generation to generation, such as "The Ghost Owl" and "The Woman General," and modern songs and tales concerning automobile trips, the re-establishing of Indian crafts and "The Candy Man," and "Home Cooking." The stories reflect mythology, legends and folklore, ancient and modern.

The book has a good general introduction and bibliography for someone with a budding interest in Indian history. But, at the same time, here as elsewhere, historians may benefit from the research of anthropologists and other social scientists. Indian stories touch all emotions and trace the impact of white culture. Even in oral Indian literature, it seems, it is impossible to escape the white man, but one can escape the white man's point of view.

Lee Scott Theisen
National Archives

BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS. By Ezra J. Warner and W. Buck Yearns. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975. Pp. xxii, 319. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Appendix. $15.00.)

The 267 men who served in the Confederate Congress between 1861 and 1865 were a diverse group. A list of their birthplaces reveals sixteen different states and foreign countries while their ages ranged from twenty-five to seventy-one. Many of them were little-known even in their own localities; others in the post war years deliberately played down or ignored their roles in the Congress. The late Ezra Warner and Professor Buck Yearns set out to rescue the 267 from the resultant obscurity in which "they very often languished." That mission has been successfully accomplished. With the *Register* the authors have produced a comprehensive reference work which historians of the Civil War period will find invaluable.

The book begins with a concise, informative description of the composition of the Congress and its early history. The biographical sketches which follow give the date and place of birth, family background, education, vocation and pre-war public service of each member. The position taken by the Congressman on the question of secession details of his election to the Confederate

Congress and an analysis of his activities in that body comprise an important part of each sketch. The date and place of death and burial place are included as well as information on the members' careers after leaving the Congress.

Oklahomans will be especially interested in the biographies of Samuel Benton Callahan, Elias C. Boudinot and Robert M. Jones. These men represented the Creek and Seminole, Cherokee and Choctaw Nations respectively. Only recently has any notice been taken of the contribution of these three to the Civil War history of Indian Territory or of their efforts on behalf of their people while they were serving in the Congress.

Portraits of a number of the Congressmen, including Boudinot, annotated membership lists and a map section showing Confederate territory lost in successive years add to the interest and usefulness of this excellent study.

Mary Lee Ervin
Oklahoma Historical Society

THE ARMY AND THE NAVAJO: THE BOSQUE REDONDO RESERVATION EXPERIMENT 1863–1868. By Gerald Thompson. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976. Pp. xi, 165. Illustrations. Maps. Photographs. Notes. References. Index. $8.50. Clothbound. $4.95.)

Today, the Navajo Nation, residing on its giant reservation, whose boundaries encompass parts of three southwestern states, is viewed by most observers as the last major bastion of traditional Indian life. With a secure land base and a tribal population in excess of 150,000, the Navajos conjure an image of a sedentary, peaceable people raising sheep and weaving blankets while adorned with their own carefully wrought turquoise and silver jewelry. Because this scene satisfies both Native American and white romantic yearnings that desire an enduring link with America's antiquity, few persons, Indian or non-Indian, realize that the Navajo "traditionalism" as evidenced by the tribe's current way of life is a short-lived one, barely a century old.

Gerald Thompson, a staff member of *Arizona and the West*, has chosen the establishment, administration and demise of the Bosque Redondo Reservation in the mid-1860s as a means of explaining how the Navajos first learned a new pattern of culture which ultimately led to their present reality. The fact of their preservation period was warfare and raiding; a means of continued existence made necessary by Mexican and Anglo intrusions. If the Navajos were not "the most feared Indians of the Southwest" by the 1820s as Thompson claims, they certainly ranked right up there. It is the intent of *The Army and the Navajo* to detail the United States military's attempt to alter a life style and the successes and failures which resulted from that labor.

Despite the author's description of his volume as "an administrative study," the book reveals the actions and characters of several memorable, historical personages. Central to the story of the Bosque Redondo and chiefly responsible for its inception and growth is Brigadier General James H. Carleton, who became commander of the Military Department of New Mexico in the fall of 1862. Carleton epitomized the nineteenth century Christian reformer, a type destined to shape the primary course of Indian policy from the Civil War to the turn of the century. The general established in 1863, what he hoped would be a model reservation along the Pecos River in eastern New Mexico. There a variety of military and civilian individuals and groups strove mightily to instill the Navajos with Carleton's fervid belief that the Indian could be saved, physically and spiritually, through combining agricultural labor with religious and moral education.

After five years of the vicissitudes of nature, politics and luck, the experiment was abandoned and was termed "a successful failure" by the author. The final chapter, albeit brief, an exceptionally fine explanation of this apparently contradictory judgment in a very convincing manner. Thompson's history of the Bosque Redondo rests firmly on a foundation of painstaking research into government documents and other unpublished materials. The text is enhanced by a substantial number of photographs and maps. All of these parts combine to form a fascinating portrait of early reservation experience in a readable style. Thompson is to be congratulated on illuminating a dim sector of Southwestern Indian History which had much more lasting consequences for the Native American's future in that region than the bloody warfare between Indian and white which has received, until now, the lion's share of attention from historians and writers.

T. Paul Wilson
University of California, Berkeley

THE URBAN ETHOS IN THE SOUTH, 1920–1930. By Blaine A. Brownell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975. Pp. xxi, 238. Bibliographical essay. Index. $12.50.)

The end of the Great War and the beginning of the 1920s saw a region in change. The South, strongly tied to an agrarian ethos, was turning to an industrial and urban future. Southern cities symbolized this change. Earlier decades had brought urban growth, but with that came numerous questions and serious problems in transportation, pollution and crime control. Municipalities faced a growing trend of centralization, but at the same time saw decentralization occurring as a result of automotive mobility and technical

innovation. "Finding an unoccupied space large enough to park a car in the business district," a Tennessean wrote in the 1920s, "is like sighting an oasis in the desert." The South and especially its cities were coming face to face with both the brutal and positive aspects of urban America.

It is this decade that Blaine Brownell of the Department of Urban Studies at the University of Alabama in Birmingham has studied. In his search for the prevailing urban attitudes, he examines seven cities in depth—Charleston, Atlanta, Knoxville, Nashville, Memphis, Birmingham and New Orleans. Cities in the border South, including Oklahoma, were excluded because of the influence of other regions on their development.

His basic question is: "What was the urban ethos?" To answer it the author examines a variety of printed materials, including such often-ignored but valuable ones as chamber of commerce periodicals, church dailies and business group publications.

From these sources a theme, an ethos, emerges: Growth with order, change within a stable framework, progress with preservation. Middle-class businessmen—the chief focus of the study—stressed community spirit and civic loyalty. Their ideal city was a balance of various groups working together to pursue "progress." To attain this vision meant not basic changes but "responsible" citizenship, social control and regulation through urban planning. "Urban boosterism," in the author's opinion, best expressed this view when it promoted unity and growth. This ethos assumed that differences—social, class, racial, idealogical—could be solved by more "urban intradependence" and by deference to business, middle-class leadership.

These answers to urban problems, the author believes, were "barely adequate, if not wholly ineffective." Increasing urbanization showed that the notion that all groups could unite on the basis of civic loyalty, and that they would accept the commercial-civic leadership, "were demonstrably false." The urban ethos of the 1920s was fashioned "more out of wishful thinking than out of reality." That ethos has not yet disappeared.

Although the "flow" of the book could be improved, and the topic is a difficult one to organize, the book succeeds. The result is an imaginatively researched work, covering much relatively unexplored ground. Brownell is honest with the reader and admits the possible weaknesses in what is in reality a strong study.

In a work chiefly devoted to "images, conceptions, and *perceived* reality," the conclusions admittedly are based more on illustration than solid "proof." As the study concentrates on images, various scholars may—and probably will—interpret them differently. But they will have to begin here.

James C. Klotter
Kentucky Historical Society

THE COMMON SOLDIER OF THE CIVIL WAR. By Bell I. Wiley. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975. Pp. 144. Illustrations. Index. $12.95.)

Thousands of books about our American Civil War have been written over the past eleven decades but few get down to the simple fundamentals of the common soldier and his private life as does this heavily illustrated book. Actually it has 145 pictures on just 144 printed pages. Dr. Wiley is famous as an authority on the life of the Civil War soldier, having previously written the classic *The Life of Johnny Reb* and *The Life of Billy Yank*.

For Civil War buffs who do not have the time or inclination to delve into this fascinating subject in great depth, this book is comprehensive, easily read and amusing. It is divided into seventeen sections each dealing with a separate aspect: the transition from civilian to military life; camp diversions; religion; battle experiences; wounds; Black, Indian and immigrant soldiers; G.I. food and dress; crime and punishment; letters from the soldiers; and battlefield experiences.

I personally found it fascinating reading. The lack of education among the common soldiers brought forth many chuckles over the phonetic spelling in the soldier's letters back home. But even so many misspelled words failed to dim the lurid description of the harrowing experiences on many battlefields. An Ohio soldier who walked over the field of Antietam two days after the fight described the scene thus to his father: "The smell was offul . . . there was about 5 or 6,000 dead bodes decaying over the field and perhaps 100 dead horses . . . their lines of battle Could be run for miles by the dead. They lay long the lines like sheaves of Wheat. I could have walked on the boddes all most from one end too the other."

On the lighter side, and very unusual for a book on history, is the section on the soldier's sex life, or lack of it, and illustrated by two pictures of buxom nude pin-ups.

Few books are printed without a few errors and this one is no exception. On page 34 a gun described as a "U.S. Remington, Model 1863, Zouave rifle" is actually a Confederate "Hump-back" Richmond rifle musket. Another on page 131 shows dead Union soldiers before Battery Robinett in Corinth, Mississippi, October 4, 1862. The location and date is correct, but the dead are Confederates—Colonel Rogers and his Second Texas Infantrymen.

This book is not a history of great campaigns or battles fought but is a fascinating narrative of the common soldier, mostly teen agers, who lived, fought, and often died in America's bloodiest war.

Jordan B. Reaves
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

THE WESTERN HORSE: ADVICE AND TRAINING. By Dave Jones. (Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. Pp. viii, 175. Table of Contents. Illustrations—photographs, drawings. Index. $6.95.)

Dave Jones has devoted a lifetime to training horses for riding, showing, or stock work. He has "cowboyed" and trained horses in the United States, and has traveled to South America to learn new methods. In addition, he has written several books and articles relating his techniques and experiences.

In this new offering Jones encouraged trainers to "keep an open mind and be flexible." He followed his own advice by incorporating in his techniques training methods from many areas of the world. He concluded that the dressage experts of Europe and the gauchos of Argentina are equally successful in producing the desired result—a trained horse. In addition, because of the economically unstable nature of the vocation, Jones cautioned prospective trainers to "do something else for a living, and train horses as a hobby." Other advice included suggestions on how to buy good horses and how to make a profit.

The major portion of this work detailed the actual methods Jones used to train horses, including all of the important aspects of training—from handling a colt to the advanced methods required to train roping, cutting or show horses. Jones disliked the rough, cruel horse breaking methods glorified by cowboys of the old West which many trainers still use. He has always preferred a slower, more patient approach, for he believed that horsemanship constantly has included "using your head" and "controlling your temper." Additional information offered advice on equipment as well as the feeding, worming, stabling, loading and hauling of horses.

Jones included in his work several accounts of his own personal experiences as a horse trainer. These unusual and humorous anecdotes enlivened the text and offered the reader a unique insight into the ingenuity required to develop a working relationship between man and beast. Finally, the work contains numerous sketches and photographs demonstrating the methods of training, the use of equipment and the proper grooming of horses.

Both the experienced trainer and the novice might find many useful suggestions in this latest guide to training horses. This small volume is a must for everyone interested in buying, raising and training horses. The sound advice Jones offered will help the novice avoid many of the pitfalls usually encountered when dealing with horses. Some seasoned trainers also might re-evaluate their techniques after reading *The Western Horse*. The author's years of experience as a trainer and his simple, readable style of writing also are definite assets to this thorough and informative volume.

William E. McFarland
Oklahoma State University

A GUIDE TO AMERICA'S INDIANS. By Arnold Marquis. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. Pp. xi, 267. Maps. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. $4.95.)

A Guide to America's Indians is a reference history concerning the Indians in the United States. Primarily the book is designed as a guide into the world of the Indians. Arnold Marquis, a noted playwright, producer and director, is a native of Racine, Wisconsin. Marquis has spent thirty years among the Indians in America obtaining knowledge and understanding of the various tribes throughout the nation. In this work, he uses three sections to describe and discuss the information ascertained from the Indians of America.

Part one is the most important section of the work in which the author analyzes the historical background of the American Indian and gives the significance of the Indian heritage and contributions to the nation. The writer's thesis states that most Americans are ignorant of the Indians in the United States. Moreover, many think of the Indian as a primitive being who roamed the North and South American continents when the White man first appeared. But according to Marquis, this is contrary to the truth. He states that the importance of various tribes eludes Americans. The writer used several illustrations and examples in support of his thesis.

First of all, the Indians are different. They are not one people, but are as different as Germans are from Americans. Some belong to different language groups while others speak the same tongue. Some tribes are strangers to others. Furthermore, tribalism has served as a barrier between the Indians and is still a problem. Although there are tribal differences, their goals are practically the same. Presently there are some 263 groups, bands and tribes of Indians in the United States. They all share in being the defeated victims by those who came to the New World.

In addition to the many tribes and linguistic groups, the writer emphasized other aspects of Indian culture. For example, the Indians were outstanding basketmakers which developed into a craft that proved to be an important part of their economy. Eventually, this craft led to the art of pottery making which was equally as important. Yet, other discussions involved a description of such things as symbols, smoking of the pipe, beadwork, jewelry, pawn and relics which has and still plays a major role in Indian life. Likewise, the author identifies and explains the structure and function of the tribal government. Moreover, Marquis points out the relationship that exists between the Indians and the federal government. There is also some discussion devoted to the Pan-Indian Movement with emphasis on those Indians living in urban areas. Last but not least, the Indians have made substantial progress in the field of journalism.

Perhaps the most important section in part one is the discussion on Indian contributions. According to the author, the Indians have made significant gifts to America both as individuals and collectively. Individually, Stand Watie, a Cherokee, became brigadier general in the Confederate Army. Indians have participated in all the American wars although they did not become citizens until 1924. Some 25,000 Indians represented the United States in World War II. From this figure, almost 22,000 served in the army while the remaining numbers were in other branches. Indians made contributions in other areas such as agriculture and language. They are responsible for the cultivation of tobacco, corn, cotton and many more products that are vital to the economy of the United States as well as other nations. Many words, phrases and names have enriched the English language. Such phrases as "speak with a forked tongue," "on the war path" and "bury the hatchet" are still used by Americans. Words such as tomahawk, moccasin, hominy, tobacco and caucus are common in the United States. Names of states and rivers bear Indian titles such as Illinois, Ohio, Oklahoma and Dakotas. There are such rivers as Mississippi, Potomac, Kickapoo, Pascagoula and thousands of cities and towns which have Indian names. These are only a few of the many contributions that the Indian has made to the American civilization.

In sections two and three, the author offers information that will be helpful to those who would like to visit reservations throughout the nation. For example, Marquis explains several things that the Indians will or will not adhere to. For instance, some Indians will not permit one to photograph certain scenes on the reservations while others do not object. In the last section, the writer has given a geographical description of the five regions where the Indians are located across the nation. This section is designed primarily to advise one where to go and what to expect.

In addition to the three sections, the book has an excellent selection of maps and pictures. The work is well documented and it can be useful to those who would like to know something about the Indians or to anyone who desires to further their knowledge and understanding of the American Indians.

Buford Satcher
Picayune, Mississippi

THE MEXICAN KICKAPOO INDIANS. By Felipe A. Latorre and Dolores L. Latorre. Foreword by William Madsen. (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1976. Pp. xix, 401. Illustrations. Map. Tables. Glossary. Bibliography. Index.)

Unknown to many people, a group of approximately 400 Kickapoo Indians live today in northern Coahuila, Mexico. Their ancestors first appeared there

in 1839. The Mexican Kickapoos are part of the Algonquian-speaking Indians whose original homeland was in the Old Northwest. The Kickapoos began their diaspora in the early seventeenth century, following a now familiar pattern: First driven from their homelands by the Iroquois, the Kickapoos next became enmeshed in the international rivalries of the French, Spanish, English and Americans. Siding with one group, then another, the Kickapoos gradually drifted south and west until they reached Texas. Fearing the Kickapoos as potential Mexican allies, the Texans drove the Indians across the Rio Grande. Initially, the Kickapoos enjoyed a warm reception because of their fighting qualities which were useful against marauding bands of Apaches and Comanches. After the marauders' demise, however, the Mexican Kickapoos, their welcome gone, had to struggle desperately to hold their Mexican land.

The story of how the Mexican Kickapoos survived the myriad threats to their existence and lifestyle comprises the theme of this excellent ethnological study by the husband and wife anthropological team of Felipe A. and Dolores L. Latorre. The Latorres' idea was not new. Previously, other anthropologists had attempted unsuccessfully to observe the Mexican Kickapoos. The Latorres' success, in view of the Mexican Kickapoos' xenophobia, is a testament to their skill, patience and perseverance.

Spending over a decade observing the Mexican Kickapoos at Múquiz and El Nacimiento, Coahuila, the Latorres have produced a solid, well-written book. Their achievement is greatly appreciated, given the plethora today of polemical Indian studies.

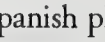
What the Latorres have done is create a rich mosaic of the Mexican Kickapoos' society. The reader is not subjected to a sterile, encyclopedic listing of Kickapoo habits and traits. Rather, what emerges is a finely woven fabric made of the intricate, elaborate threads of Kickapoo culture. Ably integrated into the story are the vivid vignettes of the Kickapoo village at El Nacimiento with its absence of schools, hospitals, sewerage, utilities, paved roads, safe drinking water, stores, place of amusements, fire protection and police, the complexities of the adoption ceremony, the sacredness of the medicine bundles, the teachings of Kitzihiat (Great Spirit) and Wisaka (son of Kitzihiat), the house-construction rituals, rivalries, connections with the Oklahoma Kickapoos, problems with United States Customs Officials, and employers, the numerous sacred ceremonies and games and attitudes towards snakes, suicides and drunkenness, to name but a few. Also, excellent descriptions of the Kickapoo economy, political and legal organization, and social fabric are included. The resultant picture is of a proud people struggling to survive the vicissitudes of the twentieth century.

The book's faults are minor and are mitigated by its strengths. Texas Vice-

President David G. Burnet is referred to as David Barnett (p. 11), the footnotes are located at the back of the book making their use cumbersome, and the book ends too abruptly.

The book is written for the general reader, as well as the specialist. Where possible, the Latorres have avoided the use of anthropological terminology. The English equivalent for each Spanish phrase is given. The authors exhibit a sensitivity to minimizing the spectacular and bizarre. The book merits reading.

E. James Hindman
Sul Ross State University



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By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

THE ASSAULT ON INDIAN TRIBALISM: THE GENERAL ALLOTMENT LAW (DAWES ACT) OF 1887. By Wilcomb E. Washburn. (The America's Alternatives Series. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1975. Pp. viii, 79. $1.75.)

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THE BATTLE OF THE WASHITA. By Stan Hoig. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1976. Pp. 268. $8.95.)

BLACKS IN WHITE COLLEGES: OKLAHOMA'S LANDMARK CASES. By George L. Cross. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1975. Pp. xvi, 151. $7.95.)

THE DAWNING, A NEW DAY FOR THE SOUTHWEST: A HISTORY OF THE TULSA DISTRICT CORPS OF ENGINEERS, 1939–1971. By William A. Settle, Jr. (Tulsa: United States Army Corps of Engineers. 1975. Pp. vii, 179. No price given.)

DAZE TO REMEMBER. By Georgia H. Ethridge. (New York: Vantage Press. 1975. Pp. 142. $4.50.)

THE EARLY YEARS OF EDMOND. By Stan Hoig. (Privately Published: Stan Hoig, English Department, Central State University, Edmond, Oklahoma. 1976. Pp. 36. No price given.)

FORT WASHITA: FROM PAST TO PRESENT, AN ARCHAELOGICAL REPORT. Edited by Kenneth E. Lewis. (Oklahoma Historical Society. Series in Anthropology, No. 1. 1975. Pp. 287. $5.95.)

A HISTORY OF CYRIL. Compiled by Bill and Darlene Patterson. (Cyril, Oklahoma: Cyril Publishing Company. 1976. Pp. iii, 160. No price given.)

THE HISTORY OF SEQUOYAH COUNTY, OKLAHOMA: 1828–1975. (Published by Sequoyah County Historical Society. 1976. Pp. 520. $17.00.)

THE LAND IS FREE. By Essu Richardson Corneth. (New York: Vantage Press. 1975. Pp. 175. $4.50.)

PIONEERING IN KIOWA COUNTY, VOLUME II. By Kiowa County Historical Society. (Published by Kiowa County Historical Society. 1976. Pp. 384. $20.00.)

PLATT NATIONAL PARK: ENVIRONMENT AND ECOLOGY. By Ballard M. Barker and William Carl Jameson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1975. Pp. xii, 127. $5.95.)

UNDER THE BLACKJACK TREE. By Libby W. Hames. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company. 1975. $4.95.)

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
July 29, 1976

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 10:00 a.m. by President George H. Shirk. The meeting was held in the Board Room of the Historical Building.

Executive Director Jack Wettengel called the roll. Those answering were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydstun; O. B. Campbell; Jack T. Conn; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Bob Foresman; Nolen J. Fuqua; W. E. McIntosh; Dr. James Morrison; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; H. Milt Phillips; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; George H. Shirk; and H. Merle Woods. Directors who had asked to be excused were Joe E. Curtis, E. Moses Frye, Denzil D. Garrison, Dr. A. M. Gibson, John E. Kirkpatrick and Fisher Muldrow. A motion was made by Miss Seger to excuse those members who had advised that they would be unable to attend the meeting. Mr. Campbell seconded the motion which passed.

In his report Mr. Wettengel advised that forty applications for membership had been received during the quarter, a somewhat smaller number than usual. Dr. Deupree had asked previously if there was a balance between new memberships and those who had not renewed during the quarter. Mr. Wettengel reported that the balance was quite stable. Mrs. Bowman moved that those applying be granted membership in the Society. Mr. Foresman seconded and the motion carried.

Mr. Wettengel requested that any information on the death of life members be sent to the Sociey office. An annual membership continues, after death, to the expiration date of the membership, but a life membership ceases at the death of the life member and does not become a part of the estate, nor is the life membership transferable.

Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, read the report of the Life Membership Endowment Trust Fund and stated that the sum of $2,617.78 was the total due the Oklahoma Historical Society Endowment Fund for interest earned and annual fees. She asked the Board's pleasure in forgiving this sum. Mr. Shirk explained that the Endowment Fund provides that eighty percent of all life memberships go into the Fund. On each July 1, the Trustees pay into the general fund of the Society $1.50 a year per life member. In the past, the Board has

forgiven the $1.50 payment. Mr. Shirk said that the legislature has been most generous to the Society and recommended that the Board forgive the amount for 1976. Miss Seger placed the recommendation in the form of a motion, which was seconded by Mrs. Nesbitt, and the motion passed. Mr. Shirk further stated the $2,617.78 is non-fiscal money, *i.e.*, not appropriated money. It will begin drawing interest immediately.

Mrs. Bowman continued with the regular quarterly treasurer's report. Mr. Pierce moved that the report be approved; Mr. Finney seconded the motion. The motion carried.

Mrs. Bowman also reported on the status of the certificate of deposit in the amount of $1,466.09 provided by the will of deceased Board member Morton R. Harrison to the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. It was Mr. Harrison's wish that the funds be used to write a history of the American Legion in Oklahoma. Mr. Harrison also willed an identical sum to the Society's Library for use in acquiring specified books. The certificate of deposit has matured, according to Mr. Shirk, and a check in the amount of $1,465.65 was handed to the chairman of the Library Committee, Mrs. Nesbitt, for the purchase of books.

Mr. Shirk introduced Mr. Jack Woods and Ms. Polly Duckett, representatives of Braniff International, who presented a signed print of an Alexander Calder interpretation of the airline's "Flying Colors '76" from Braniff International Employees Club. Mr. Shirk thanked the group and recalled that Oklahoma City was the first city served by a commercial air service started by T. E. and Paul Braniff. The little airfield was located on the present Oklahoma Historical Society grounds.

Mr. Phillips advised that the Society had been approached by the Newspaper Products Corporation of Tulsa with a proposal to microfilm back issues of the four major Tulsa and Oklahoma City newspapers. They originally asked to borrow the bound volumes for processing in Tulsa, but Society policy prohibits such a loan. The possibility of filming on Oklahoma Historical Society equipment was discussed. Mr. Boydstun moved that Mr. Wettengel be given authority to negotiate with Newspaper Products for an amenable procedure for filming the newspapers in the Microfilm Department of the Historical Building. The motion was seconded by Mr. Woods and passed.

A request had been received by the Microfilm Committee from Donald Berthrong to mail, on loan, certain newspaper microfilm rolls. Dr. Berthrong, of Purdue University, is working on a research project requiring extensive use of microfilm rolls and his request was based on a desire to reduce the expense of the project. While the committee realizes the problem, Chairman Phillips, with Mr. Woods, restated the Society's policy to confine the use of

the microfilm rolls to the Newspaper Department. The Newspaper Department does, of course, sell copies of any rolls which a researcher may wish to order.

Historic Sites Committee Chairman McIntosh asked Mr. Wettengel to report on a request for easement for a roadway across Rose Hill Cemetery in Choctaw County by the owner of adjoining property. Mr. Shirk called to the attention of the Board the easement reserved in favor of the Society by its action of October 26, 1950. Mr. Wettengel said that C. E. Metcalf, Historic Sites Director, had suggested that the Oklahoma Historical Society exchange an equal amount of property belonging to Mr. Jack Armstrong, property owner, as that amount of land used by Mr. Armstrong for the road. Mr. McIntosh said that the committee recommended the suggested action and that negotiations should proceed to bring about the foot-by-foot exchange, not to include the easement previously reserved. Mr. Campbell placed the recommendation in the form of a motion, which was seconded by Mr. Boydstun. It was approved.

Fort Washita Chairman Dr. Morrison announced that through the efforts of Mr. Reaves, Fort Washita will have a nineteenth century replica Napoleon twelve pounder cannon placed on the parade grounds. Dr. Morrison moved to commend Mr. Reaves for his efforts and Mr. Pierce seconded the motion. The Board passed the motion unanimously. Mr. Reaves described the acquisition of the replica artillery piece built for use in the motion picture "Shenandoah." He spoke highly of the workmanship of the manufacturer, Mr. Rudy W. Marek of Banks, Oregon.

Mr. Reaves also asked the Board to consider the suggestion that the all-metal cannon carriage now in front of the Historical Building be moved to Fort Washita, rather than place the carriage of the newly acquired cannon at the fort. The new cannon has a wooden carriage and would be more susceptible to vandalism at Fort Washita than it would on the steps of the Historical Building. The Board left the decision to Dr. Morrison and Mr. Reaves.

Mr. Shirk presented a collateral matter: the substitution of replicas of cannon now in the Grand Army of the Republic section of Oklahoma City's Fairlawn Cemetery. The present Napoleon twelve pounder cannon were placed in the cemetery during the 1920s and are bronze tubes. They have become very valuable, even though they have not been cared for properly in recent years. Replacement granite or other replica barrels would make possible the preservation of these rare artifacts. Mr. Reaves said that granite barrels would look better and be easier to maintain than the present barrels, but that payment for their manufacture would require a legislative appropriation. Mr. Phillips moved that an investigation be made to bring about this substitution. Dr. Fischer seconded and the motion was passed.

The matter of financing books printed and sold by the Oklahoma Historical Society's Publication Department was discussed. Mr. Shirk directed Mr. Wettengel to prepare a report to be presented at the October Board meeting which would outline the manner in which such publications should be handled.

Dr. Fischer reported on the matters considered at the Museum Committee meeting. At the April Board of Directors meeting Dr. Scott Meadows, Ardmore, was approved as a negotiator for the exchange of duplicate weapons owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society, such weapons to be selected by Mr. Reaves. Dr. Meadows had asked authority from the Board to take certain Springfield rifles to a Gun Collectors meeting in Fort Worth, Texas, July 30-August 1, 1976. Dr. Fischer moved that Dr. Meadows be given the authority and Mr. Boydstun seconded the motion, which passed.

Dr. Fischer announced that a gallery depicting modern Oklahoma is scheduled for an October opening. He also advised that Joe Todd, Curator, was granted a two and one-half months education leave and was replaced by Don Reeves, on loan from the staff of the Stovall Museum, The University of Oklahoma. John Hill, Exhibits Technician, will be doing graduate work at Oklahoma State University.

Mr. Wettengel invited the Board members to visit the West Gallery to view an exhibit of Indian headdress paintings on loan from the Big Chief Roofing Company of Ardmore and a collection of twelve bronze sculptures by John Learned.

Mr. Boydstun reported that a contract for the development of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park has been received from Gage Skinner, Tourism and Recreation Department. Mr. Boydstun moved that Mr. Wettengel be authorized to sign the agreement. Mr. Pierce seconded the motion and it was carried.

Mr. Boydstun inquired whether or not application could be made to the National Park Service for matching funds for the development of Honey Springs. Mr. Shirk replied that fiscal year 1977 allocation of federal funds has not yet been received, but when the allocation is received it will be examined to see if there will be a problem in the allocation for funds for the Battlefield Park.

Mr. Campbell asked that a report be sent to all members of the Board showing the attendance, number of employees, etc., at each of the sites and museums operated by the Society. Mr. Wettengel said that he would see that such a report is delivered.

In his Education Committee report, Mr. Foresman told of the gift to the Society of thirty-seven volumes dealing with Oklahoma history from the James H. Gardner collection donated by Martin Gardner, Scarsdale, New York, son of Mr. Gardner. Mr. Gardner was a former Chief Geologist for

Shell Oil Company. Included in the collection were works of Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman, Dr. Angie Debo, Douglas' history of Tulsa and books of Mark Twain autographed by the author.

The Education Division is helping to produce a film for Channel Thirteen TV on pioneer life in Oklahoma. The film will be shown on TV and will also be shown periodically for students and visitors to the Society. The cost to the Oklahoma Historical Society for the $35,000 film is $2,000, said Mr. Foresman.

Mr. Foresman reported on a cooperative effort in Oklahoma City between the Oklahoma Museum Association, the Oklahoma Art Center and the Society's Education Division to promote the interest of history and art in the city's schools. Mr. Foresman said that 4-H, Camp Fire, and Boy and Girl Scout groups were the most responsive to the Society's Heritage Club project.

The Library Committee met prior to the Board meeting and Mrs. Nesbitt, chairman, reported that library procedures and goals were reviewed; that a coin-operated Xerox copier had been installed and that decision making will begin on purchases to be made with the $1,465.65 certificate of deposit from the Morton R. Harrison estate. Mrs. Nesbitt also said that the new library security system has been ordered and will soon be installed. She thanked Mrs. Everett for her efforts in working on an agreement between the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Oklahoma Historical Society delineating the responsibilities and accountabilities of the two organizations in the operation of the library. In a meeting on July 22, 1976, the Executive Committee moved that the Library Committee be instructed to negotiate such an agreement. Mr. Phillips moved that the Board approve the action of the Executive Committee. Miss Seger seconded the motion and it was passed.

The Oklahoma Genealogical Society requested Mrs. Nesbitt to work out an agreement between that organization and the Oklahoma Historical Society to accept and maintain their books in the Society's library. The Library Committee will proceed with this request.

Mr. Shirk presented two dividend checks in the amounts of $15.00 and $17.50 from TRW stock that had been a gift of Mrs. Helen Champlin Oven to be used in the Society's Overholser Mansion project.

Mr. Wettengel announced the receipt of a grant of $90,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The application prepared by Indian Archivist Martha Royce Blaine requested the sum for a project to microfilm the holdings of the Indian Archives which are rapidly deteriorating. The microfilming of more than three and one-half million documents will require the efforts of three additional employees for a period of more than two years. Work has been delayed a month pending the review before the Personnel Review Board for the additional employees. The request was granted, as well

as the request to retain the present sixty-seven Society staff members. The 1976–1977 appropriation bill had cut back the quota to fifty-eight.

Mr. McIntosh asked the Board to consider the request of Mrs. Helene Stolba to turn over title to the cemetery plot in which former Creek Chief Pleasant Porter is buried. Chief Porter's grandson, William T. Porter, had deeded the property to the Oklahoma Historical Society some years ago, but the Society had not been successful in obtaining ingress and egress to the plot. Mr. McIntosh has been negotiating with Mr. Porter and members of the Creek Nation, who have agreed to accept the property. The Historic Sites Committee approved the deeding of the site to the Creek Nation. The Board unanimously recommended that the President be authorized to execute a deed of conveyance to the Creek Nation the deed for the plot in Tulsa County containing the remains of Pleasant Porter.

Mrs. Ira D. Hall has had conferences with Governor David Boren regarding the appointment of a Black Heritage Committee. The Governor, according to Mr. Shirk, has expressed the wish that such a committee be a part of the Oklahoma Historical Society. In talking with Mrs. Hall, Mr. Wettengel added that Mrs. Hall's group is anxious to research and preserve Black history in Oklahoma. The women recently spent a day at the Historical Building determining what records are available for such a project. Funds will not be involved.

As President, Mr. Shirk has the authority to appoint a chairman for the committee from the Board of Directors. Mr. Shirk said that he was not prepared to appoint a chairman at this meeting although he would designate Mrs. Hall as co-chairman. Dr. Fischer moved to authorize President Shirk to create a Black Heritage Committee, members of the committee to be members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. No funding nor office space is required. Mrs. Nesbitt seconded the motion, which carried.

Mrs. Richard Carpenter of Wagoner has been recommended for appointment to the Honey Springs Battlefield Commission. Mr. Shirk made the appointment.

Mr. Wettengel reviewed briefly the Society's appropriation bill for fiscal year 1976–1977. As in the past, there were a number of line items attached to the bill; however, this year recipients of line item amounts are required to match the sum with fifty percent matching funds, which the attorney general has ruled as fifty cents to the dollar. Those receiving appropriations are required to submit a signed affidavit that the required matching funds are available.

Meeting adjourned.

GEORGE H. SHIRK, PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the second quarter of 1976.

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April 30, 1976 to July 29, 1976

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Bohannan, Jean E.	Grove
Bridges, Mrs. Geo. W.	Bartlesville
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Thompson, Charles O., Jr.	Midwest City
Thurman, Melvena	Oklahoma City
Warren, Mrs. Delphia	Muskogee
Weaver, J. J.	San Antonio, Texas
Whipple, Floyd V.	Winslow, Arizona
Willard, Anthony A.	Leavenworth, Kansas
Williams, La Vena R.	Coweta

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ıe major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in ɔlahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, :tures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma gathering these materials.

ıe Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, tumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly icles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, d bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor d the Publications Committee.

embership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The arterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subiption to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is $100.00. Regular subiption to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine $1.50 unɔs otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence ating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical ciety Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article VI, Section 5—*The Chronicles of Oklahoma* shall publish the minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Society; and shall pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history, including necrologies, reviews, reprints of journals and reports and other activities of the Society. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature.

CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

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